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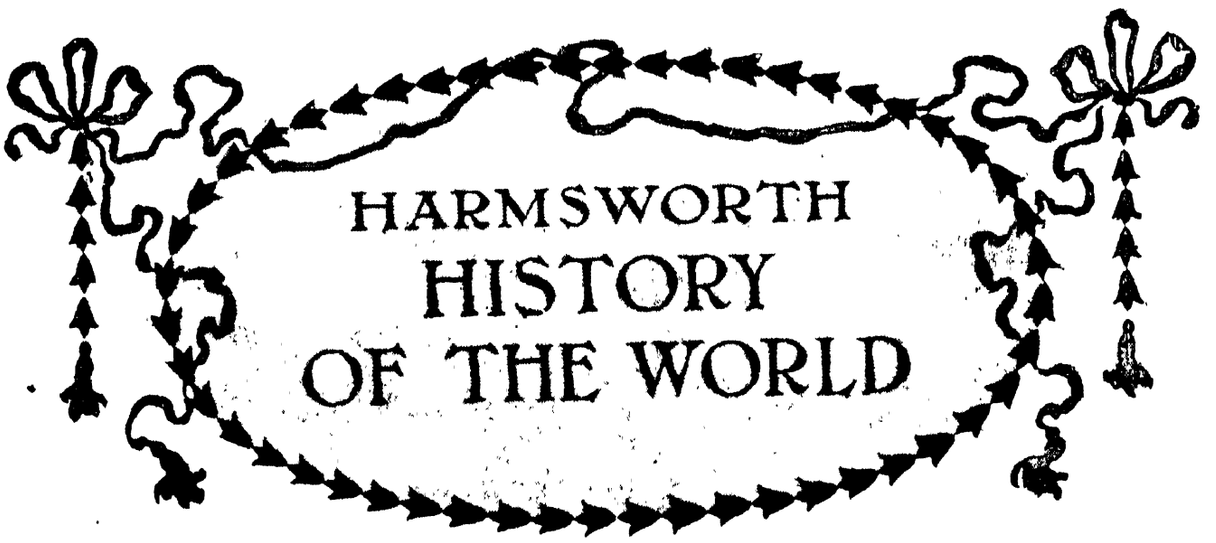
HARMSWORTH
HISTORY
OF THE WORLD

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HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

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NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XV.

NORTH AMERICA : THE POLAR REGIONS : TRIUMPH OF THE MIND OF MAN : GENERAL INDEXES

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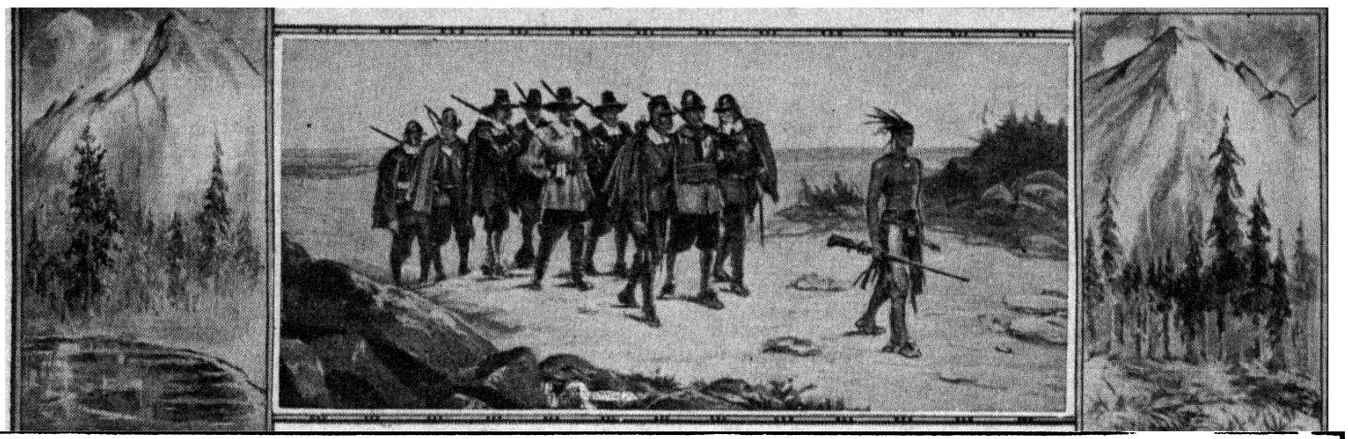


COLONISATION OF NORTH AMERICA

THE CENTURY AFTER COLUMBUS

AN AGE OF EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES

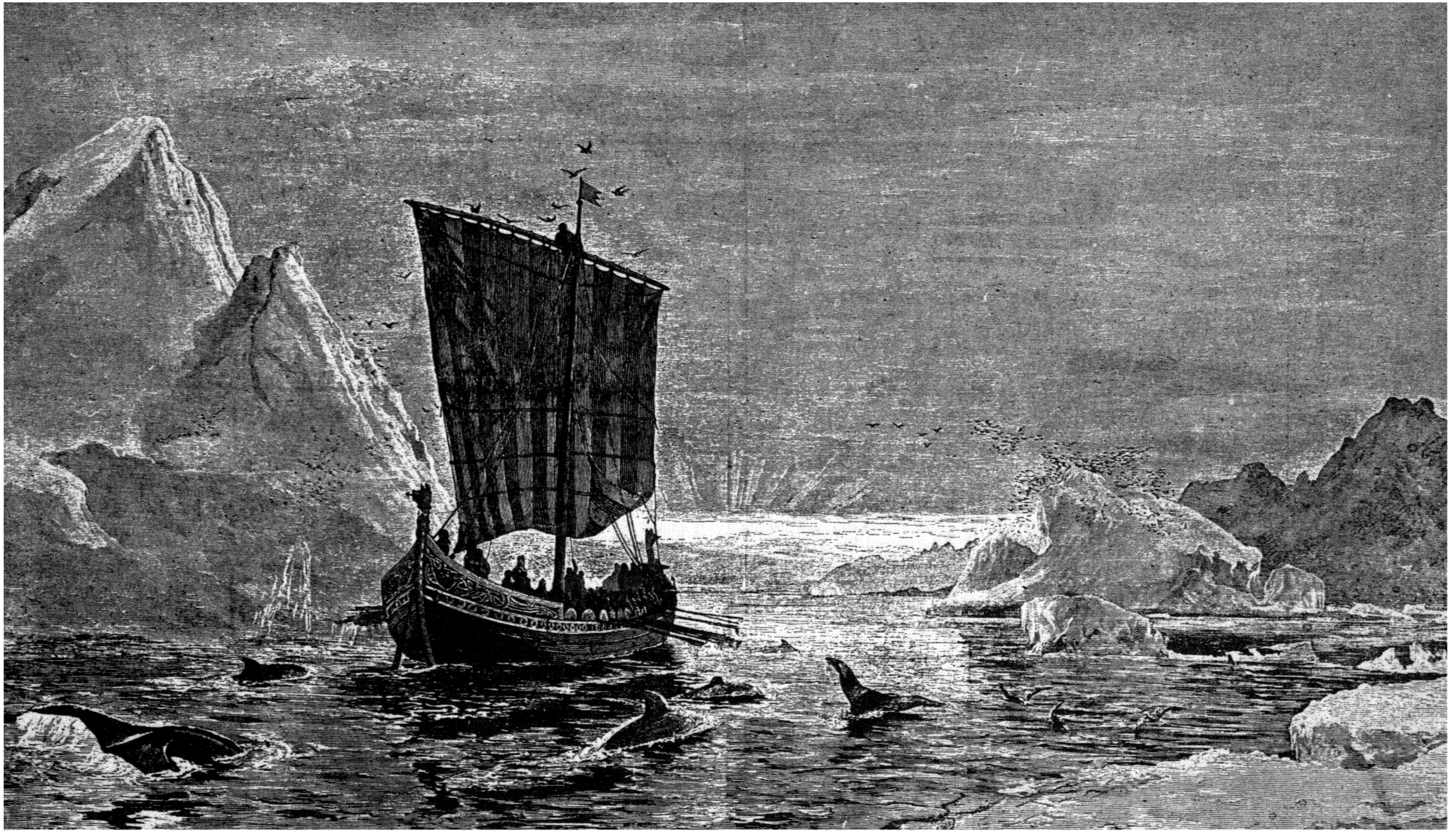
THE North American continent during the sixteenth century, especially in those districts situated on the eastern seaboard, was a free field for discoverers of all nations; but during several generations no one of the rival Powers succeeded in rendering its possession effective by a permanent settlement. The reason for this was the unpromising appearance of the coasts, on which were to be found a pleasant climate, green meadows, and vast forests, but, in addition, powerful and warlike natives, who vigorously opposed the landing of strangers, and who, by their poverty and the simplicity of their customs, showed clearly the absence of treasure to be won without exertion.

The first Europeans to set foot on North American soil had been the Vikings under Leif Erikson and Thorfinn Karlsefne, who were driven thither while on a voyage from Iceland to Greenland about the year 1100. But their temporary settlements in Vinland, Markland and Huitramannaland had been long forgotten when the discovery of Columbus unveiled a new world. It was the efforts to raise interest in his project, made by the discoverer at the various courts of Western Europe years before the realisation of his hopes, that drew attention to his discovery and led to the opening up of the New World some years later. The honour of having been the first among the discoverers of that day to reach the mainland of North America belongs to Giovanni Gabotto, or, as he was called in England, John Cabot. He was specially sent out in 1497 on a voyage to the West, to seek, after the manner of Columbus, the treasures of the Indies and to take possession, for England, of any unknown lands he might come across. It was in fulfilment of this commission that John Cabot in the years 1497–1498 made two voyages between England and America. The first time he landed in Labrador and followed the coast northward. On his second journey he reached the American coast at a point somewhat farther south, and, sailing southward, made a rough exploration of the Atlantic seaboard till he reached the latitude of Florida. Then, for nearly a century, the English paid no further attention to this land, in which their race was to have so great a future, except by sending occasional ships to the inexhaustible fishing-grounds of the Newfoundland Banks; but even there they did less than most other nations.

John Cabot's Great Discovery

Importance of Cabot's Voyages

The news of Cabot's landing showed the Portuguese that there were undiscovered lands in the north, similar to Brazil in the south, which, according to the delimitation of the spheres of discovery, belonged to them. This was, at any rate, the incentive for the voyages of the brothers Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal. To them King Manuel granted a charter giving them exclusive possession and trading rights in whatever lands they might find to the north of the Spanish colonial sphere and beyond the line of demarcation agreed upon. These claims were recognised and remained in their possession, or in that of their heirs, till 1570, though no effective settlement of the newly discovered region was made by the Portuguese. On his first voyage,



THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF GREENLAND: THE FAMOUS VOYAGE OF KING ERIC THE RED IN 983

Although sighted by Gunnbjörn as far back as 870, Greenland was not visited by Europeans until a century later, when the Icelandic king, Eric the Red, and a small company of followers landed on its shores and established a colony, naming it Gronland. Davis rediscovered the country in 1585-87; but all traces of its early Norse settlers had disappeared, only a few ruins of their towns remaining. The Danes obtained a footing on its west coast in 1721, and a new colony was again founded, which continued to increase and thrive. The above picture shows the sailor-king, Eric the Red, sighting land after many months' weary voyaging. Much of the country still remains unknown.

From the painting by Carl Rasmussen

in 1500, Gaspar Cortereal discovered the island of Newfoundland, with its imposing forests and its bays teeming with fish. In his second journey, in the following year, he was led away by the phantom of a north-west passage to the treasures of India, and following the coast of Labrador northward, he and his companions became the first victims of the Arctic ice. They perished, in all probability, in Hudson Strait. During a long period the Portuguese made expeditions to the Newfoundland Banks. The first of these, undertaken by Miguel Cortereal to ascertain the fate of his brother, supplied a second party of victims for the ice-deserts of the north. Then these voyages were restricted more and more to the exploitation of the fisheries; and it was only occasionally that Portuguese sailors assisted the progress of discovery in North America. Among those who did so was João Alvarez Faguendez, who in 1521 sailed round the peninsula of Nova Scotia and into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Early Victims of the Arctic Ice

The French followed the example of the Portuguese with especial zeal. From the year 1508, at least, the shipowners of Dieppe and Honfleur took a prominent part in the fishing on the Newfoundland Banks. These fishing expeditions led to occasional visits to the neighbouring coasts, where supplies were taken in, repairs made, and the spoil of the sea dried and smoked for transport. From such settlements Cape Breton received the name it bears to-day, and "Tierra," "Bahia," and "Rio de Bretones" are names that frequently occur in old maps of Canada. Early in the third decade of the sixteenth century these trans-Atlantic lands attracted the attention of the French Government.

Commissioned by it, Giovanni de Verazzano, in 1524, made an extended voyage of discovery, following the east coast from Florida nearly up to what is now the northern boundary of the United States. Perhaps this undertaking would not have been the only one had not the Portuguese made diplomatic protest. But the Spaniards did incomparably more for the opening up of North America, though their activity was confined principally to the southern part of it. Through slave-hunts among the Bahama Islands the Spaniards made acquaintance with the southern extremity of Florida; but so uninviting did it seem that for years no one took the trouble to investigate whether this cape belonged to an island or to the mainland. It was not till 1512 that Juan Ponce de Leon, governor of Porto Rico, set out with three ships to investigate what truth there was in the fabulous reports that were current about the land in the north. On Whitsunday, "Pascua Florida," he reached an unknown coast and named it Florida. From there Ponce sailed along the east coast as far as what was later the site of St. Augustine. But, as the flat shore stretched ever before him in unending monotony, he turned, sailed round the southern extremity of the supposed island, and followed the west coast for a considerable distance; but at last, finding neither a strait nor fertile land, but everywhere hostile Indians, he returned to Porto Rico, and let years pass before renewing the attempt to open up the lands he had discovered.

Opening up of North America

That he did so at all was due to the fact that districts which he included among those discovered by himself were touched at by other sailors whose competition he wished to exclude. In particular, Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, after completing his voyage of discovery along the coasts of Yucatan and Mexico as far north as Panuco, took, on his return journey, a course too nearly due east, and reached a point that we cannot fix, on the west coast of Florida. This discovery seemed so interesting that Francisco de Garay ordered his pilot, Pineda, who was then about to convey a number of colonists into the district of Panuco, newly claimed by him, to pay more attention to the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico. On this occasion Pineda not only came to the firm conclusion that the coast from Panuco to the peninsula of Florida was continuous, but he also discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, without inferring, however, the extraordinary extent of the "hinterland" from the volume of the stream, as Columbus had done in the case of the Orinoco.

Historic Voyages of Discovery

Ponce de Leon considered his own claims as a discoverer endangered by these enterprises. He accordingly made application to the Spanish Government, and was granted, in the usual manner, rights over the territory he had discovered, conditional upon his rendering his possession effective and actually colonising the land. In the year 1521 he made fresh preparations, and shipped 600 persons, besides cattle and

supplies, to start a colony; but his attempts to effect a landing on the west coast of Florida were all failures; and at last, mortally wounded by the arrows of the enemy, he decided to return. The greater part of his company perished on the return journey, and he himself reached Cuba only to die. The hostility of the Indians was just what kept Florida from being forgotten. Of the Indians of the islands, some had been pacified, and others had fled before the Spaniards, who had continually to go farther afield to obtain slaves. Two slaveships belonging to the licentiates Matienzo and Ayllon met accidentally off one of the Northern Bahamas, and made an agreement to venture on an expedition against the warlike Indians of Florida. They did, in fact, bring some booty back to San Domingo, and at the same time gave such favourable reports of the land that the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon resolved to continue the exploration and eventually to proceed to colonisation.

Florida's Warlike Indians

From the court he obtained without trouble exclusive rights over the territory left without a master by Ponce's death. After preparations lasting several years, during which his pilots explored the Atlantic coast as far as the Santee River, he set out from Hispaniola (San Domingo) in 1526 for his new province, with three ships and 600 men. But he was not favoured by fortune. Sea and shore were hostile to him: the largest of his ships was wrecked, and the Indians opposed his attempts at landing at Rio Jordan or San Mateo so vigorously that he was master only within the range of his muskets.

The colonists, furthermore, had much to suffer in the swampy coast districts, and when Ayllon himself succumbed to fever the rest of his crew betook themselves to their ships and returned to Hispaniola. After this the colonisation of the Atlantic coast was given up for years; but, on the other hand, the Gulf Coast of Florida, a name then applied to the whole of the North American continent so far as it was known to the Spaniards, was the scene of further expeditions which were of great importance in opening up North America. As early as 1528 Panfilo de Narvaez, governor of the Gulf Coast of Florida, the well-known rival of Cortes, cruised from Cuba to Appalachee Bay, to explore, by land and water simultaneously, the territory promised to him in the west. But the land force and the fleet soon got out of touch. The latter returned to Cuba after waiting for months in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi for Narvaez and his company.

Expeditions in North America

When the expedition returned to the coast completely exhausted, nothing remained for them but to build the best vessels they could, and by means of these to make their way out of this inhospitable wilderness to more civilised parts. Imagining himself nearer to Panuco than to the Spanish Islands, Narvaez steered his craft westward; but almost the whole expedition perished in the delta of the Mississippi. Only a few escaped; they continued their journey by land, and, being favoured by fortune, succeeded in reaching the Spanish settlements in New Mexico.

It has been already mentioned how their highly exaggerated stories gave quite a new impulse to expeditions to the fabulous cities of Tusayan and Quivira. The adventurous expedition of Fernando de Soto took in still more of the interior of the continent. It is almost incredible how, despite repeated disasters, companies of considerable size assembled again and again to make the journey into the unknown with hearts as light as if it were a mere pleasure-trip. So strong was the attraction of the personality of De Soto, one of the richest conquistadors of Peru, that, despite the fact that he took only picked men for the expedition, his company on leaving Seville numbered a thousand men. After completing his preparations in Cuba, De Soto crossed over to Tampa Bay on the west coast of Florida, where he had the rare good fortune to meet with a friendly reception from the natives and was able to prepare in peace for his journey into the interior. But it was not long that the Spaniards enjoyed the friendship of the natives. As soon as they began to press forward in a northerly direction they met with Indians who had sworn hostility to the Europeans from the time of Narvaez.

De Soto's Adventures in the Interior

During the course of their three years' wandering the Spaniards were able to gain the friendship of the natives only when they allied themselves with a tribe and helped it in war against its neighbours. The sum total of adventures and privations that reduced De Soto's splendid company

to a band of little more than three hundred half-naked and wholly exhausted adventurers was indeed extraordinary.

But incidents of this kind are not what give the expedition its historic importance. What is most interesting for posterity about De Soto's expedition is the geographical and ethnographical aspect of the country traversed, which can be fixed, at least approximately, by the accounts that have come down to us. The Spaniards first made their way northward, at a fixed distance from the marshy coast, till they reached the head of Appalachee Bay. Then they turned their backs to the sea and pressed on towards the north and north-east, through Georgia and South Carolina, till they reached the country where the rivers Altamaha and Savannah rise. Neither here nor farther south did they dare to cross the thickly wooded range of the Alleghanies, so terrible did its forest solitudes seem to them.

Nor did the north attract them; they turned towards the west and south-west. Making their way through the present state of Alabama, they reached the river

Disappointed Hopes of De Soto

of that name, and, striking the sea at Pensacola, established temporary communication with the fleet that brought them supplies. In spite of the long, fruitless wandering De Soto could not be persuaded to give up the expedition. After a protracted rest at Mobile, then situated considerably more north than the modern town of the same name, he struck out again into the wilderness and reached the Mississippi not far from where Memphis stands to-day. The passage across the "Father of Waters" occasioned a long delay, but with the help of the Indians and by means of some improvised boats it was finally accomplished. Then the expedition continued its wearisome journey through the present Arkansas and southern Missouri as far as the upper reaches of the White River.

Finding that as he advanced towards the north-west the land was less fertile and more sparsely settled, De Soto changed his course and continued his journey southward and westward over the Washita to the Red River, only to learn that neither treasure nor civilised settlement was to be found in the forests. His decision to return to the Mississippi was a tacit abandonment of all his hopes. He reached that mighty watercourse just above its junction with the Red River, and here, almost exactly three years after his departure from Cuba, he succumbed to fever and to depression at the failure of his plans. His companions imagined themselves so near to New Mexico that they at first attempted to make their way thither by land; but the lack of food

The Fate of De Soto's Companions

supplies in the west compelled them once more to make for the Mississippi. Finally, they were so fortunate as to be carried out to sea by the stream in their frail improvised craft before they had become too weak to resist the attacks of the ever-hostile Indians. The tedious journey along the Gulf Coast had still to be accomplished before they could reach Panuco, the nearest Christian settlement, and there recuperate from their fatigue and privations. Of De Soto's 1,000 companions only 311 reached the journey's end. So little had been gained by the sacrifice of life that the Spanish Government issued a decree forbidding further exploring expeditions into this unfriendly land.

Though Florida had fallen into discredit with the Spaniards, it had not the same bad name among other nations. Religious discord in France had once before driven men to seek a land of peace and toleration beyond the ocean, when Villegaignon founded his colony in Brazil. But while the object of this first attempt was to establish a colony where toleration should be extended to men of both creeds, the second, undertaken by Ribault and Laudonnière, in the years 1562–1565, aimed at establishing on the coast of Florida a settlement which, though not exclusively Protestant, was to be a place of refuge for those who in their own land were subjected to bitter persecution and oppression.

There was, to begin with, not the slightest difficulty in finding a place on the then deserted coast of Florida where the fleet could land its crews with their stores.

A French Settlement in Florida

For this purpose the leaders chose Charleston Bay, called by them May River, and by the Spaniards Rio de San Mateo, and named their settlement, overlooked by a fortified hill, "Arx Carolina" in honour of the French sovereign, Charles IX. If the settlers had had no other end in view than to live in peace and tolerance on the distant shore, tilling the land and seeking a peaceful livelihood, it is probable that they could have established

themselves and founded a colony undisturbed, as did the English at this and at other points on the coast at a later date. But among the colonists workers were in a minority, and their favourite mode of earning a livelihood was to scour the seas around the Antilles in swift and lightly built craft, and, like pirates, to attack wherever there was a prospect of success. By such proceedings they drew upon themselves the wrath of the Spaniards. Philip of Spain considered it a serious matter that a foreign nation, and especially Spain's hereditary enemy, should dare to establish itself so near to the Spanish colonial possessions and within the Spanish colonial sphere.

Spain's Hereditary Enemy

More serious in his eyes was the circumstance that they were heretics who thus threatened the Christianising work which Spain regarded as her historic mission. Accordingly, Menendez de Aviles, one of the best seamen then at Spain's disposal, received a commission to root out at all costs this foreign settlement on Spanish soil. He was specially instructed, as a matter of principle, to show no mercy to heretics. The accusation of treacherous cruelty raised by the French against the Spanish leader is scarcely justified. During their own religious struggles they showed themselves scarcely less fanatical than was Menendez towards them. But the latter's action was truly the cause of the transplantation of fanaticism in religious strife to the New World. Even before Menendez had reassembled his forces, which were scattered by a storm in crossing the ocean, he gained an important success. He succeeded in creeping in by night between the French fleet, anchored at San Mateo, and the land, and in driving it from the coast.

Instead of attacking Fort Carolina from the sea, Menendez surprised it from the land side after a difficult march through the forest, and, meeting with scarcely any resistance, overmastered the garrison, suffering very slight loss himself. Meanwhile the French fleet had been wrecked during the storm, and the crews were thrown on the coast in so defenceless a condition that they had no alternative but to surrender unconditionally. Menendez showed no pity to them in their helplessness, and spared only those who professed the Catholic faith; the rest he slew, "not as Frenchmen, but as heretics." This was barbarous severity; but he was only obeying his sovereign's orders, and he had never concealed the fact that every heretic he could lay hands on was doomed.

Frenchmen Slain as Heretics

But Menendez's work was not one of destruction only; he was commissioned to colonise Florida for Spain. Accordingly, on the spot where he first landed, he founded the little town of St. Augustine, the oldest town in the United States, which, though several times shifted, has had an uninterrupted existence up to the present day. A second settlement that he founded on the site of Arx Carolina had a less happy fate. It was taken by assault some years later by French Protestants under De Gourgues, who, to avenge his fallen countrymen and co-religionists, mercilessly put to death all Spaniards who fell into his hands, "not as Spaniards, but as murderers"—a grim retort to Menendez.

But Charles IX. disclaimed this deed as an act of unjustifiable piracy, and made complete and express renunciation of his claims to the coast of Florida, where the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine slowly developed and long resisted all foreign encroachments. Here in the south, France lightly gave up all her colonial aspirations; but on the other hand she had already begun to establish herself, beginning in the extreme north-east. These latter claims she persisted in much more tenaciously, and had indeed the idea of using the ground gained as a starting-point to bring the whole of the North American continent under her sway. As early as 1535 Jacques Cartier undertook a voyage of discovery along the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, and though those regions showed little wealth, he returned the following year to continue his exploration. On this second journey he went farther up the Gulf of St. Lawrence than before, and discovered the great river of the same name that flows into it. Cartier followed the river upstream and, with his ships, reached the site of Quebec; then he pushed on with smaller vessels as far as the Indian capital, Hochelaga, the modern Montreal.

France's Great Ambitions in North America

The swiftness of the impetuous stream prevented him from continuing his exploration farther, so he returned to the fleet and spent a severe winter at its anchorage, suffering heavy losses. Next year he returned to France with the first cargo of Canadian furs, carrying with him some Indian chiefs, who pined under the

change of scene and climate and died in Europe. In 1541, Cartier returned to the St. Lawrence, built a fort at Cape Rouge seven miles above Quebec, and thence proceeding to Hochelaga, spent in all nearly a year in the country. As he sailed out of the St. Lawrence Gulf, De Roberval sailed in. The latter had been despatched by Francis I. as governor of the newly found territory; and after building a fort at Charlesbourg, close to Quebec, and spending an extremely uncomfortable year with an unruly company, he evacuated the country and returned to France. The quest of precious metals would seem to have been the main inspiration of these early expeditions, which now ceased altogether for the rest of the century, in any serious sense, owing to the internal distractions which agitated France. Fishermen from several European nations, however, resorted even thus early to the waters about Newfoundland, and many from various motives penetrated to the shores of the mainland and into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. A number of French traders had even settled at Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the southern continent without carrying their explorations far to the north; and Cartier's first attempts at starting a North-American colony had come to an end before the sixteenth century was half over. The English had rested content with the expeditions of the Cabots. But the spirit was stirring which, early in the 'fifties, sent Willoughby and Chancellor to search for a north-east, instead of a north-west, passage to the Indies, and to "discover" Muscovy.

Yet for another twenty years the English exploits were limited to those expeditions to the Spanish Main and the Spanish seas for the purpose of compelling the Spaniards to trade with them, which reached their climax in the affair of John Hawkins—with Drake—at San Juan d'Ulloa and Drake's raid on Nombre de Dios. With 1575 the horizon enlarged; for in that year John Oxenham built ships on the Isthmus of Panama, and launched them in the Pacific Ocean. In 1578, Drake passed the Straits of Magellan, and discovered that Tierra del Fuego was not a portion of a fabled continent in southern seas; and after harrying the South-American ports, he had sailed, in 1579, to a more northerly point on the Californian coast than any Europeans had hitherto reached,

ARX CAROLINA: THE HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT AT CHARLESTON, IN SOUTH CAROLINA
Religious persecution in France during the latter half of the seventeenth century compelled a company of French Huguenots to emigrate to North America, where, in South Carolina, they first settled, choosing as their home the site on which Charleston is now situated, and naming their settlement "Arx Carolina." Here they lived for a number of years in peace, free to worship in their own way, and on a footing of equality with the rest of the population.

where the natives offered him divine honours; after which he completed his circumnavigation of the globe. In these same years, Martin Frobisher had taken up the search for the north-west passage, visiting Greenland and discovering Frobisher Sound. It is curious to note that on the first of his three voyages, the larger of his two ships was of no more than twenty-five tons burden. And before England and Spain fought out the great Armada duel, John Davis had matched Frobisher's exploits in three Arctic voyages, and had given his name to Davis Strait. But raids in Spanish waters, and discoveries in the frozen regions, did not by any means conduce to the establishment of settlements. The Englishman whose imagination first conceived the idea of real colonial expansion was Humphrey Gilbert, the elder half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Newfoundland the Oldest English Colony

The codbanks of Newfoundland—which, together with an indefinitely wide expanse of the continent, had received the somewhat unintelligible name of Norumbega—had become a resort for fishing-fleets of all nations; but since Cartier's day no one had tried to effect a permanent settlement. The English, however, had a kind of first claim, in virtue of Cabot's discoveries made in the English service. Humphrey Gilbert got from Elizabeth a patent for the colonisation of Norumbega; to which he attempted to give effect in 1578, and again in 1583. To this attempt Newfoundland owes her claim to be "the oldest English colony." But the attempt itself failed hopelessly; and Gilbert himself perished on the voyage home.

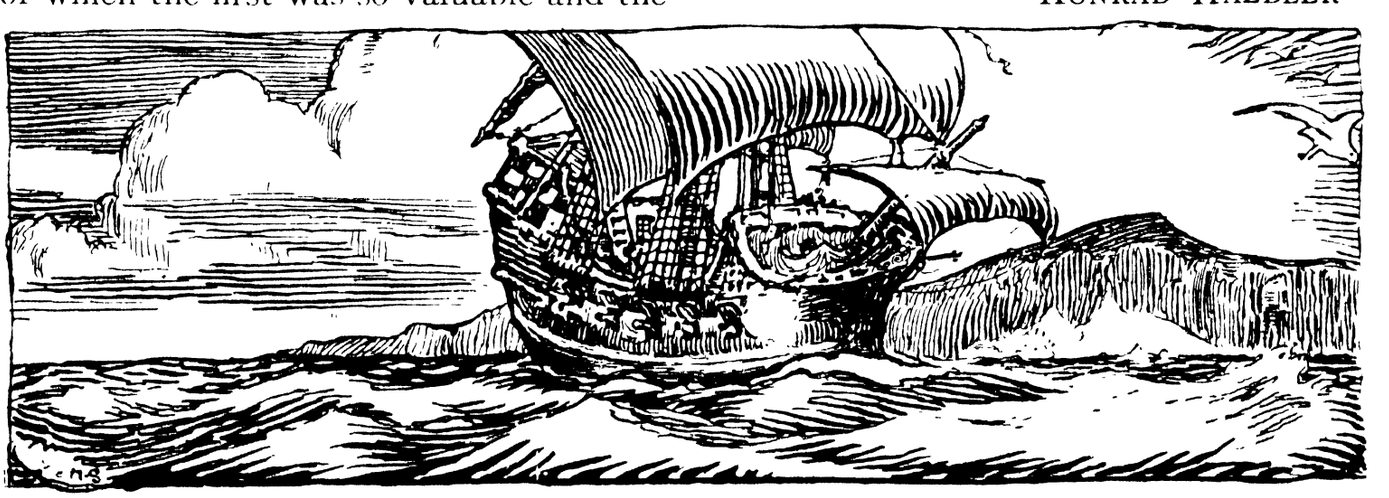
But Gilbert's inspiration had possessed the soul of his half-brother. Walter Raleigh never set foot in North America himself, in spite of his two Guiana voyages, of which the first was so valuable and the second so disastrous. Nevertheless, it was on persistent attempts to realise Gilbert's ideal that Raleigh sank most of his fortune. Adventurers enough were ready to seek for El Dorados, Tom Tiddler's grounds, where gold and silver could be picked up—with the chance, in default thereof, of sacking a Spanish galleon or two.

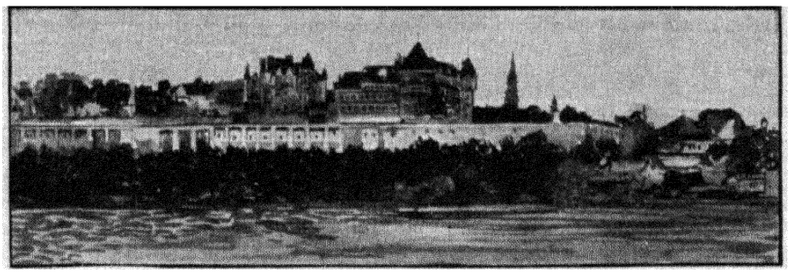
The golden city of Manoa had attractions for Raleigh himself. But he was emphatically the prophet—forthteller and foreteller, too—of the only true doctrine of expansion; of settlement on the soil; of conquering Nature in the new land and making her yield store of other wealth than precious metals; of finding new homes for the English people beyond the limits of their little island. In the year after Gilbert's disaster, Raleigh sent an expedition which established a settlement at Roanoake, in what is now Carolina, giving it the name of Virginia, in honour of Elizabeth. A reinforcement was sent the next year; but when a third company went out, in 1586, they found that their predecessors had thrown up the cards, and had come away on the ships with which Drake had just raided Cartagena.

A party remained; but each time that a relief was sent it found desolation. Raleigh's efforts had failed; colonisation had not proved a short cut to unlimited wealth. When the seventeenth century opened, neither English nor French, nor Dutch, had succeeded in securing a footing on American soil. But the seed had been sown in the minds of all there, to bear harvest in the coming centuries. We shall follow first the French expansion, and then the English—the latter including the Dutch interlude—until the two forces come into direct collision, and the two narratives coalesce in the story of the struggle *à outrance* between the rivals.

The Seed of the Coming Harvest

KONRAD HAEBLER





THE FRENCH DOMINION IN AMERICA

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA

A LONG time passed after Cartier's day before attempts at settlement were renewed by the French Government; but there were always French vessels on the Newfoundland Banks, that traded also in furs on the St. Lawrence, and this trade turned out to be so profitable that early in the seventeenth century a number of Breton traders combined and succeeded in obtaining a monopoly for their company from the French king, Henry IV. The form of this Canadian colony was peculiar from the beginning. It was intermediate between a trading company and a Crown colony.

The intention of the founders, Pontgravé, Chauvin and De Monts, was only to carry on the fur trade more vigorously and to organise it on a better footing. Their settlement, Tadoussac, at the junction of the Saguenay and the St. Lawrence, was intended to be nothing more than a trading station. But when Samuel de Champlain entered the service of the company in 1603, not only were the aims of the undertaking widened, but its political status was gradually altered, the state gaining more influence, and at the same time assuming more responsibility. In 1612 Count de Soissons was set at the head of the Canadian enterprise as viceroy; and the fact that a second prince of the royal family followed him in this position tended in no small degree to impress upon the colonial enterprise a more and more official character.

Beginning of French Colonisation

But, however, the economic conditions of the colony stood in strange contradiction to this. Till well into the eighteenth century the French Canadian settlements kept their character as trading factories and mission stations. Women, with the exception of nuns, were as rare as true settlers. The population was principally composed of soldiers, traders and priests; and for many years the colonies remained dependent on their imports from Europe and on barter with the natives. The colonies were not in a position to feed themselves till they passed into the hands of the English, when their constitution underwent a radical change. In spite of this a thoroughly characteristic feature of French colonial administration was the need for expansion, and that to an almost unlimited extent, out of all proportion to the strength of the colony. This was partly the consequence of the economic state of the colony. The receipts from the fur-trade had to cover the expenditure, which, in spite of the moderate number of the colonists, continually increased.

The French Colossus with Feet of Clay

This was possible only so long as a trade monopoly in an extensive region was assured; and, to accomplish this, effective possession became more and more necessary as the advance guard of Dutch and English colonies made its way over the Alleghanies and entered into competition with the French hunters and fur-traders. But in considering the disproportionate need for expansion we must not under-estimate the influence of a number of individual discoverers, possessed of marked characteristics, who acidentally came together in this Canadian movement, and who, in spite of temporary failure, were continually giving a new impulse for advance. Thus the provinces of Canada and Louisiana developed in time into the colossus with feet of clay that the French colonial empire proved to be when put to the actual test. The first of the discoverers who played so great a part in the expansion of New France, the real founder of Canada, was Samuel de Champlain. From 1603 to 1616 he was connected with the French colonial government, being either in its service or at its head. But the interests of the government or of the trading company never tied his hands, even where his own interests were most intimately connected with them. The unfailing spell

Champlain the Real Founder of Canada

that drew him across the ocean into the solitudes of the West was an ardent desire to unravel the secrets of those remote tracts, and to claim as French all that might come to light in their primeval forests.

Champlain was born at Brouage in 1567, and came of a family of fishermen. In the year 1603 De Chastes, governor of Dieppe, having persuaded Henry IV. to sanction the opening up of Canada for trade, despatched two vessels to the St. Lawrence, under the command of a Breton merchant, Pontgravé, with whom, as navigator, he sent Champlain, the latter having already had considerable experience of the North American coast. On this occasion they only visited Hochelaga, and did some surveying in the neighbourhood, among other things making an unsuccessful attempt to pass the Lachine rapids, which have become so familiar to the modern tourist. On returning to France they found that De Chastes had died in their absence; but a new company was immediately formed for trade and colonisation under the presidency of the Sieur de Monts, a personal friend of the king.

French Pioneers in Canada

It was now decided to confine their attention to La Cadie (Acadia) and abandon for the present the St. Lawrence country, which was already known as Canada, its Indian name, or sometimes as New France, both terms being used irrespectively till it was lost to the French Crown. Associated with De Monts were the Baron de Pontrincourt, a nobleman of Picardy, and Champlain. The venture was supported by Protestant merchants of Rochelle.

The suspicions of the Catholics were allayed by a grant to them of a monopoly in the matter of Indian conversion, while De Monts and his friends were given a monopoly of the fur-trade, a scarcely equitable division of interests according to modern ideas; but the ardour among the Latin Catholic nations of that period for converting the heathen, if only in outward symbolic form, was almost as strong as the love of gain which among the Spaniards disfigured their missionary zeal and was disgraced by deeds of appalling cruelty. The adventurers made their first settlement on the west shore of the Bay of Fundy, at the mouth of a river which they named St. Croix, and which now separates the state of Maine from the province of New Brunswick.

The French Zeal in Trade and Missions

De Monts, who held the king's commission as lieutenant of Canada, now made a grant to his friend Pontrincourt of territory on the eastern shore of the bay, adjacent to the site of what afterwards became Annapolis in Acadia, the modern Nova Scotia. He named it Port Royal, and sailed to France for the purpose of collecting settlers. Here he found small interest shown in the new colony; but, in the meantime, De Monts arrived with the news that the St. Croix site had proved unsatisfactory, and that the settlers had moved across to the Annapolis River.

The two now set to work to enlist colonists, and in May, 1606, Pontrincourt sailed for Acadia with a heterogeneous and turbulent company. Arriving at Port Royal, he found the fort there occupied only by a faithful Indian and a couple of Frenchmen, and learned that Champlain, Pontgravé, and the rest had just sailed for France. The little company spent a pleasant if unprofitable time fraternising with the Indians, improving land, fishing, exploring, and keeping up the social amenities with jest and song, and good living. But as Protestants, and even more, perhaps, as monopolists, home jealousies proved too strong; and, to their sorrow, they soon learned from dispatches sent by a ship that their charter was withdrawn. This was in 1607, and there was nothing for it now but to abandon the settlement.

Struggle for Territory in North America

Though De Monts and Pontrincourt succeeded after three years in reconciling the government to their claims in a more restricted form, and renewing the thin thread of French occupation in Acadia, little more can be said of it here. The English, on the strength of the Cabot voyages, never gave up their claims to this region. Armed with government authority, and sometimes with territorial charters of land, they frequently attacked the French, and sometimes turned them out, to occupy their seats till the wheel of fortune or some treaty between the nations restored the status quo. The labours of devout ladies and Jesuit priests among the Micmac Indians give some colour to this earlier period, as do the dreams of gentlemen adventurers who vainly fancied that titles to a vast wilderness were a road to territorial importance in the New World. The English, too, associated their efforts at Acadian settlement with an aristocratic flavour, which produced the well-known

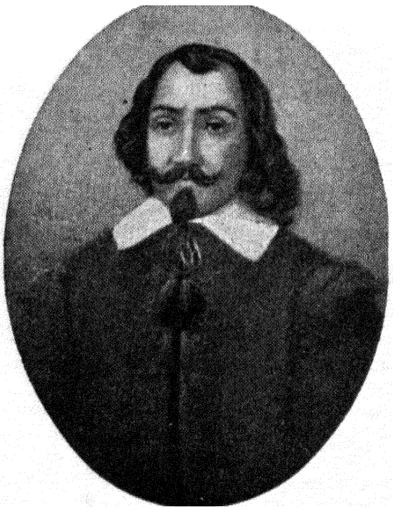
order of Nova Scotia baronets. But Acadia, wrapped as it was in its forest mantle, remained profoundly irresponsive to the claims of English baronets or the dreams of grand seigneurs.

Its story, till it was handed over definitely to Great Britain in 1713 at the Treaty of Utrecht, with a thousand or two isolated unlettered French settlers on the western shore, is largely one of trifling events, and lies almost wholly outside the course of French Canadian history proper, with which its isolated community had scarcely any concern whatever.

New France was in reality founded at Quebec by Champlain, after his prospects in Acadia had been interfered with in the manner just described. While De Monts was in France endeavouring to get a renewal of his monopoly of the fur-trade, Champlain and Pontgravé went out as his representatives in 1608, and, making for their old haunts up the St. Lawrence, fixed their headquarters on the site now covered by the lower town of Quebec, and there erected buildings and storehouses. In this year, 1608, too, it may be of interest to note that the only attempts at European colonisation north of Mexico were represented by the struggling handful of English at Jamestown in Virginia, and a small colony of Spaniards at St. Augustine, Florida. By 1610, De Monts had secured his trading monopoly, though not till Champlain had crossed the ocean to assist him. For most of the next twenty-four years Champlain remained in Canada, exploring, working up the fur-trade, and dealing both in peace and war with the Indians, on whose friendship the trade, not to say the existence of the handful of French, depended. At the beginning of his enterprise Champlain was convinced that the friendship of the Indians was absolutely necessary to him if he was to carry out his plans. The natives who came down the St. Lawrence to Quebec and Tadoussac to barter furs belonged chiefly to the Huron race and to some Algonquin tribes who lived near the Hurons, and were allied with them against their common enemy, the Iroquois, who lived to the east and south-east. As the way to the unknown west belonged to them, Champlain did not hesitate to ally himself with them, and he even went so far as to buy their services by helping them against the Iroquois, a decisive step which was to influence Canada for generations. Like all adventurers of his day, he lived in hopes of discovering the great western sea, which was the route to China, and, like the rest, believed the continent at this point to be comparatively narrow. The first campaign, undertaken in the region where Lake Champlain still keeps alive the memory of the discoverer, was so successful that it greatly increased the consideration in which the Europeans were held by their savage allies. In this respect Champlain had completely carried out his intentions. That he had drawn upon his fellow countrymen the undying hostility of the Iroquois did not appear a matter worthy of consideration to him or to anybody else; nor, considering the superiority of European weapons, would it have become so serious a matter as it did but for the fact that European enemies of France now naturally allied themselves with the Iroquois and provided them with weapons that placed them on equal terms with the whites in battle, and rendered them very dangerous opponents to the scattered and sparsely populated French settlements. Champlain could now, under the protection of the Hurons and their allies, explore the country about the St. Lawrence in all directions. The limits to which he extended French influence were Lake Champlain in the south-east, the middle Saguenay in the north, and in the west Lake Huron, which he reached by way of the Ottawa and Nipissing, without, however, gaining any clear conception of the great system of North American lakes.

Champlain's Relations with the Natives

The Iroquois Hostile to the French



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN
When Quebec was taken by the British, in 1629, he was carried to England, but on the restoration of Canada to the French, in 1632, he was re-appointed governor.

Champlain did even more to strengthen French influence; he summoned missionaries to Canada. Those interested in the trading company looked unfavourably upon the extra expense entailed by this, the more so because the endeavours of the

missionaries to get the Indians to settle were prejudicial to the fur-trade; but the influence of the French Government and Champlain's lofty views gained a complete victory over the narrower opinions of the traders. Some priests of the order of Rècollets arrived in 1615, and they built at Quebec the first permanent church in North America. But although Protestant interests were strongly represented in the company, and hostility to the Jesuits was most pronounced, yet this order, which deserves all praise for its missionary work, could not be permanently kept out of the Canadian settlements. From 1625 they worked side by side with the Franciscans.

The First Church in Canada

How zealously they engaged in the conversion of the Indians of the north is shown by the extent of the literature which the brothers of the order have published on their work in Canada. A change took place with the interference of Richelieu in Canadian affairs. The Company of New France, commonly known as the "Hundred Associates," was formed, and received a monopoly of the fur-trade from Florida to the Arctic Seas. Above all, after the fall of Rochelle, that fatal interdict on Huguenot immigration was decreed, which perhaps lost North America to France, and changed the history of the world.

Even in these early times Canada had once been in danger of falling into the hands of the English. In 1621, Sir William Alexander received from James I. a charter to found a colony under the name of Nova Scotia. Its boundaries included the greater part of the French colony. When war broke out between England and France, Alexander attempted to enforce his claims. His ships repeatedly forced a passage up the St. Lawrence, and, by capturing French ships, almost completely cut off communication between Quebec and the Mother Country. In 1628 Alexander's ships appeared before Quebec and demanded its surrender; and it was only Champlain's ability that caused them to retreat with their object unattained. But they returned next year, and the colonists, exhausted by a severe winter, which was doubly hard on account of the absence of help from Europe, offered no resistance. The colonists, and Champlain himself, were carried off to Plymouth. Canada was at this moment in the hands of the English. But a treaty of peace had already been concluded in Europe, and by it the possessions of both parties were to remain unchanged. Both Acadia and Canada were thus given up by the British, and French Canada by this means was enabled to prolong an honourable existence for more than a hundred years.

Canada in the Hands of the English

Champlain again returned to Quebec, and did much for the Canadian colony before he ended his life there in 1635. The English claims were practically nullified; the peace with the Hurons was again confirmed; and far up the St. Lawrence, at Three Rivers, a new settlement was founded. Still greater deeds were projected by him, but he received no news of their fulfilment before his death. Jean Nicolet, one of his most distinguished followers, had meanwhile revisited Lake Huron by the old route, and had then gone on through the Strait of Mackinac into Lake Michigan and far along its western shore.

He failed, indeed, to discover the geological structure of the basin of these lakes and their peculiar connection; but in making alliances with the Indians as far as the Fox River he paved a way that became of great importance in the future. The failure so far to make anything more than a trading centre of the St. Lawrence is shown by the fact that there were at this date only some 200 Frenchmen in the whole country. The population, in fact, were merely servants of a trading-company, quartered for the most part in wholesale barrack fashion. Between the years 1632 and 1640 nearly 100 genuine farmers, mainly from Perche, Normandy, Picardy and Champagne, arrived, and were the original progenitors of the modern Canadian habitant. Nearly all of them either brought wives or found them in the colony. In the next twenty years, until the end of the company's rule, about 200 more came. They were prolific, and prospered, and by this time understood how to face the harder conditions of life in the colony. Nineteen-twentieths of them, says M. Sulte, who has exhaustively studied the question, have descendants in the colony to-day.

Canada's Slow Growth Under the French

The Indians were now more formidable, from the fact that they were acquiring firearms from the traders of New England, particularly the Iroquois and the five nations, whose territory lay to the south of the great lakes Erie and Ontario. North of the lakes were Algonquins and

Hurons, while Acadia and what is now New Brunswick, speaking broadly, were occupied by Micmacs and Abernakis, who took no part in the struggle for Canada as here understood. These nations were highly organised, their various tribes living in stockaded villages, each being represented in the general council by two chiefs, one for peace and one for war. All of them, except the Micmacs and Abernakis, were tillers of the soil, and cultivated maize, pumpkins and tobacco.

The sub-tribe dwelt in its separate village, divided again into clans, each of which had its own long house. Chastity not being held in repute, relationship counted only on the mother's side, and each clan thus derived and held together had its badge or token, which was tattooed on the bodies of the males, and displayed over the entrance of the Long Hall. These nations—the Algonquins, Hurons and Iroquois—spoke different languages; while their several tribes spoke dialects of the same tongue, differing more or less, but at all events sufficiently alike to admit of common discussion. Such, broadly speaking, were the savage nations, among whom the lot of the French Canadians were cast, and who played such a vital and important part in their history. For it was not in trade only that the relations of the two races became so intimate, but in almost every Indian village, from the great western lakes to the Saguenay, the fearless and indefatigable Catholic missioner in his black robe became a familiar spectacle.

The Fearless French Missionaries

Even among the friendly Hurons and Algonquins, however, his offices were regarded for a long time with suspicion. But men who were ready to face torture and death among the hostile Iroquois, and did so, were not likely to be discouraged by the mere obstinacy of their allies. Those outward forms, at any rate, of conversion, which at that period had a significance for the Jesuit that to non-Catholics appears almost incredible, were accepted by an ever-increasing number of savages. Pictures seem to have been the most efficacious means of influence, while in the far-scattered mission chapels the fathers did not disdain to add material hospitality to the attractions of their religious faith.

Nor did they, like their New England contemporaries, show indifference to the Indian dialects and insist, as it were, that the learning of the European tongue must be concurrent with the learning of Christianity. The French priests were, beyond doubt, intellectually superior to the others. They toiled at the various Indian dialects, and addressed each tribe in its own tongue, thus winning the confidence of the natives not merely for themselves, but for their nation, and by their far superior enterprise carried its reputation into the remote and distant regions. The English colonists, on the other hand, though not devoid of missionary zeal, and more exacting in some show of practical morality from their converts, were content with slower and more thorough work in the neighbourhood of their own settlements.

Indians Under French Influence

The French, as might be expected, acquired by these means, and with some further advantage in national temperament, an influence over the Indians far greater than that of their English neighbours, who owed such as they had rather to their traders than to their preachers. The one exception to this, as we have said, was the most powerful of all the Indian combinations, that of the five nations, commonly known as the Iroquois. With these the French, as allies of their inveterate enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, could make no headway. They made overtures to the New Englanders for some kind of union against the dreaded people who lay at the back of both colonies; but the English, fortunately for themselves, declined.

For many a time in after years the Iroquois could have turned the scale in Anglo-French disputes. As it was, their consistent attachment to the English, chiefly as the better customers in trade, remained one of the great facts of North American politics till the Indian had ceased to count. It was in 1648 that the Iroquois crossed into Canada and set to work to exterminate the Huron nation, who were scattered over what is now the great province of Ontario, and were more numerous than their foes. The latter, however, practically succeeded in their bloody task, one remnant of the Hurons seeking permanent refuge on the Isle of Orleans under the very guns of Quebec. Even then they were not safe, for in 1656 the Iroquois fell upon them and carried off their women in sight of the French, who were not strong enough to interfere, and already had fifty prisoners in the hands of the savages. The

Iroquois' Slaughter of the Hurons

destruction of the Hurons came to very nearly destroying for a time the French fur-trade. Montmagny had succeeded to the governorship on Champlain's death. The enterprise of the Jesuits had become known in France, and stimulated a great interest in Canada, particularly of a religious kind. Devout women of good family had arrived in Quebec, bringing money and enthusiasm to the building of churches and hospitals, Madame de la Petrie and Marie Gugard being among the most prominent. It was in 1641, too, that Montreal was founded by a band of enthusiasts, though actually a sub-company of the Hundred Associates, with a title to the land, headed by Maisonneuve and Mlle. Mance, another devotee.

Religious Enthusiasts Found Montreal

They were detained by the winter in Quebec, where many objections were raised to their enterprise. With forty men and four women, however, they persevered, and a granite monument to their success may to-day be seen amid the busy stir of Montreal where its first rude buildings, then known as the Ville Marie, clustered round their protecting battery. In 1659, under the influence of Mlle. Mance and the Sulpitians, Montreal was reinforced by some 200 souls, including thirty marriageable maidens and some nuns. The Jesuit interest pounced upon them, but they were nevertheless soon absorbed into a population which then contained 150 men, fifty of whom were married. The new town, it may be remarked, was not yet even palisaded. A stone windmill formed its chief refuge of defence, and the lurking Iroquois made it unsafe to venture beyond the small area of cleared ground.

The Jesuits were now almost dominant in the colony, and religious fervour is the leading note of all contemporary chronicles. The Hotel Dieu was already founded at Quebec; so also was the now noted convent of the Ursulines with the Jesuit church and college. Fort St. Louis, the permanent seat of government, bristling with cannon, towered above all other buildings, and the whole aspect of the place must have been that of the crusading missionary rather than the trader. Agriculture, from the attractions of the fur-trade on the one hand, and the vigilance of the hostile Iroquois on the other, made slow way, and nearly all supplies were imported from France.

St. Louis the Seat of Government

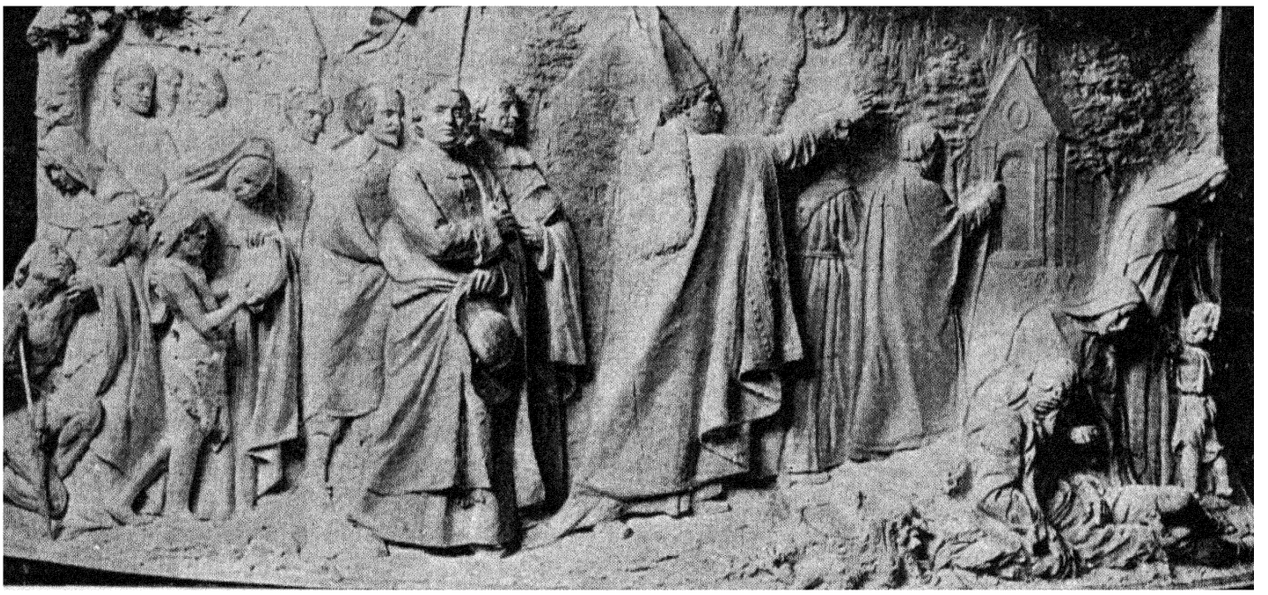
Montreal was already becoming the chief point of trade, fronting as it did the western wilderness whence issued the Indians, laden with their annual toll of which the beaver-skin was the principal staple—the unit, too, of value and currency in the colony, as tobacco was in Virginia.

Religious exaltation, generated by fearless Jesuit priests and lay devotees, often of noble blood, both men and women, was the electric current which nerved these isolated communities to face incredible hardships and continual dangers. Material fortune, the natural aim of colonists in all times, seems here to have been almost in abeyance. The bulk of the population employed in the fur-trade were, in fact, only servants of the companies.

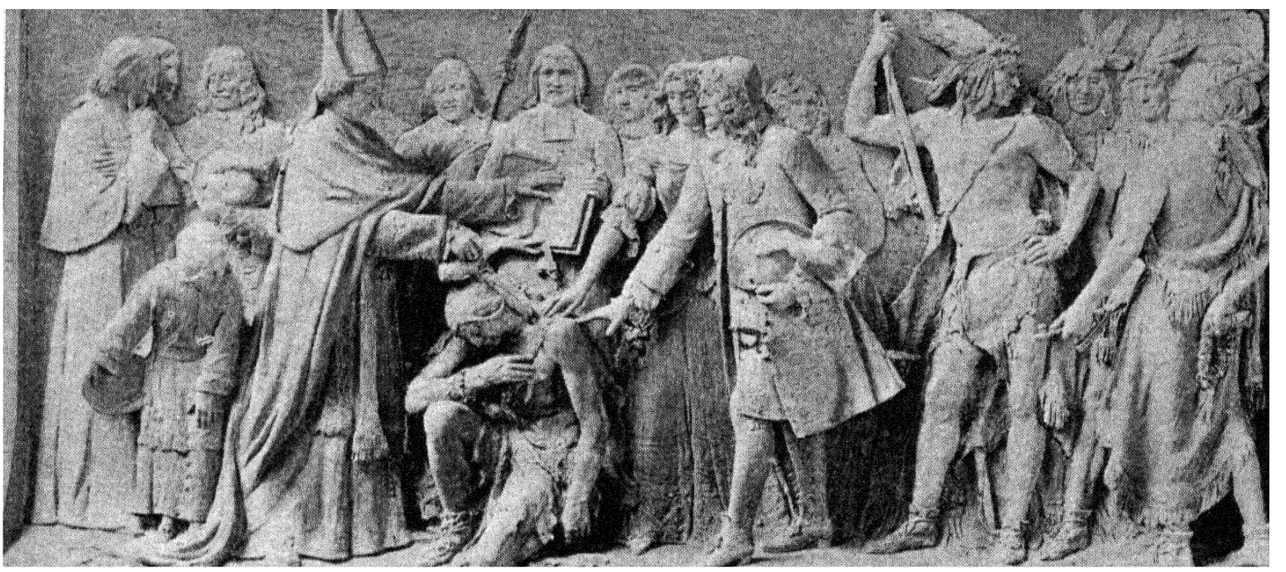
If the ascetic and missionary side of the life did not appeal to them in spirit, they had outwardly to conform to it, and there is no doubt that the discipline of the settlements lent a contrasting charm to the liberty of the wild woods and made hopeless nomads of innumerable Frenchmen who might, under other conditions, have become useful farmers. A blend of natural gallantry and religious fanaticism gave rise to many heroic deeds other than that notorious and frequent courting of death and torture by the missionaries themselves. Here is one of them: In 1660 there was a rumour that 1,000 Iroquois were together at the mouth of the Ottawa for the destruction of Montreal; whereupon a band of sixteen enthusiasts, with arms and ammunition, left the town, and at the rapids of the Long Sault ensconced themselves within a log redoubt and, pledged to neither give nor take quarter, calmly awaited certain death. They maintained a heroic and bloody resistance against hundreds of savages till they met their inevitable fate. The motive of this exalted heroism was to sober the Iroquois by some striking exhibition of French valour; nor, it should be said, did they die in vain.

Brave Deeds of Gallant Frenchmen

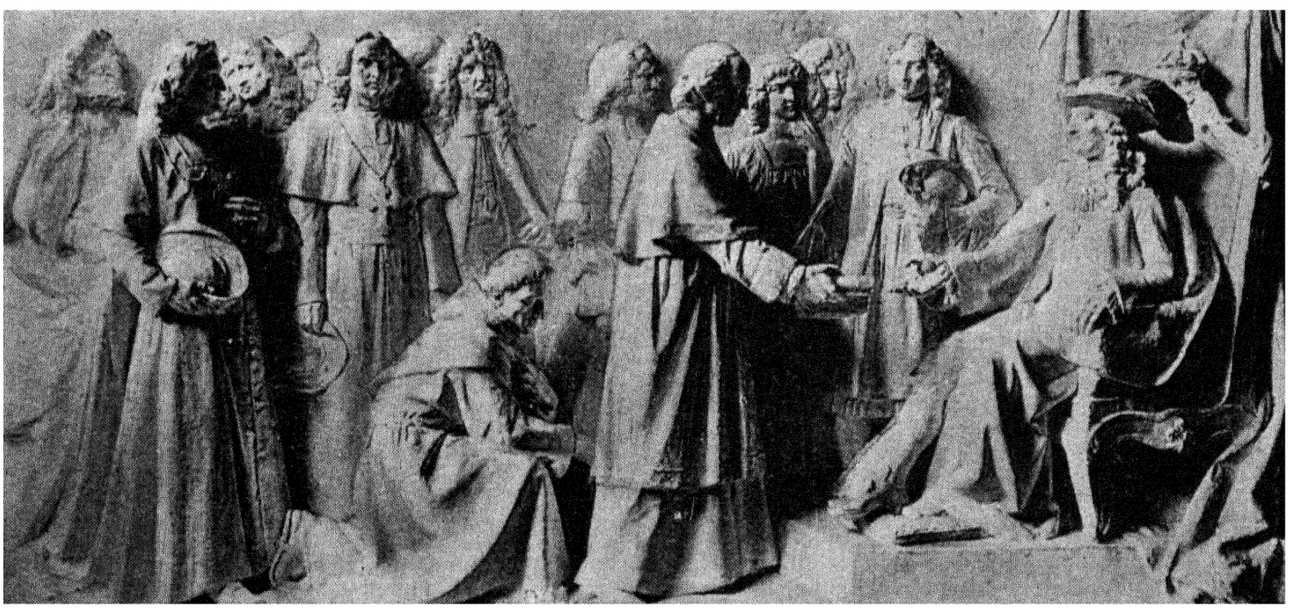
In 1663 the able Colbert was put in charge of the French colonial department by the young king, Louis XIV., and at once set to work sweeping changes in Canada, which contained up till now no more than 2,000 French inhabitants, 800 of whom were in Quebec. He annulled the charter of the Hundred Associates, which had till then enjoyed a monopoly of trade with Canada, transferring the



LAVAL, AFTER LANDING, VISITING A CHAPEL IN THE FOREST



THE BAPTISM BY LAVAL OF THE IROQUOIS INDIAN CAPTAIN, GARAKONTIE



THE VICAR OF THE POPE AT THE COURT OF LOUIS XIV

SCENES IN BAS-RELIEF FROM THE LIFE AND WORK OF LAVAL

Photos, Neurdein

privilege to the great French West India Company, which, by its activity did much to infuse new life into Canadian enterprise.

The lake region was soon thoroughly explored in all directions, and the ascendancy of French influence was assured by the establishment of mission-stations and trading depots. Of these the most important were at Sault Sainte-Marie, between Lake Superior and Lake Huron; near Mackinac, between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan; and at Niagara Falls. De Courcelles was sent out as governor with a much abler man, the famous Talon, as intendant, to keep an eye on him in the king's interest—a mistrustful form of government that was continued to the end of the French regime. The Carringnan regiment, which had distinguished itself against the Turks, was also sent with a view to ultimate settlement in the country, and many batches of emigrants, male and female, amounting in all, with the soldiers, to some 2,000 souls, arrived there within a few years. The fortifications at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers—the last midway between the two towns, and now acquiring importance—were strengthened, and forts were built along the line of the Richelieu to watch the Iroquois.

Progress of Trade and Missions

The king himself took an active interest in the colony, while another great name in Canadian history made its appearance at this time—namely, that of Laval, first as Pope's vicar, then as bishop. The Sulpitians, who were strong in Montreal, had attempted to dispute the Jesuit supremacy. But the arrival of Laval, wholly in sympathy with the latter, high born, wealthy, able and fearless, settled the matter. Pledged to uphold the supremacy of the Church in Canada, he proved on many occasions too much for the secular government. Hostility to the liquor trade, which was demoralising the Indians, but was considered as one of the mainsprings of the fur-trade, and the endowing of those seminaries in Quebec, now represented by the famous university that bears his name, are the chief actions that occur to one in connection with this powerful and ascetic ecclesiastic. It was his influence, too, that caused the dissolution of the company of the Hundred Associates.

Laval's Great Work for Canada

He endeavoured to enforce, and sometimes succeeded-in so doing, the well known doctrine that the Church should control the secular as well as the religious affairs of the colony, and he had one governor recalled at his own dictation. His name is remembered as the most powerful exponent of those Ultramontane doctrines for which French Canada in a greater or less degree has been distinguished up to the present day.

It was at this epoch, indeed, that the scheme of government and social organisation was planned under which French Canada for good or ill was to work out its destiny. This, in short, was an absolutism, and may be described as a triumvirate, consisting of the governor, the bishop and the intendant, who managed the finances, besides reporting confidentially to the king on the governor's actions and conduct. The three often pulled different ways in settling a decree, but when issued, it had to be unquestioningly obeyed. The land was divided into districts, parishes and seigneuries—the first for purposes of defence, in which an enrolled militia played an important part; the second for ecclesiastical convenience; while the third, the seigneuries, were large tracts of several square leagues apiece, mostly fronting on one or other bank of the St. Lawrence, granted to individuals, who constituted an order of noblesse. These people were sometimes officers, members themselves of the *petite noblesse* of France, but quite as often men of no birth, who could afford the moderate sums to qualify for enrolment in this somewhat curious aristocracy.

New Scheme of Social Government

The land was held from the Crown in quasi-feudal fashion, though not by military service, as the militia was separately organised under distinct captains, who were only incidentally, though almost inevitably, seigneurs. But the seigneur was looked upon as holding his estate in trust, as it were, for the Crown. So much, at least, of dignity was conceded to him, if his rents were microscopic. He could not dispose of it in part, while even the transfer of the whole carried a very heavy fine. The whole country being heavily timbered, the tenants, or *censitaires*, of these seigneuries had to hew their little farms painfully out of the woods, and, of course, erect their own buildings. Theirs was not the energy and ambition of Anglo-Saxon freeholders in the forests to the south of them. Many causes—temperament, the fascinations of the fur-trade, a reactionary government, a stagnant industrial atmosphere—kept the clearings small and the seigneuries

mainly wrapped in unproductive forest. Rents, such as they were, were paid in kind. Corn had to be ground at the seigneural mill, and certain fines were due to the lord on sale or transfer of his tenants' holdings. But for a generation or two the seigneur, if he held no commission or small office, was almost as poor as his tenantry. He had absolutely no part in the government of his country, nor was his opinion asked upon any single question, while his judicial powers were confined to the pettiest matters. Nevertheless, he played a necessary and not ignoble part.

In those dangerous and arduous exploits against either white or Indian foes, whether as militia captain or otherwise, he made the very best of partisan leaders; while as an explorer he was equally in his element. With the spirits of such rude health as a simple life in a bracing climate generates, and the pride of caste, whether inbred or acquired, he made an ideal instrument for such work as the peculiar French system for developing Canada required, and is a highly picturesque, historical figure when viewed against his wild and romantic background.

The Early Builders of Canada

The seigneurs as a unit of organisation served to keep the tillers of the soil in touch and in hand. The latter could not straggle out in solitary clearings all over the country beyond the reach of the military or ecclesiastical authority, to be a constant mark to the Indian tomahawk. They were practically tied to the soil, though all had more of it for a long time than they could clear and cultivate, and it was reasonably fertile, the restraint was mainly theoretical.

Certainly it was not felt. The social instinct of the French, too; was by this system preserved and encouraged then as now, for the French Canadian holding was long and narrow, so that the dwellings, which stood at the end of it upon the road—or more often river—as the chief artery of travel, were in neighbourly propinquity, and the banks of the St. Lawrence began in time to assume the form they do to-day, of a continuous, if somewhat disconnected, street.

The Iroquois all this time had been more than aggressive—they were contemptuous. They had wiped out the Hurons—the allies of the French—and confined the industrial and domestic life of the latter to the range of their own guns. Even more; for the Onondagas, who were the nearest and the least inimical of the five nations, had virtually compelled the presence of a mission settlement in their country, the members of which lived in daily peril of their lives. De Courcelles, the first Crown governor, in 1665, with the rashness of inexperience, had marched in the dead of winter with 600 men against the Mohawk village. But he never got there. After floundering for weeks in the wintry wilderness, harassed by Indians, he returned ignominiously, with considerable loss. The murder of several French officers by Mohawks stirred the French to a greater effort, and an experienced soldier, the Marquess de Tracy, now headed a force of 1,300 men, regulars and militia, against this tribe—the fiercest of the Iroquois confederacy. The Indians flinched from the unequal contest, and Tracy destroyed their villages, though these had been fortified under the guidance of the Dutch, who had that very year been handed over to the British Crown. This led to a peace for twenty years. Canada had rest, and was enabled to extend those settlements in the manner we have already treated of and to organise the nucleus of her seigneuries and parishes.

Frenchmen Assassinated by the Mohawks

Four thousand fresh emigrants were despatched to the country between 1667 and 1672 by the efforts of the king and his minister, including several batches of respectable girls, who were placed in charge of the nuns during the extremely brief period it required to find husbands for them. The last-mentioned year, too, saw the end of assisted emigration to Canada. Throughout the remaining century of the French regime the current flowed feebly. It is safe to say that the vast majority of modern French Canadians are descended from the 8,000 men and women who at this time were crystalised into a small nation, utterly distinct from those other varieties of another civilisation that were forming to the south of them. They represented the habits and ideas of the rural France of the seventeenth century, and no fresh influences except those engendered by mere physical surroundings ever contaminated them. Without education to speak of, or political life of any kind, or intercourse with other communities but savage ones, docile to the Catholic Church, ruled absolutely by a succession of officials from France, they remained in effect

Ancestors of Modern French Canadians

provincial Frenchmen, and, save for that special alertness which comes of familiarity with the wilderness, stereotyped seventeenth century France on the far-off shores of the River St. Lawrence.

Canada Before the Conquest

An overwhelming majority of these settlers had come from Normandy and the northern provinces; the rest mainly from the south-west, sailing from Rochelle. The south and south-east of France had nothing to do with peopling Canada, and, strange to say, the sea-going Breton took but a trifling part. The Norman was the best settler. He was hardy and used to growing at home the ordinary grain and grass crops that were suited to the soil of Canada. By the middle of the century there were already 3,000 cattle in the country besides a proportionate number of pigs and sheep, but as yet no horses, nor were these at all numerous till after the English conquest. Not all the settlers, however, came from the rural districts; indeed, quite a number unused to agricultural pursuits were imported, and these, by the not unwise paternalism of the government, were placed with farmers to learn the trade. Nor were the country people permitted to move into towns. Bounties were given for large families, and obdurate bachelors were heavily fined. So, in spite of a considerable infant mortality and a more than normal adult death rate from war and hardship, the 8,000 persons that Count Frontenac found in Canada in 1672 multiplied themselves eight times in the eighty years that ensued before the war of the English conquest, in 1756.

JOHN LAW

This financier, popular and powerful at the court of the regent, was at the head of the India Company, and under his régime speculation was indulged in which resulted in a great financial collapse.

About this time, too, France, in the person of the Sieur de Lusson, accompanied by the noted explorers Perrot and Joliet, took ceremonious possession, at the Sault St. Marie, of the great western lakes and territories; nor could a spot for making formal proclamation of such import, though responded to only in the moan of illimitable forest and the roar of mighty waters, have been selected more singularly appropriate than the shores of that broad, rocky channel where the frigid waters of Lake Superior in a mile of seething foam rush down into Lake Huron.

Hitherto the French explorers had been spurred on by the hope of finding by way of the Great Lakes a western passage to the seas of Cathay. But as travellers to the west found land ever before them, and rivers flowing east, more credit was given to the stories told by Indians about the "Father of Waters," whose name, Mississippi, was first learned by Europeans in 1670. Its exploration was then the problem before the adventurous French discoverers. With its solution the colonial power of France reached its highest point.

European Discovery of the Mississippi

The first Europeans to reach the Mississippi from the north were Joliet and Marquette. The former was, at Colbert's instigation, sent out by the new Canadian governor, Frontenac, in 1673, with express orders to fathom the mystery of the "Western Water." Marquette, a missionary in Mackinac, volunteered to join him. The two followed the beaten track through Green Bay and up Fox River. There their Indian guides brought them to a place where they had only to carry their canoes two miles overland to reach a branch of the Wisconsin, and now they had but to trust themselves to the stream in order to reach the Mississippi itself in a few weeks. At the mouth of the Ohio they recognised the great waterway mentioned in the hazy reports of the Iroquois. When they reached the great confluence of the Missouri the problem they were attempting was solved. A tributary of this magnitude implied extensive tracts of land and a large watershed in the north and north-west; and the Mississippi itself, flowing ever southward, could lead nowhere else than to the Gulf of Mexico. They followed the river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, which was a further confirmation of their suppositions. Then, not wishing to run the risk of incurring Spanish hostility, which might render their discovery fruitless, they began the return journey and made their way slowly along the Illinois and the Des Plaines to the site of Chicago.

In France the prospects which Joliet's discovery opened up for French colonial expansion were only gradually compre-

hended; but in Canada there were plenty of far-seeing men who were resolved to follow up these discoveries at once. Among these was the governor, Frontenac.

It was through his interposition that René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, the possessor of one of the small feudal domains of which a number were established round about Montreal, received letters patent from the Crown, granting him the monopoly of trade on the Illinois and the right to establish trading factories there. It was thus that La Salle became the pioneer of western exploration and the discoverer of Louisiana, to the possession of which he attached great importance, believing that the future of French trade and of French colonisation depended on it.

La Salle then proceeded to erect forts at the mouth of the Mississippi, to render Louisiana safe against attacks by the Spaniards from the Gulf of Mexico, just as Fort Louis was to render it safe against English attacks from the Iroquois territory. His successes now aroused interest in France. No fewer than four ships set out to take him and his colonists to the mouth of the Mississippi, which, unfortunately, he failed to recognise from the sea. After sailing much too far west he landed in Texas, at the mouth of the Colorado, which he took to be a branch of the Mississippi. When he recognised his error the ships were already beyond recall.

La Salle's Fate at the Hands of his Followers

He endeavoured to reach the Mississippi by land, but was killed by his own followers during the journey. The colonists on the Colorado succumbed to the climate and to the attacks of the natives. When Raphael de Tonty, La Salle's most faithful adherent, made his way from the Illinois to the lower Mississippi to bring help to his leader, all he could learn was that the expedition had been a complete failure. Still La Salle's achievement had decided the future of Louisiana. Where Joliet and La Salle had shown the way, missionaries, fur-traders, hunters and adventurers followed in their footsteps into that rich and extensive region to the west.

Small settlements sprang up on the Illinois, on the Kaskaskia, and on the Arkansas. Here, just as at first in Canada, the French did not, indeed, take root as true settlers and tillers of the soil, but, by adapting themselves to the customs of the natives, they gained great influence over them and were able to keep them on the French side in the struggle which was becoming inevitable between the French colonies in Canada and the English on the Atlantic coast. The knowledge possessed by the Indians played no small part in disseminating information as to the extraordinary richness of the land. It is only by thinking of its subsequent development that one can fully realise the glamour which was connected for a short time with the name of Louisiana. In 1699 Lemoine d'Iberville sailed from France to the Gulf of Mexico, to attempt once more to carry out the scheme for which La Salle had given his life. He met with better fortune, and, after experimenting and feeling his way for several years, founded the settlement of Rosalie, the first French town in the district about the mouth of the Mississippi. For years it remained nothing more than a starting-point for the expeditions of fur-traders, fortune-hunters and others; but even their occasional successes were sufficient to attract renewed attention in France. The monopoly of trade in Louisiana was leased by the Crown to a merchant named Crozat for a term of two years. After this it passed into the hands of the India Company under the management of John Law; and under the regime of this financier, who for a time was all powerful at the court of the regent, the wildest speculation was indulged in.

First French Town on the Mississippi

The result, of course, was a financial collapse—one of the greatest the world has ever seen. But during this period not a little was done for Louisiana. There were a large number of colonists sent out, though the majority of them were not of the most desirable class, and it was by these that New Orleans was founded. But the incapacity of the French for colonial enterprise, combined with Law's unscrupulous procedure, put an abrupt end to the great expectations entertained for Louisiana. As is always the case, the depression following the collapse was proportioned to the inflation before it, and the colony, out of which, under sound management, much more might have been made than out of inhospitable Canada, was left to itself for half a century. Before its development had been taken up again, the blow was struck that put an end for ever to La Salle's dream of a French colonial empire extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Great Failure of Louisiana

THE MAKERS OF FRENCH CANADA

STRUGGLE AND PROGRESS UNDER FRONTENAC

IN the meantime, Count Frontenac, a strong, soldierly, middle-aged man, was seated in the Chateau St. Louis on the Rock of Quebec. He is the best remembered and most distinguished of the French governors of Canada, as are his contemporaries, Laval and Talon respectively, of its long list of bishops and intendants. His administration, too, bears one singular resemblance to that of Lord Dorchester, the most distinguished of the English occupants of the Chateau St. Louis. Both were divided by a considerable interval into two distinct periods. Each pro-consul had left Canada for good, but was sent back as the only man capable of facing a difficult situation.

Frontenac Governor of Canada

Furthermore, the many years covered by Frontenac's rule, as well as the length of interval, very nearly corresponded in the one century to those of Dorchester in the next. It fell to each of them, too, to defend Quebec against the only serious attacks ever made upon it by a civilised enemy outside those famous years of 1759-1760. Save in military capacity, however, there was little resemblance. Frontenac had not to handle the susceptibilities of an alien race smarting from defeat. He had no tact. He was arrogant and unyielding. He did not like Jesuits, and resented ecclesiastical dictation as much as he did the prying activity of the intendant. He was a bold and brave soldier, fertile in resource and prompt in action, and the period of his government in Canada was one in which such qualities were needed. He gave La Salle and other explorers his full sympathy and support. In money matters he was not over-scrupulous, for he came out to Canada impoverished and intended to mend his fortunes.

Memorials of a Strong Governor

Nevertheless, if not actually a great man, he was in every sense a strong one, and his name is cherished to-day in statues and buildings. His first term, from 1672 to 1682, was not eventful, and was chiefly marked by friction in civil affairs. Though a grand seigneur and autocrat in his way, the count disapproved of the highly centralised autocracy which kept all popular expression absolutely mute. He went so far as to revive an assembly after the fashion of the old three estates of France, and in Quebec itself created a sort of quasi-popular municipal government.

The intendant Talon, would have nothing to do with these innovations, and when the king learned from him what was going forward, Frontenac was severely censured and curtly ordered to refrain from all future experiments of such a nature. He understood the Indians, however, was popular with the friendly nations, and was feared by the Iroquois; while the fur-trade, after a ten years' trial in the hands of the new company, was now resumed by the Crown, who granted licences to traders, reserving to itself a fourth of the produce.

The Recall of Frontenac

Frontenac, however, had sufficient enemies among his colleagues and subordinates to bring about his recall in 1682 after ten years of useful service. And, no doubt, the colony soon wished him back again, for two incapable governors, La Barre and Denonville, proceeded to demonstrate by contrast for the next seven years how valuable the shrewd if fiery soldier had been to it.

The English colonists, increasing at a far greater rate than their French neighbours, were beginning to cause that friction on the borders inevitable to the clashing of traders' interests and the presence of warlike Indians always watching their opportunity. La Barre made an ineffectual expedition against the Iroquois, whose tactics at this moment were to destroy the Illinois, and thereby deal a serious blow at the French fur-trade. The governor was recalled, and the Marquess de Denonville, who succeeded to the lowered prestige of his governancy, did no better, and in an active sense much worse. His administration, however, was illuminated

by one of those brilliant feats of courage, enterprise and endurance that give a romance peculiarly its own to the French regime, though effected in this case at the expense of the British. For in 1685 the Chevalier de Troyes, an elderly army captain, and the three famous sons of a notable father, Charles le Moyne, a Canadian seigneur, with some eighty soldiers and coureurs de bois, marched through the trackless northern wilderness and captured several of the English trading posts on the Hudson's Bay.

This was the beginning of a dramatic struggle on those remote and lonely shores and the cold seas adjoining them. It was not finally settled, nor were the sufferings of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose loss was considerable, terminated till the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, restored the British traders again to full possession and peace. The chief hero of these enterprises was Pierre, the eldest of the Le Moyne brothers, commonly known as the Sieur d'Iberville, who became afterwards the most famous Canadian of his day. But Denonville, who at least had personal courage, had no credit for this audacious enterprise, which was inspired by a newly formed company, eager to capture the trade of Hudson's Bay. His own chief exploit was an expedition against the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois, which, thanks to money and men despatched from France for the purpose, was on far the largest scale of anything undertaken yet in Canada. Here were already 800 regulars in the colony, and as many more were now landed; and it may be here noted incidentally that the ranks of the Canadian noblesse were now greatly augmented by the officers of these corps, who, being mainly poor gentilhommes with nothing but their birth and their swords, were tempted by the grants of seigneuries to remain in the colony. With 800 of these regulars, swelled to 2,000 by militia and the Christian Indians of the settlements, Denonville marched against the Senecas. On the way he seized, maltreated, and shipped to France for service in the galleys a number of friendly Iroquois settled under the French guns at Fort Frontenac, Kingston, for which treacherous act, everywhere denounced, a terrible reckoning was taken. Yet, with this powerful force, the governor did little more than destroy the villages of the Senecas, a matter of mere temporary inconvenience to the Indians, while he failed to reach their fighting-men, who had retired with their families and movables to give a sanguinary account of themselves on a later occasion. The Iroquois had now come formally under the ægis of the British Crown, and the situation grew yet more complicated. The governor of New York, too, began to threaten retaliation on account of certain English traders who had been plundered and seized. In the following year, maddened by the Seneca business and by the shipment of the Iroquois prisoners, and egged on by the New York Colonial Government, the Iroquois turned out in force on Canada. Never before had that country been so apparently strong for defence. Regulars, militia and mission Indians to the number of several thousands were available, counting among them innumerable daring spirits, full of ardour and innured to adventure. But a temporary paralysis approaching to panic seems to have seized them one and all. Disease from bad provisions was raging among the soldiers, and one of those quasi-famines to which the country, from its uneconomic constitution, was peculiarly liable hampered its energies. To shorten a long tale, on the night of August 4th, 1689, further screened by a tempest of hail, 1,500 Iroquois warriors crossed Lake St. Louis just above Montreal, and hid themselves among the settlements at La Chine.

COUNT FRONTENAC
The most famous of the French governors of Canada, Frontenac, though a brave soldier, was arrogant and unyielding, his treatment of natives being much condemned.

Denonville's Betrayal of the Iroquois

Iroquois' Terrible Revenge

Then ensued the worst massacre recorded in Canadian history, for some 200 persons were killed on the spot, and nearly as many more carried off to a far worse death. In spite of troops and forts, the savages held for two months the region that they had decimated. The terror spread all through Canada; no man knew where some scattered bands of the dreaded Iroquois might next strike, and the tidings

flew far away through the western wilderness, to the detriment everywhere of the French prestige and the power of "Onontio," as the French king was called.

These two years were sad ones. Denonville was recalled, and Frontenac, though in his seventieth year, went again in his place. But the glory of Louis XIV. was waning; his vassals, the Stuarts, had been driven from the English throne, and his able and relentless foe, William of Orange, was now seated upon it. The schemes that were to check the power of France, and, finally, through the genius of Marlborough, to shatter its armies, were in progress. There would be no more troops or money for Canada, and Frontenac understood that he had to face the situation with such material as was already in the colony. But the plan of action conceived by the king and himself was an altogether novel and audacious one, and well suited to the grim old soldier's temperament.

Scheme to Capture New York

This was nothing less than the capture of New York itself, the heart and brain of the English power against Canada and the source of all warlike supplies to the Iroquois. A thousand regulars and 600 militia were to march from Canada by Lake Champlain to Albany and descend the Hudson, with whom two ships of war were to lie off New York and co-operate.

The little town, weak as was supposed in fighting men, once taken, every inhabitant of the province, English and Dutch, save any few Catholics there might be, was to be forcibly deported—a proposition which may be commended to those taking the more emotional view of the removal of Acadians in the next century, a people who were aggressively troublesome and who steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to a government that for forty years had treated them with singular consideration. By this pretty scheme, New England would be cut off from her sister colonies, and, above all, the Iroquois isolated. But it all came to nothing, though Frontenac sailed with two ships of war and the best of intentions. So many delays occurred that when he landed in Quebec, to the disgust of the Jesuits and other leaders, but to the joy doubtless of the people generally, he had abandoned his plans, for that season at least. When he discovered the state of the colony, still helpless and quaking with the Indian terror, and its border desolate, the capture of New York passed into the domain of dreams. His first move, nevertheless, after restoring some confidence to the colony, was to harass the frontiers of New England and New York with various war parties of French and mission Indians and all the horrors of the torch and the scalping knife, his object being to restore the French prestige in the eyes of the Iroquois. The French of this period never understood their English neighbours, but interpreted their industry and comparatively unadventurous temperament to mean a lack of fighting instinct, and Frontenac thought he had given them a salutary and sufficient lesson by his war parties. But he soon found his mistake.

Canada Quaking with Terror

Additional impetus was now given to Anglo-French hostilities, for the two nations were at open war. The English colonists were, moreover, represented to the Canadians and Indians as rebels against their own king, who had been, as everybody knows, a good enough friend to France. The mission Indians, too, who were now a valuable support to the Canadian arms, had sufficiently mastered the externals of the Roman faith to regard themselves as religious crusaders, and tomahawked and tortured their English prisoners in the name of France, while their squaws told their beads on the Island of Orleans and the outskirts of Quebec. The picture of a Pilgrim Father being roasted by an Abernaki Indian for his lack of loyalty to France will doubtless commend itself to the modern readers as the quintessence of grim humour. It must be said at once, however, that the priests and seigniors who accompanied their half-tamed flock to battle did their best to curb these amenities, which the Indian regarded as the chief object of war, and cheerfully submitted to himself when the luck went against him.

Massacres in the Name of France

Frontenac's position was interesting. He had relieved the colony from its terror and tension, and the grim old man could now afford to amuse himself with the ecclesiastics and laymen that formed his council, all of whom he had flouted or imprisoned in former days, and who hated him cordially, though compelled to abase themselves. Trade, however, had returned; clouds of canoes—a welcome sight—laden with furs once more floated down to Montreal. Frontenac went up

there to welcome them, and, brandishing a hatchet, sang the war song and ate dog, seasoned with prunes, round the same fire with their chiefs. This was the kind of complex personality who made himself felt in the North America of that day; it was not only trade, though, but war, that the count had in his mind, for an English armament from Albany, unknown to most of them, was at that very moment in movement against Montreal.

The expedition in question, which was to be reinforced by Iroquois, was baulked of its fruition, partly by inter-colonial jealousies, and partly by smallpox, which thinned its numbers and frightened off the Indians. But a part of it ravaged the neighbourhood of Montreal, and before Frontenac could avenge the insult much graver news reached him by a hurried messenger in the almost incredible report, as it seemed to him, of a Massachusetts fleet and army in the St. Lawrence beating up towards Quebec. Before he reached that city, a matter of four days' stiff paddling against driving rain in a canoe, the news met him that the New England fleet had passed Tadoussac. In his absence his deputy had completed the palisade defences he had begun on the two weak sides of the city. The count was greeted with enthusiasm; men had flocked into Quebec, and Frontenac found himself with 3,000 regulars and militia behind fortifications that Nature and his own foresight had made proof, he might well think, against all the farmers of New England.

Hostile Fleet before Quebec

Two days later, on October 16th, thirty-four vessels of divers sorts sailed past the Island of Orleans and anchored in the basin of Quebec. They represented the military and naval power of Massachusetts, her patience worn out by frontier wars and burning with religious fervour as strong as the Jesuits to capture Quebec and stamp out the "Popish idolaters" and instigators of the Indian horrors. The expedition was commanded by Sir William Phips, a rough but able New England sea-dog recently knighted. He had first captured Port Royal in Acadia, and, being badly informed, thought Quebec would fall a ready prey.

Frontenac's feelings were those of amazement and indignation, sobered by the significance of the spectacle. Here was a surprise visit from a single one of those unmartial colonies he and Louis XIV. had proposed to depopulate in part, and altogether to overawe with 1,600 men and two ships. Frontenac's choler was to be further tried. A boat, carrying a white flag, put off from the admiral's ship and landed an officer, who was led blindfolded through demonstrative and jeering crowds to the chateau, where, in the great hall, he opened his eyes on the scowling faces of the grim old governor and his suite, gorgeous in the lace and gold and finery that the French maintained in the New World with punctilious ceremony. This is, perhaps, one of the most picturesque and suggestive scenes in North American history. The young New Englander in his simple uniform might well flinch at the message he had to deliver. He soon recovered his composure and delivered Admiral Phips's letter, which was read aloud by an interpreter to the indignant company.

Phips's Famous Message to Frontenac

It was, indeed, well calculated to rouse the Frenchman's ire, for, after reading them a lecture on their barbarities towards English settlers, Phips went on to demand in detail an immediate surrender of all Canada and everything in it, promising in such case a general exercise of King William's clemency towards its inhabitants, Frontenac included. Otherwise, he was prepared to avenge all injuries and reduce the colony to subjection to the British Crown. A definite answer in writing was demanded within an hour, and as if to support his commander's brave words, the envoy, now restored to his native British sangfroid, intensified by the New England atmosphere, took out his watch and handed it to Frontenac.

The gorgeous company were, not unnaturally, furious, crying out that Phips was nothing but a pirate, and demanding that his messenger should be hanged on the spot. Frontenac, however, stifled his feelings, and answered quietly that he should not require an hour to prepare his answer. As to William of Orange, a usurper and violator of family ties and destroyer of the true religion, he did not recognise him as king of England at all. In Phips himself he merely saw a traitor to his rightful king, and most assuredly would write to him no letter, but answer him by the mouths of his guns. After this the envoy was again blindfolded and conducted back to his boat. Space forbids any account of the siege which was

Frontenac's Reply to Admiral Phips

conducted with more vigour and courage than skill for several days by these 2,000 farmers and fishermen against a place of notorious strength held by 3,000 regulars and militia under skilled leadership.

Phips himself did not shine. He fired away all his ammunition in a furious and ill-directed bombardment from his ships, which was replied to with equal vigour and more success. The men were landed on the Beaufort shore, and though undisciplined amateurs led by amateurs with much more zeal than discretion, half fed and sickening with smallpox, managed to maintain themselves for two or three days and fight a number of fairly successful skirmishes. But the ford over the St. Charles below the city they had neither the dash nor leading to cross, nor, if they had, would success against such odds have been likely. A French chronicler within the city, however, relates that they fought with as much courage as ignorance, and thinks that, with better discipline and leading, they might even have been successful. At any rate, they gave Quebec a very bad fright, and the city gave itself up to transports of Te Deums and bell-ringing when the crestfallen Phips, with his fleet and army, sailed away.

Failure of the Siege of Quebec

Partisan warfare, however, went on merrily along the frontier, between the French and their Indians, the Iroquois and the English. Bounties were paid in scalps and prisoners, while burning homesteads and ravaged villages marked each little battle. The Ottawa was the great artery of the Canadian fur-trade, and the efforts of the Iroquois were constantly directed to cutting their connections. The unproductive element in Canada was numerically out of proportion to the industrial peasantry. Scarcity was chronic, and the supply ships from France were frequently captured by the English. Frontenac raged at the Anglo-Americans, and urged the king to attack Boston and New York and extirpate "those old Puritans." At home he supported the Recollets, and thwarted the Jesuits, who vigorously denounced the plays and dances which, being a sociable old man, he loved to encourage.

Frontenac the Right Man for Canada

But he was the right man for Canada in those troublous times. Yet even Frontenac could not tame the Iroquois, who successfully maintained, as it were, the balance of power between French and English, and kept all the neighbouring Indian nations in terror. Cruel and blood-thirsty as they were, it is difficult to withhold one's admiration for the influence wielded by this handful of naked warriors and politicians over so many rival races, red and white. Their loyalty to the English stood many severe tests; their traditional enmity to the French was interrupted occasionally by treaties which, to the Iroquois, were regarded as mere pauses in which to gather breath for a more effectual spring upon their old enemies' still bleeding flanks.

Nor was it merely the individual power of these numerically inconsiderable tribes. Their renown and their fixed policy was an example and a support of disaffection from the far north to the farthest west. Far away on the Mississippi, when the dearness or scarcity of French brandy was weighed against the cheapness and abundance of English rum, the dissatisfied Kickapoo, Fox or Masoucin Indian bethought him of the Iroquois, and took heart to exact his terms. In his seventy-sixth year, carried in a chair, Frontenac, at the head of over 2,000 men, made his last attack on the confederacy, and destroyed the village of the Onandagas and Oneidas. But the warriors had vanished, to return again at the appointed hour. Soon after came the peace, cemented by the Treaty of Ryswick.

Death of Canada's Great Governor

Te Deums were sung in the cathedral of Quebec, and the envoys from New York were dined in great state by Frontenac at the chateau, where, by an irony of fate, the last public act of the fiery old veteran was to drink the health of Dutch William. He might as well have sung his own death-song that night, for death's mark was already upon him; and a few weeks later, reconciled to some of his bitterest enemies on his death-bed, beloved by the common people—the soldiers and the mission Indians, admired and even mourned as a brave foe, it is said, by the very Iroquois themselves, he was buried in the church of the Recollets.

With his last breath he flouted the Jesuits by refusing burial in the official quarter of the cathedral. His last letter to the governor of New York on the subject of the Iroquois, written with apparent difficulty, breathed his feeling about them, which may be briefly summarised as *Delenda est Carthago.*

Callières, a friend of Frontenac, succeeded him with ability and success. He could not destroy the Iroquois, but he succeeded nevertheless in making an enduring peace with them, helping the latter's growing consciousness that the New Yorkers, though desirable fair-weather friends, were an uncertain support in war. The increasing population of Canada, its quasi-martial organisation, its military support from France and consistent policy, enabled the country to outgrow the fear of the Iroquois which had been its curse throughout the seventeenth century.

The Peace of Ryswick had only lasted five years when the wars of Marlborough began, and lit the torch of strife once more in the remote and sombre forests of North America. Both before and after the peace, Acadia, with its still scant French population of about a thousand, had been the scene of constant fighting; the small posts on the coast had been often taken and retaken. Its Micmac Indians of Acadia proper and the Abernakis of the mainland greatly harried the outermost New England settlers in what is now the state of Maine.

The French take Newfoundland

Fishing disputes even then were frequent. Phips, on his way to Quebec, had taken Port Royal (Annapolis), and practically annexed the province. The famous D'Iberville, already mentioned, and now in command of a French ship, harried the New England coast, and with a considerable armament conquered Newfoundland, which had gradually grown from an extensive fishing station, in which the British element was strongest, to an actual British possession. From thence he sailed to Hudson's Bay, the scene of his earlier triumphs, won a naval victory in the bay, and took all the forts.

In 1711 the British Government, at the instigation of the colonies, organised a serious attempt on Canada. It was the greatest failure in American history. A fleet of eighty-eight sail, under Sir Hovenden Walker, carrying several thousand troops, was to be joined in Canada by 4,000 provincials marching by way of Lake George. The latter were duly mustered on that historic lake. But Walker's fleet was scattered by a storm in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where eight transports and 900 men were lost. On collecting his ships again at Cape Breton, though still strong and with another land army awaiting him, the admiral's heart or judgment failed him and he sailed for home, where he was ill-received for bringing not only disgrace, but ridicule, on an armament that had contained the veteran soldiers of Marlborough; and Quebec rang its joy bells to some purpose. But with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 there was a fresh shuffling of the cards. Hudson's Bay was restored;

Newfoundland Restored to England

so was Newfoundland, while the whole of Acadia, except the island of Cape Breton, was ceded to England. The latter could do little with it. A weak garrison at Mount Royal, now called Annapolis, was the only footing in a province where the Micmacs and French settlers did practically as they pleased. The retention of Cape Breton by the French was indeed a fatal concession on the part of England.

They at once began building by far the strongest fortified town in North America, at a cost of £2,000,000 sterling, on one horn of a splendid harbour; and Louisbourg, the "Dunkirk of the North," became the key to all Canadian waters and the scourge of New England shipping. During the thirty years' peace which followed, the Acadians, increasing rapidly in numbers and nominally under the benign rule of the Georges, were kept French at heart by the tireless efforts of Canadian priests, who assured them that the country would ultimately be retaken. The great fortress town of Louisbourg, with its fleets, garrison and considerable civic population, to the north of the province, was in truth a better evidence of their compatriots' power and intentions than was the company or two of New England militiamen squatting forlorn upon the southern bay of their conquerors' might.

But what of Canada proper during Walpole's long peace between 1713 and 1743? The march of events in Acadia only affected the future of the territory concerned. Canada, with its two growing towns of Quebec and Montreal, and now steadily increasing hardy rural populace,

Canada During the Long Peace

was throwing out offshoots characteristic of its peculiar genius that were full of mighty portent. The English had now resigned all hope of the great north-west, and the French sat secure in their fortified posts and in their understanding with the Indians for hundreds of miles along the frontiers of civilisation at Niagara, Detroit, Michillimackinac. But there was much more than this. Posts sprang up in the Illinois, the Wabash, and on the

Ohio. The mouth of the Mississippi had been constituted into a French province, and under the name of Louisiana had the brave D'Iberville for its first governor.

The Canada of the French Régime

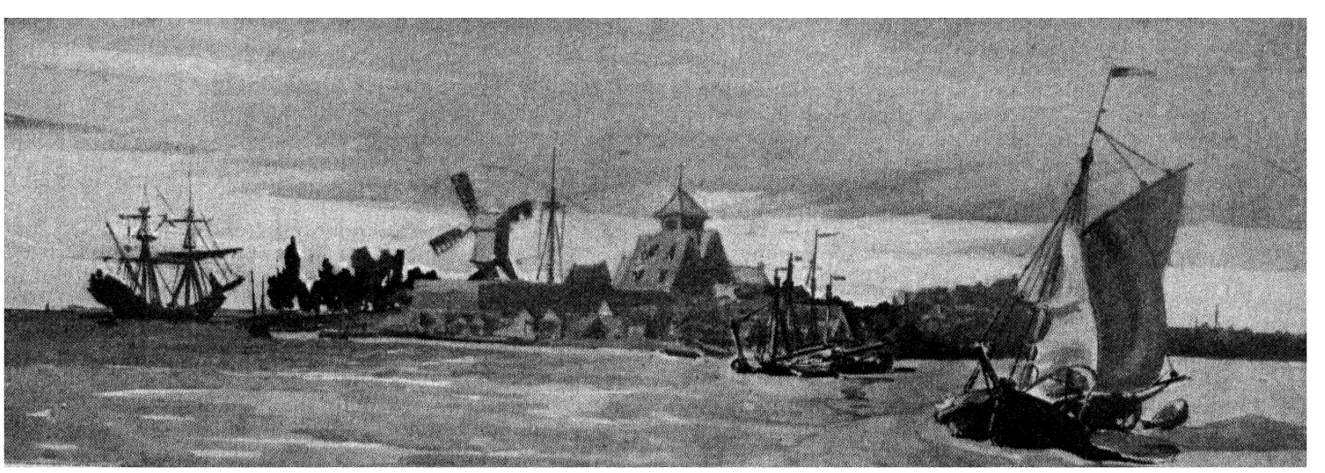
From thence to the northern lakes was forged a gradually strengthening chain of French influence, marked at longer or shorter intervals by palisaded forts, mounted with French guns and flying the Fleur-de-Lys. They were somewhat more, too, than mere forts, for they were usually surrounded by numerous small villages of traders with Indian wives or their equivalent, and frequented by small groups of Indian warriors, that by conversion—for the priests were everywhere—and not less, perhaps, by the brandy and ammunition always in stock, were attached to these remote oases. As to Canada itself, little need be said of the period leading up to the great war. Of progress, not much except in the number of inhabitants, the increase of seigniors, the gradual development of a narrow fringe of continuously settled country along both banks of the river, from below the island of Orleans to the island of Montreal. This 200 miles of river front, with a strip of seigniories up the Richelieu and an important town at either extremity, together with the secondary one of Three Rivers, about midway, constituted the Canada of the French régime. The habitant — for the name of peasant was resented—multiplied rapidly, lived in quite reasonable comfort, obeyed his priest and his seignior, and was content to be treated as a pawn by an absolute government, only grumbling a little, perhaps, at the frequent corvées.

His religious ardour and well-developed hatred of the heretic Bastonnais reconciled him to marching to battle whenever and wheresoever he was ordered, altogether making an excellent irregular soldier. He often failed to raise crops sufficient to feed a colony weighted with regular garrisons and yet more by clouds of coureurs de bois, who followed the fur-trade only with or without licences, for his agriculture was both primitive and frequently interfered with by the beat of drum. In Quebec and Montreal there was a gay and even brilliant, if limited, social circle of officers, civil servants and the more affluent seigniors. Corruption flourished immediately at the expense of the French king, and indirectly at the expense of the common people, whose channels of supply were often tapped or diverted at headquarters. Religious houses prospered and acquired property, though against them no corruption, to be sure, was ever charged; while churches rose at shorter intervals along the banks of the St. Lawrence with a dignity of fabric somewhat disproportionate to the humble one-storied, thatched and white-washed buildings extended beside them. But in 1743 England and France were at war again in Europe and the long period of comparative peace for Canada was over.

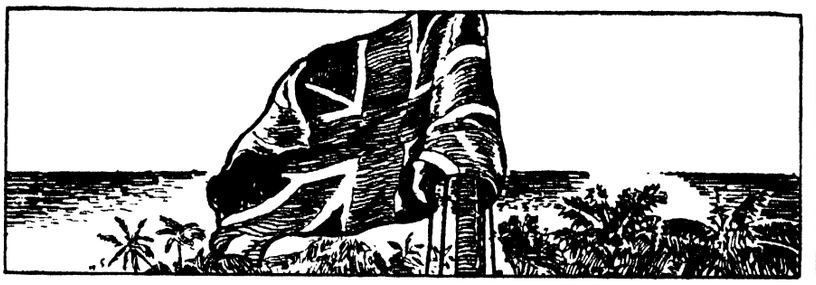
A. G. BRADLEY

SIEUR D'IBERVILLE

Formed one of the party which, in 1685, marched through the wilderness of Northern America, capturing several of the English trading-posts on the Hudson's Bay.



A VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



ENGLISH COLONIES IN THE SOUTH

HISTORY OF THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS

AS the permanent French occupation of North American territory began with Champlain in 1603, though Champlain had been preceded by pioneers, so the permanent English occupation began in 1606; and rivalry between the colonising schemes of French and English did not become acute till the expulsion of James II. from England converted that country into the most dangerous of the opponents of Louis XIV. at the end of the century.

In 1606 Raleigh was shut up in the Tower of London, and his Virginian settlement had been wiped out. But his ideas had taken root in the minds of others besides the adventurers who would be satisfied with nothing but gold-mines. In that year a company was formed which obtained from James I. charters for founding two colonies on the North American coast between Nova Scotia and Florida. One of the two schemes was dropped; the second was carried out by the establishment on the Chesapeake Bay of a settlement which was named Jamestown, after the first Stuart king of England. Raleigh's name of Virginia was adopted for the colony. The promoters meant business; it was not a Crown affair, a scheme for providing the king with estates after the Spanish model.

Town Named After the Stuart King

The Dutch were already setting an example of commercial colonisation in the East Indies, and English merchants had started their own East India Company. Now an experiment was to be tried which might develop into a materialisation of the dreams of Gilbert and Raleigh. But it was an experiment with no precedents to serve as guide. The Elizabethan experiments had failed, partly from want of detailed elaboration. It is not surprising that the next was over-elaborate to begin with. There was to be a governing body at home, and another in the colony, the former nominated by the Crown, and selecting the latter from among the settlers, leaving it to choose its own president. The settlers arrived in 1607; among them was Richard Hakluyt, the famous author and editor of the narratives of the Elizabethan explorers. Most of them were of the adventurer type, younger sons, or men of broken fortunes; and the start of the colony was not very promising. Fortunately, one of them, Captain John Smith, was endowed with the qualities of a born leader, and it was mainly due to his energy that the attempt did not collapse.

John Smith and the Indian Princess

He is the hero of the romantic story of the Indian "princess" Pocahontas, who saved him from death at the hands of her tribe, and subsequently herself married an Englishman. John Smith kept the community from going to pieces, and the company in London were resolute. A revised charter, granted in 1609, placed the administration on a more practical basis, and newcomers arrived who were better fitted for the work that had to be done—not mere adventurers, but real farmers and mechanics.

The advantages possessed by the members of the company were that they had absolute possession of the land they had settled, that they remained English citizens, and that they had the right of unrestricted trade in colonial produce. This last privilege, which stood in strange contradiction to the usage of other nations, seemed to free the Virginia Company from the necessity of disposing of its products to the Mother Country or by its agency. The full effect of this privilege was certainly not foreseen by James I., and he made some efforts to render it ineffective. Later on, the navigation acts of the commonwealth and Restoration limited its application considerably; and the attempt to enforce more strictly in the English colonies the generally admitted principle of exclusive trade with the Mother Country was one of the many

A Source of Colonial Friction

causes that led to the eventual breaking away of the United States from Great Britain. At first the colony was carried on on a communistic basis. Captain Smith introduced—for a time at least—compulsory labour of six hours daily. But the settlement did not begin to prosper till the land was divided among the colonists as private property. The discovery in tobacco culture, of an industry that could be pursued on a large scale caused the settlements in Virginia to progress rapidly. Many of the colonists had been brought over at the cost of the company, and had to repay their debts before they could acquire property of their own; but, thanks to the high price of tobacco, especially in Holland, they were soon able to render themselves independent and to add, by purchase, new lands to what had already been granted them. The profitableness of the tobacco industry was the best advertisement for the colony, and enticed over many more emigrants, among them not only the shipwrecked and indigent, but also wealthy and enterprising men, who began tobacco culture on a larger scale and so brought it into better repute. The scarcity of women was soon remedied by the rapid industrial progress. In 1619 the company tried the experiment of sending to Virginia, at its own expense, a number of young women. Anyone marrying one of these had to repay the passage-money to the company, tobacco being sometimes taken in payment. Very soon the young women were all married, and the company was enabled to repeat the experiment and even increase the charge for passage-money.

The system of transporting to the colonies criminals condemned to hard labour, which flourished to such an extent in the Antilles, was also tried in Virginia, which was at first occasionally used as a convict settlement. This might have gone on to a very much greater extent had not the spirit of the colonists risen to such a degree that they most emphatically refused to allow such an undesirable element to be brought among them.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH
A native of Lincolnshire, Smith in 1609 became the leader of the band of colonists who settled on James River, in Virginia. Keeping the colony alive for two years, an accident necessitated his return to England for surgical aid.

On the other hand, they eagerly welcomed another undesirable addition to their population. In 1620 a Dutch vessel landed the first negro slaves at Jamestown. The demand for these was so great that not only were Dutch ships with richer freight attracted thither, but English and even Virginian traders undertook the sale of the blacks. Thus, as early as the seventeenth century that plantation life grew up which was afterwards characteristic of the southern states of the Union. Soon the whites in Virginia formed only the aristocracy; they lived as plantation owners on their extensive estates, or as mechanics in the not very numerous towns. But the bulk of the work, and especially of the work on the tobacco plantations, and on the cotton plantations that more than a century later surpassed them in importance, was, except where prison labour was employed, performed by negro slaves, whose number continued to increase as the colony developed.

Political circumstances also played their part in the rapid development of the colony. Under the second charter James I. renounced, in favour of the company, many of the rights stipulated for by the Crown. The choice of the directors was left to the members of the company. These nominated, in place of the colonial manager, a governor of the province, who had almost unlimited power on account of his great distance from his superiors at home. For this reason much depended on the choice of suitable persons for this position, and the company's selection was not always a happy one; but its directors were sensible enough to pay heed to the remonstrances of the colonists, whose influence on the management not only continually increased, but was soon afterwards regulated by law.

The Rapid Development of the Colony

In 1612 the management of the company was transferred from the board of directors to the shareholders themselves, with the provision that four general meetings were to be held yearly, to settle matters connected with the management of the colony; and

seven years later this general assembly granted to the colonists a share in the management of their internal affairs.

Virginian Assembly of Burgesses

Each of the eleven settlements then existing in Virginia was to send two deputies to Jamestown. These deputies, the "assembly of burgesses," were, in conference with the governor and his nominated council, to discuss the affairs of the colony, and to take action accordingly. The assembly of burgesses rapidly developed in importance; but the company's control in London was unsatisfactory. In 1623 the charter was revoked, and a third constitution was framed and proclaimed in 1625. The ultimate control still lay with a council in London; but it was virtually a committee of the privy council. This council appointed a governor and a council of twelve, who were to be the responsible executive in the colony, some of these being chosen from among the colonists; and in effect the assembly of burgesses was permitted to exercise the functions of the English House of Commons. The council in London, though the actual ultimate authority, in practice abstained from interfering in the affairs of the colony. Very much as in England, the assembly proceeded gradually to insist on acquiring a practical and definite control over the executive. Materially the development of the colony was very rapid; but in other matters complete indifference prevailed. The economic conditions gave an aristocratic tone to the colony. Thus, during the struggle of Charles I. against the rising democracy in the Mother Country, the sympathies of the colonists were entirely on the side of the monarch; and when the Roundheads' victory was complete, many a Royalist made his way to Virginia. But this did not prevent the colonial assembly from maintaining its own parliamentary privileges, nor from employing on the plantations the labour of the prisoners of war sent over by Cromwell. The Restoration, on the other hand, was followed by most disadvantageous consequences for Virginia. Charles II. enforced the provisions of the Navigation Act more strictly, and thus almost destroyed the freedom of trade enjoyed by Virginia, and placed it in this respect in a position very similar to that of the Spanish colonies. This did not seriously affect the Virginians, who did not carry on a large trade; but other measures, that affected their interest more, roused their indignation.

The extravagance characteristic of Charles II. led him to attempt to hand over all Virginia to two of his favourites for a period of thirty-one years, and though the colony maintained its constitutional rights, it had to submit to be saddled with additional expenditure. The king's Virginia representatives were of as dull conscience as himself. An Indian rising that broke out after the two races had lived peaceably side by side for half a century was by some attributed to the shameless manner in which the governor, for his own personal profit, used his creatures to plunder and oppress the Indians. Matters went so far that a section of the colonists rose against the governor. During this civil war, which was put down with much bloodshed, the capital was burned. Still the greater part of the population remained apathetic as before. The typical Virginian sat, like a pasha, in the midst of his extensive estates, and kept himself apart from everything that did not bear upon his own well-being. His wealth enabled him to widen his intellectual horizon. Of all the colonists the Virginians had perhaps the most intellectual intercourse with the Old World. Among them it was the fashion to travel, and to show to guests from Europe a really princely hospitality worthy of the name. But the Virginians of that time took no further part in politics than the maintenance of their ancient constitutional liberties rendered necessary. The second of the Southern or "planter" colonies to be founded was Maryland.

PRINCESS POCAHONTAS

The daughter of an Indian chief, she befriended the early Virginia settlers, and eventually married an Englishman. Embracing Christianity, she sailed with her husband for England, but died off Gravesend in March, 1617.

We shall see presently how the northern group was in effect the creation of that spirit of ecclesiastical intolerance which drove Puritans, even those who had no wish to secede from the established Church, to seek in other regions freedom to worship as their consciences required. Maryland was the product, in like manner, of the hostility of law and of popular sentiment to Roman Catholicism. The Catholic Lord Baltimore proposed to establish in the New World a colony where his co-religionists should have free play. Charles I., absolutely loyal as he was to Anglicanism, was far from hostile to the religion of his wife, Henrietta Maria.

The Roman Catholic Colony of Maryland

Lord Baltimore was granted a charter, and Maryland came into being in 1632, when the first Puritan colony in the north had already been in existence for more than a decade. Its founder, learning from the persecution to which he himself had been subjected on account of his faith, made absolute freedom in matters of religious belief a basic principle in the colony, whose foundation was readily authorised by his royal friend. Maryland is the only one of the English colonies whose possessors were not Protestants, and even there the majority of the inhabitants belonged to one or other of the reformed sects. But while, in New England, fanatical Puritan intolerance prevailed, while even in the tolerant southern states Catholics were rigidly excluded, Maryland, on principle, opened her doors to men of all creeds, and that without ever endangering her own liberties.

Here, as in most of the other colonies, the proprietary rights of the founders were gradually relaxed before the self-reliance and self-government of the colonists, who organised themselves on the democratic model of their neighbours. The struggle to obtain recognition from the proprietors lasted perhaps a little longer in Maryland; but here, as elsewhere, the goal was reached. In consequence of its geographical position, Maryland developed into a plantation state; but large accessions of the humbler classes to its population saved it from the evils of the plantation system as known in Virginia, while the kindly spirit that hovered over its foundation saved it from the degeneracy that accompanies cultivation by slave labour. Moreover, friendly relations with the natives were established, so that in all respects Maryland afforded an example of wise moderation and good government. The third of the great southern colonies, Carolina, was not actually occupied till Charles II., in 1663, gave the district between Florida and Virginia to eight proprietors in perpetuity.

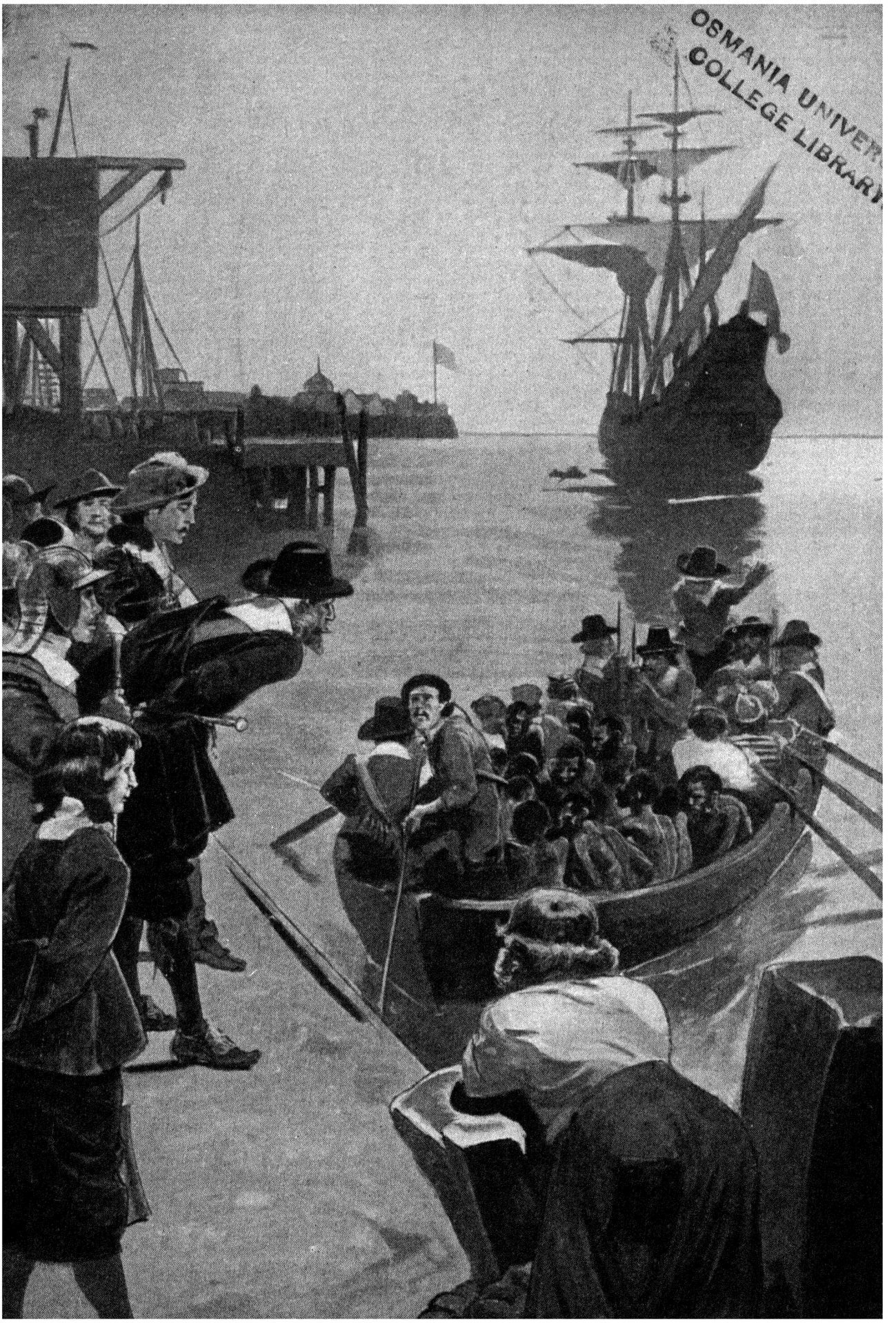
Maryland an Example of Good Government

What is most interesting about this colony is the history of its constitution. It was specially provided in the royal deed of gift that the colonists should have a share in the management of local affairs; further, the philosopher John Locke had drawn up for this province a constitution which was to unite a patriarchal aristocracy with parliamentary privileges. But Locke's scheme was so complicated and so unpractical in detail that it was never fully carried out. Only two of the principles of Locke's constitution survived—tolerance in religion, and slavery.

As for the rest, the influence of her neighbour Virginia was of far more importance to North Carolina than the sovereign rights of its aristocratic possessors, which were revoked in 1729. Some settlers had migrated from Virginia to the northern districts of Carolina even before the royal letters patent had been granted; the Virginia plantation system also spread there. The governors of Virginia repeatedly interfered in the management of North Carolina, and the northern part of the colony was often involved in the internal struggles of Virginia. The principal difference between the two colonies was that in Carolina, during the first decades of its existence, no effective provincial government was established, and that a most undesirable class of immigrants were introduced, who made use of their rights of self-government only to perpetuate the unsettled state then existing.

Virginia's Internal Struggles

This was changed only when the province was constituted a Crown colony. As such Carolina advanced rapidly, developing on the same economic lines as her older sister Virginia, and becoming a dangerous rival to her in the tobacco markets. The eight proprietors of Carolina turned their attention chiefly to the south. Here, in 1670, the town of Charleston was founded, with settlers of whom the greater number came from Barbados Island. In accordance with the aristocratic and centralising tendency of Locke's proposals the rulers attached great importance to developing the strength of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LANDING A CARGO OF **NEGRO SLAVES AT JAMESTOWN IN** 1619

To such an extent did the tobacco industry flourish in Virginia that within a few months of the division of land among the natives it became necessary to employ additional labour. With this object in view, the system of transporting criminals condemned to hard labour was tried, but with indifferent results, the settlers protesting against this undesirable element. Then a Dutch man-of-war landed at Jamestown and sold twenty negroes as slaves. Later on, that number was increased, the presence of the slaves eventually playing an important part in the life of the settlements.

Specially drawn for the HISTORY OF THE WORLD by J. Walter Wilson, R.I.

the colony in a town community, and to the avoidance of the scattering of the population characteristic of Virginia and North Carolina. For this reason Charleston sprang up more rapidly than Jamestown. Its better regulated government and its religious toleration attracted to Carolina elements that were wanting in its northern neighbours — Puritans from New York, Huguenots from France, Presbyterians from Scotland—every element that desired to work its way upward by its own strength and was opposed to the development of the plantation system. Further, the proximity of the Spanish colony of St. Augustine (Florida) caused the development of South Carolina to differ in many respects from that of the northern provinces.

The Rapid Advance of Charleston

The contests occasionally engaged in by the neighbouring Spanish and English colonists were indeed, as a rule, of little or of no importance, and both parties finally agreed to remain at peace even if war should break out between the home countries. Still, the proximity of the Spanish colonies was a strong incentive to buccaneering—an established institution among those of the colonists who came from the islands. Finally, Carolina followed the example of its Spanish neighbours in employing large numbers of Indians as slaves, generally such as had been captured on Spanish territory or dragged from Spanish ships.

About the same time another new province, under management of a quite different kind, was mapped out to the south of the English colonial possessions. The philanthropic movement made its appearance very early in England, and its influence, thanks to the example of the New England colonists, and of William Penn, had been already felt several times in America. Pity for those languishing in the debtors' prisons of England induced Oglethorpe to start a movement in their favour. When public and private support had enabled him to collect the necessary funds, he secured from George I. a charter giving the grantees exclusive rights of colonisation for twenty-one years in the territory that lay between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha, stretching from ocean to ocean.

How Georgia Came to be Founded

The colony received, as had her northern neighbours, the name of the reigning sovereign, and was called Georgia Augusta. To South Carolina the establishment of this colony, which lay between her and the Spaniards, was of great importance; for the new province undertook the defence of the southern boundary (Oglethorpe himself twice took the field against the Spaniards) and rendered possible to its northern neighbours a prosperous and undisturbed development. Alliances were made with the Indians, and few white settlers have been held in such esteem by their red-skinned neighbours as was the mild and worthy Oglethorpe.

At first the province developed according to his ideas. It was a place of refuge for the oppressed and persecuted, and toleration, religious and political, was extended to all. But, as time went on, natural influences proved stronger than human will. It was impossible that the land, whose physical character specially fitted it for an agricultural development on the same lines as Virginia's, should remain for ever in the possession of the poor and disinherited. In Georgia, as elsewhere, the planters got more and more of the land into their possession, brought their slaves thither, and thus crushed out the attempts of small holders to carry on a different system. By the middle of the eighteenth century Georgia had become a plantation state like Virginia and the Carolinas, and as such it continued its political development side by side with them.

Slaves in the English Colonies

The origin and development of the southern states of the North American Union differ widely from the picture usually regarded as typical of English colonisation in North America. Geographical conditions decisively influenced the course of development. Even in cases where it was the intention of the colonists to found settlements similar to those in New England there was a gradual transition to the system which developed first and in its most perfect form in Virginia. Most of the colonies were, for a time at least, under the influence of Old World feudal institutions.

They soon freed themselves from these; but the aristocratic spirit, characteristic of feudalism, with its classification of mankind according to their possessions and rank, came to life again in changed form. The place of the English feudal aristocracy was taken by the large landed proprietors, who kept not only their troops of slaves, but also the greater part of the free white

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population in a state of dependence. The doctrine of the equality of all did not prevail either in ethics or in law.

Oppression of the Natives in South Carolina

The planters had practically unlimited power on their own estates, and, in combination, they made use of the parliamentary privileges granted to the landed interests to dominate almost without opposition the government of the province. Thus the southern colonies, with their special views and special needs, were more closely related to the Spanish colonies than to the New England provinces in the north. Settlement often took place as in the Portuguese colonies; with this difference, that the latter had not the right, common to both English and French feudal colonies, of granting titles and dignities—a right that did much to strengthen the aristocratic tendency of the southern states. The right of possession, as in the Spanish, Portuguese and French colonies, was conferred by conquest. In the treatment of the natives in South Carolina the worst Spanish examples were followed: if hostile, they were made slaves; but even if they submitted peacefully to the rule of the strangers, they were not, as in the Spanish colonies, granted the rights of subjects.

The North Americans make the claim for their forefathers that they treated the Indians better than others did. The Spaniards took possession, not only of the land, but also of the persons of the natives, compelling them to pay taxes and to labour in the fields. The French did not interfere with the personal liberty of the natives, but they took the land from them solely by right of conquest.

The English, on the contrary—and with them must be classed the Dutch—neither interfered with the liberty of the natives nor contested their rights to the land, but often gained possession of it by purchase; yet a common view then, and the prevailing legal theory later, was that the Indians' rights were merely those of occupation.

The Ambitious Claims of Spain and Portugal

The kings of Spain and Portugal, it is true, raised the claim that all this land with its people had become their property by virtue of the papal Bull dividing the unknown half of the world between them; and when the natives contested these claims they were often very badly treated, especially at the time of the conquest and before the native question had been settled by law. In principle, however, Spain had, in accordance with the provisions of Queen Isabella's will, placed the natives in her colonial possessions on the same legal footing as her own subjects; and in return for the services they were bound to render the state they could claim from it justice and protection.

The French did not go so far. The privilege of becoming French subjects was not granted to the Hurons, Illinois, etc.; but, from the days of Champlain, France had regarded the Indians as allies and friends, and recognised that, as such, they had claims to the friendship and protection of their white allies. Times without number the French allowed these claims by taking the field, with or without Indian aid, against the Iroquois, the sworn enemies of all natives who were allied with the French. Besides this, the Spaniards and the French, by their missions, did more than words can express for the material and intellectual well-being of their protégés.

The activity of the Indian missions carried on by the English was, in comparison, extraordinarily small, and belonged in general to a period we need not consider; and as for the purchases of land, the great majority of these have been creditable neither to the people of the United States nor to their fathers before them. In former times a large tract of land could be purchased from the Indians, who scarcely understood the nature of the transaction, for a little spirits, gunpowder, or some European finery. But then there was room enough in the broad continent of North America, and it was not so very difficult for a tribe that had thus disinherited itself to find a new home farther west.

The Indians Robbed of Their Land

As civilisation followed them westward, the space left to the Indians, whose mode of life required free expansion, was more and more limited. The unavoidable and by no means unrecognised consequence of the policy of dispossessing the Indians of their lands was that the tribes, now crowded together, carried on endless bloody feuds to preserve their very existence, except when opportunity offered of attacking their neighbours across the boundary of the district claimed by the state. The fundamental distinction, however, in the native question is that in law the Indian was to the Spaniard a brother, to the Frenchman a friend, and to the Englishman a stranger.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

HOW THE PURITANS AND QUAKERS LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN AMERICA

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with the Virginia Company, James I., in 1606, had recognised, as we have noticed, a second trading company which was to colonise the territory lying between latitudes 41° and 45° N. This company was called the Plymouth Company, since its most influential members belonged to Plymouth, England. Nothing was done, however, beyond making preliminary inquiries, even when James I., in 1620, organised a new company, the Council for New England, giving it all the land between latitudes 40° and 48° N., and granting it feudal privileges.

This company itself did practically nothing; but it was in this district, and at this same time, that the New England colonies were founded, and from it, not from the Virginia Company, the colonists obtained their concession. These were, in fact, religious refugees. Single groups and communities to whom the Reformation, as officially carried out in England, did not appear to go far enough, separated themselves very early from the English High Church. As their number increased these Puritans formed new sects, Presbyterians, Independents, etc.; but in doing this they drew upon themselves the active persecution of the dominant Church. Before its power they fled, for the most part, to Holland. But when general attention was drawn to trans-Atlantic colonial enterprises, there ripened among the Puritans a plan of seeking a place of refuge across the ocean where they could exercise their faith in perfect freedom and security.

The Famous Voyage of the Mayflower

With the support of like-minded friends in England, their representative obtained first from the Virginia Company the right to found settlements across the ocean. It was in the autumn of 1620 that the Mayflower carried to America the first colonists of the North, the founders of the town of New Plymouth. The concession was then obtained from the Council of New England, the spot selected being in the region allotted to them. Despite Puritanic strictness and simplicity, this colony, too, had to pass through a time of severe struggle before it began to grow strong and make progress. Its agreement with the English company assured to the immigrants almost complete independence. From the beginning the Pilgrim Fathers were almost exclusively their own rulers. Though they had fled before Anglican intolerance, this did not prevent them from establishing in their midst a régime at least as intolerant. Any deviation from their Puritan orthodoxy was unrelentingly punished by expulsion from the settlement. At a time when every strong arm should have been welcome to help to build up the struggling colony, they more than once rejected settlers because they would not submit to the religious conditions.

Intolerance of the Pilgrim Fathers

Political consolidation was attained only by combination with a later undertaking of the same kind which was more favoured by fortune in this respect. In 1629, Charles I. granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter which gave it the right to found colonial settlements. The form of a chartered company was chosen in accordance with current practice. What was really aimed at here was, as in Puritan New Plymouth, a place of refuge for the hard-persecuted Puritans. The Crown had no sort of desire to trouble itself with the Puritan exiles; it was only too well pleased to be rid of them out of England. The new colonists were not, in the main, sectarians, and comprised a large proportion of country gentlemen, well-to-do farmers and professional men, of the same type as the Puritan Churchmen in the House of Commons. But no long time

Puritans' Place of Refuge

passed before they, like many of their compeers at home, were transferred to the ranks of the Independents. In 1630 the whole administration was placed in the hands of those colonists who were members of the corporation. From that time the colonists chose their own governor and his councillors. There was, besides, an assembly, in which every town was represented by two delegates elected by the freemen. The colony successfully defended its rights against the Plymouth Company. At a later date Charles I., aiming at centralisation, took steps to alter the constitution of the colony; but he fell before it had become necessary for the colonists to defend, by open opposition to the royal will, the privileges they had won for themselves. Under Cromwell a benevolent guardianship was extended to all the Puritan communities of the New World: Charles II. failed to overcome the passive resistance of the colony, which, under James II., was forced to submit to the judicial revocation of its charter rights. William of Orange restored all its privileges; and when next they had to be defended against attacks by the government it was in alliance with all the other American colonies.

Where Religious Intolerance Flourished

Religious intolerance, which had once driven the Puritans to New Plymouth and Boston, continued to thrive in their midst. In 1635 the Massachusetts Assembly banished a much-respected preacher, Roger Williams, only because he attacked the frequent amalgamation of Puritan orthodoxy with political rights in the colony and stood up for perfect toleration. With the help of the Narragansett Indians he fled to Rhode Island. Many of like mind came to him from the neighbouring colonies and from England, and he founded new settlements which politically followed, in all respects, the model of Massachusetts, the popular vote being all powerful; but the principle was maintained that a man's religious beliefs are his own private concern, so that in law all faiths were actually equal. The struggle for an independent existence of the little colony of Rhode Island, situated among the intolerant Puritan colonies, was the more severe since the latter allowed it no place in the confederation established in 1643; but finally it succeeded in obtaining a charter from Charles II., in 1663, thus securing its continued independent existence. Meanwhile, quite a number of little settlements had sprung up on the New England coast, founded, some from older colonies, some direct from England.

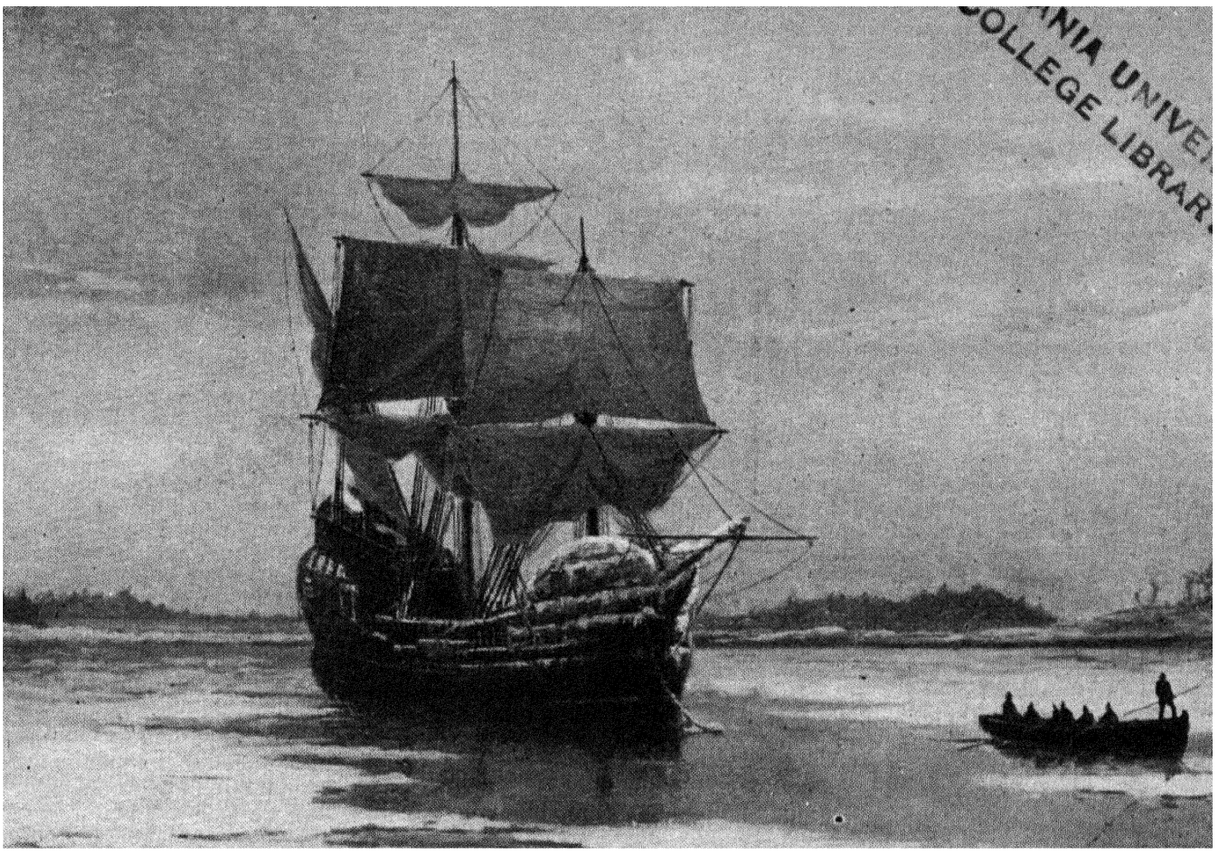
Roger Williams and his New Colony

New Hampshire, granted to English merchants under several patents, had drawn so close to the intolerant Massachusetts that it was united to it in 1642 temporarily. Connecticut, too, was largely a Puritan settlement constituted on more purely democratic principles than was Massachusetts. With the exception of New Plymouth, these settlements progressed with surprising rapidity. They protected themselves against the Indians by their generally peaceful policy and by their confederation established in 1643. Against the home government they had at times scarcely any need of protection.

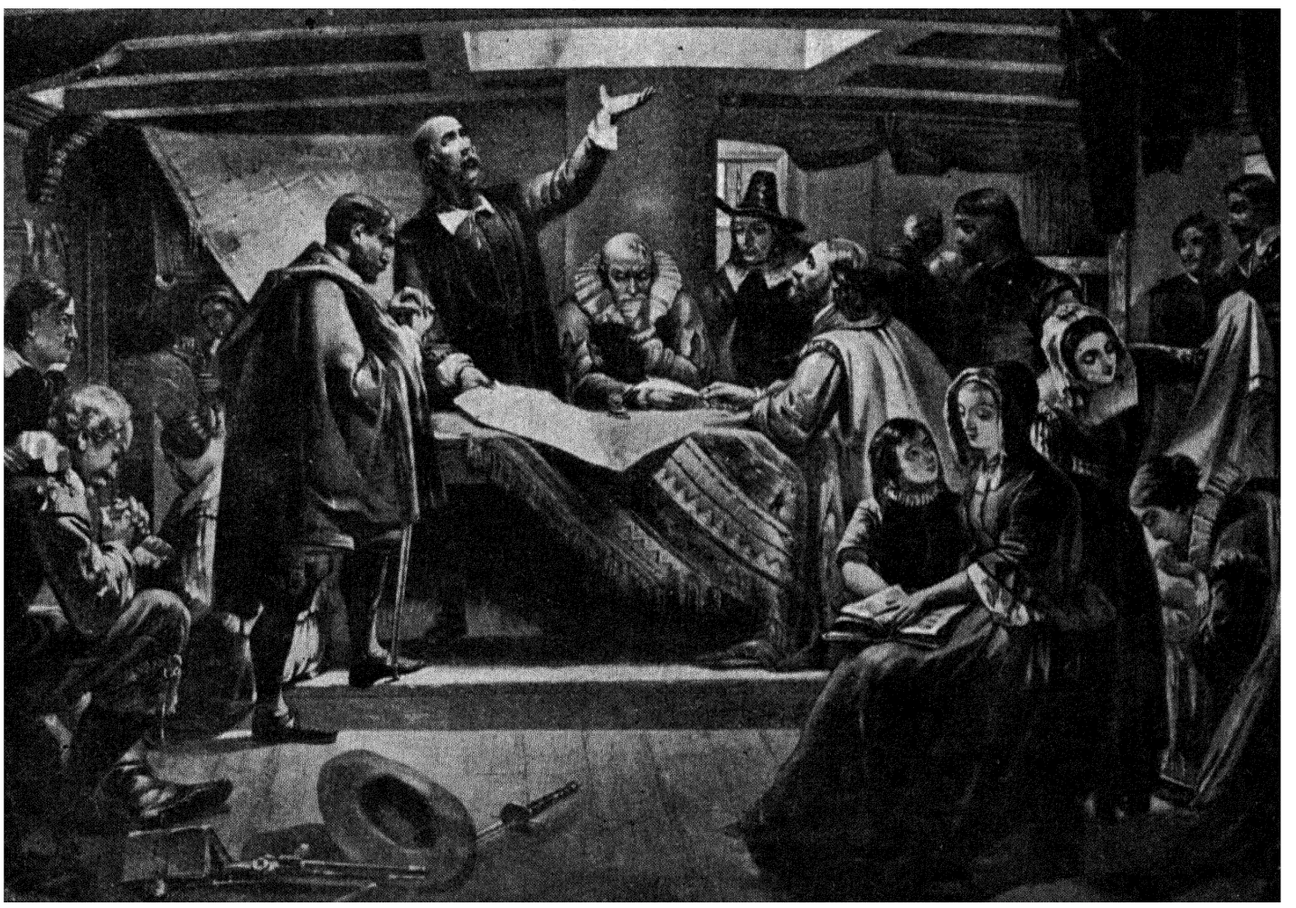
The confusion of the civil war, and the changing fortunes of the two parties, gave the rulers in England so much to do that they were glad to leave the colonies to themselves. These same causes gave a great impetus to emigration, for not only did the conquered seek refuge under the freer rule of the colonies, but many others crossed the ocean only because the political disturbances which convulsed the Mother Country scarcely affected the progress of prosperous development in the colonies. The colonial policy of Cromwell, which found its complete expression in the Navigation Act, curtailed to a great extent the freedom of trade enjoyed by the colonies; but this measure was in agreement with the spirit of the age, and it was chiefly the trade with Holland that was affected. From France and Spain the colonies felt themselves separated by the same national and religious differences as the Mother Country, and the sense of their connection with England was still so strong that the idea seldom occurred of offering the Navigation Act that resistance which had so successfully prevented all interference whatever with the internal affairs of the colonies.

Factors in the Popularity of Emigration

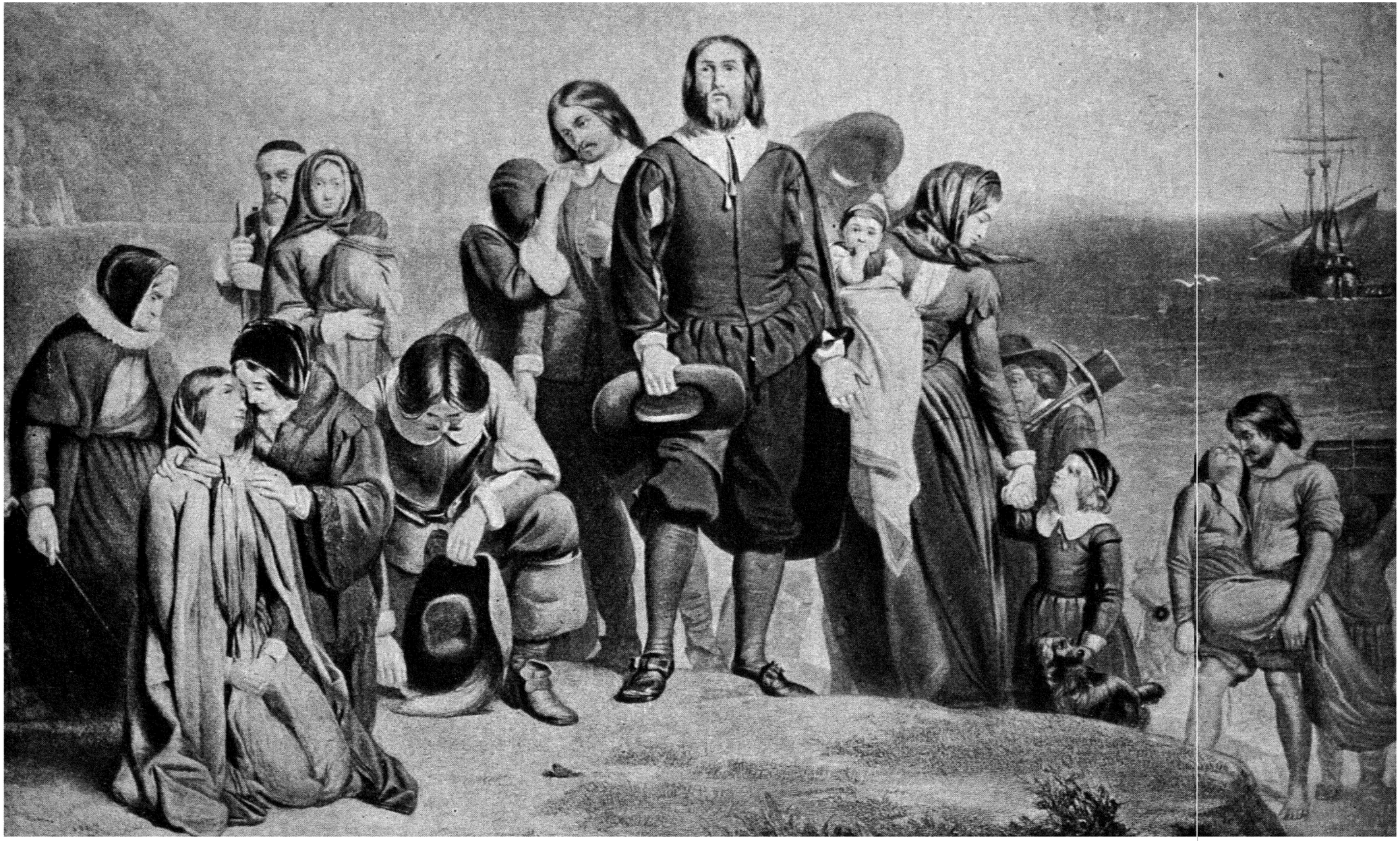
The internal constitution of all these colonies was similar. In general but secondary importance was attached to trade, the true basis of the community being found in labour. There was no search for the precious metals, no barter with the natives, no attempt at their subjugation. When it was impossible to come to a peaceful agreement with them, they were, it is



THE MAYFLOWER, IN WHICH THE PILGRIM FATHERS VOYAGED TO AMERICA
On August 15th, 1620, the Mayflower, a vessel of 180 tons, sailed from Southampton, carrying forty-one men and their families, 102 persons in all. It had been decided to make the passage in the company of the Speedwell, but the captain of the latter lost courage, with the result that the Mayflower made the voyage alone.
From the painting by W. F. Halsall



PILGRIM FATHERS SIGNING THE COMPACT IN THE CABIN OF THE MAYFLOWER
Two days after casting anchor at Cape Cod, Massachusetts, the famous compact was drawn up and duly signed by the leaders of the small band of Puritans in the cabin of the Mayflower. The covenant agreed, among many other things, to "constitute just and equal laws, that shall be thought most meet for the general good of the colony."
From the painting by Edwin White



THE END OF THE MAYFLOWER'S HISTORIC VOYAGE: THE PURITANS' SAFE ARRIVAL IN THE NEW WORLD

From the painting by Charles Lucy

THE FIRST THANKSGIVING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS ON ARRIVAL IN AMERICA

Having survived a particularly stormy passage lasting sixty-three days, the Pilgrim Fathers landed in Massachusetts on November 11th, 1620. Hardly had they set foot on the soil of the New World when a few of them gathered together, gave earnest thanks for safe deliverance from the perils of the sea, and asked a blessing upon their new colony

From the painting by G. H. Boughton, R.A.

true, driven back by force; but the colonists did not take more land than was necessary to secure their own livelihood by agriculture and the cultivation of a few staple products. Slavery and prison labour were no more excluded than in the southern English settlements; but the natural and economic conditions necessary for their extensive employment were absent.

Agriculture here demanded harder work than was to be obtained by compulsory labour; further, the climate was unhealthy for blacks and unsuited for those products whose cultivation could be carried on on the large scale common in the south. Since every man lived, as a rule, on the returns of his own labour, the little communities required comparatively little space. They forced their way into the interior but slowly, and for a long time did not come into conflict with the inhabitants. On the other hand, they rooted themselves to the soil more firmly than the colonists in any other part of America. The population was denser, and, owing to the smaller admixture of foreign elements, more compact than in the other colonies. Almost all of the settlers came with wife and child to the New World, with the settled purpose of remaining there and establishing a home for their descendants.

Thus there developed there the earliest and strongest manifestation of an American national spirit, which was greatly furthered by the forms of local government which grew up in the colonies. The first against whom the awakening national spirit of the Americans turned were the Dutch, whose attention had been first drawn to the North American coast by English sailors. It was under the Dutch flag that Henry Hudson, in 1609, discovered the river that bears his name.

Though no actual settlement was yet made, Dutch vessels, during the next few years, paid frequent visits to the river and to the island of Manhattan lying at its mouth, considering that Hudson's voyage gave them claims over it. These were made good when the district about the Hudson was included in the sphere of action of the Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621. Then arose on Manhattan Island permanent buildings in place of the temporary huts in which the Dutch traders had stored their wares for barter with the Indians; and when, in 1626, the whole island was bought from the Indians for sixty gulden, or florins, there stood among the houses of New Amsterdam the first stone church. Still, Dutch rule did not take firm root on the Hudson.

IN THE OLD COLONIAL DAYS: ON THE WAY TO CHURCH

It was a long time before the Indians developed anything like friendly relationship towards the white men and women who had landed on their shores from the Mayflower. The above picture shows a party of worthy Puritans trudging across the snow to church, each of the men, except the pastor, armed in case of attack from man or beast.

From the painting by G. H. Boughton, R.A.

There were several reasons for this. First, the West India Company strove to promote trade rather than settlement; secondly, wishing to gain more profit from their possessions, the company allowed feudal baronies to be created, thus preventing the rise of a sturdy race of colonial citizens; finally, the company was not fortunate in the choice of its governors. It dismissed Peter Minuit, who had contributed so much to the prosperity of New Amsterdam, and

AN EARLY RELIGIOUS SERVICE OF THE PURITANS AFTER SETTLING IN THEIR NEW HOME

To these English colonists in America, the fathers of the present American race, religious worship was the essence of life. Having escaped from the intolerant ecclesiastical rule of James I. and the persecution to which they were subject from his Ministers, it was with a peculiar sense of gratification that they found themselves able to exercise their faith in freedom and security, and to worship God in the manner approved of by conscience. The above picture shows the first religious service of the Pilgrim Fathers in their new home.

From the painting by George Schwartze

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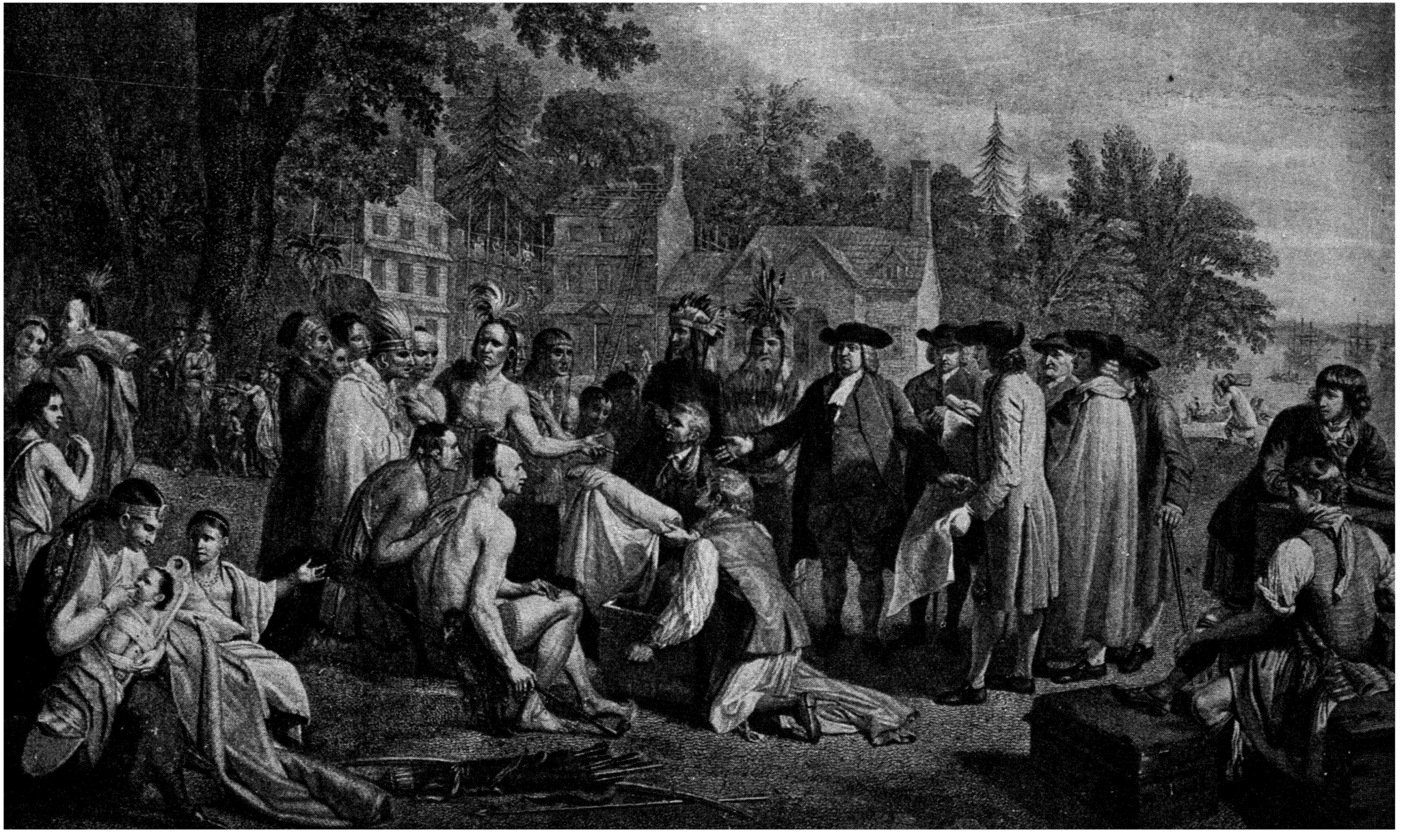
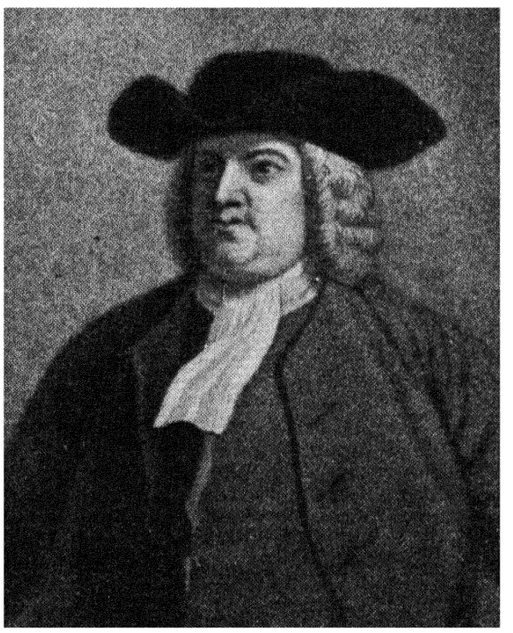


INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE NATIVES: WILLIAM PENN IN TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

This picture shows William Penn, the leader of the Quakers, in the act of holding his historic interview with the Delaware Indians, on the site of which later sprang the city of Philadelphia. The treaty, the fairness of which appealed to the heart of his strange audience, provided among other things that the colony should be governed by laws of its own making.

From the painting by Benjamin West

drove him into the arms of the Swedes, whose colony on the Delaware lasted only so long as it was supported by Minuit's zeal and care. But even the inclusion of the Swedish colonial territory did not supply to the Dutch settlement that vigorous life which was wanting. Its New England neighbours on the north contested with it the possession of the land, and even within the Dutch boundaries the English element became predominant. On the appearance of four English ships before New Amsterdam in 1664, war having just broken out between Holland and England, the governor, left in the lurch by the West India Company, did not dare to make any resistance, and, before a drop of blood had been shed, he surrendered the town and all the Dutch territory to his opponents. In honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., the capital was named New York. Though the influence of the less favourable conditions due to the rule of the West India Company was felt for a long time, yet from the time of its conquest New York was intimately connected with the New England states. In 1673 and 1674 the Dutch succeeded in regaining temporary possession of it; but at the Peace of Westminster they had finally to abandon their claims, and their possessions were absorbed in the English colonial empire. The Dutch wedge thrust in between the northern and southern groups of colonies was assimilated, and from Nova Scotia to Florida the whole coast-line was now politically English.



WILLIAM PENN

Son of an English admiral, religious intolerance towards his co-religionists induced him to acquire the territory of Pennsylvania, and found the city of Philadelphia, both of which became headquarters of the Quakers.

Another of the neighbouring states—Pennsylvania—owes its origin to the religious intolerance that was manifested against the Quakers not only in England, but, with even greater vehemence, in the New England provinces. As a religious sect, the Quakers, with their rejection of all ceremonies and their unbounded philanthropy, are rather a curiosity; their dogma is almost entirely negative; but from a social point of view the foundation of their state was an interesting if not a particularly successful experiment. What specially excited the hostility of those who differed from them in belief was the interference of their doctrines in the region of politics, as manifested by their refusal to take oaths or to perform military service.

In England the Quakers first came into notice in 1655. It goes without saying that the High Church party persecuted them with the same relentlessness with which it tried to drive out or subdue all who differed from it. It was from such persecution that the Quakers fled to New England; but there they made the disheartening discovery that, despite all their fine phrases about brotherhood and equality, the Puritans were even more intolerant towards them than the High Church. In England it was considered sufficient to imprison Quakers who refused to take the oath; in Boston they were beaten as disturbers of the public peace, and four of them were even executed. It was therefore a deliverance for them when William Penn's action rendered it possible for them to found a colony of their own. The son of an English admiral, Penn had wealth as well as high connections. His father and many others considered it inexplicable eccentricity on his part that he should associate rather with the poor and persecuted Quakers than with the voluptuous court of Charles II.; but it was as a Quaker that he attracted attention in the highest circles, without which it would have been very difficult for his sect to obtain the royal sanction for their projected settlement. With money partly supplied by himself and partly collected by his friends, he acquired a part of the territory which the English had taken from the Dutch, and which the Duke of York, with the extravagant liberality common under Charles II., had presented to two of his friends. For this colony, named New Jersey, Penn drew up a constitution on Quaker principles, and set about obtaining a charter from Charles II. Curiosity mixed with interest

continued to play this estimable part until the most recent times. It has been already mentioned that as early as 1643 they combined to meet on the one hand enemies at home, and on the other the threatened dangers arising from the political complications in the Mother Country.

The following year they endeavoured to get the southern colonies to join their confederation; but differences in the political and economic conditions of North and South prevented this, and for a long time what may be called the common history of the English colonies is really only the history of the New England states, the southern colonies having no part in it. The conquest of New Amsterdam and the expulsion of the Dutch were, it is true, accomplished from England. It led, not to the extension of the New England colonies, but to the establishment of a number of new communities, which, however, as they developed, were drawn closer and closer to New England. The whole Atlantic coast, from Maine to Georgia, was now in English hands; not a single foreign station remained on it. This circumstance did not remain without influence on the feeling of union between the English colonies. This time it was the English Government that tried to bring about its realisation. Both Charles II. and James II. made attempts to remedy the complexity of the English colonial relations, and to unite the colonies under a central government; but before the resistance of the colonists their efforts came to naught, and when the English Revolution of 1688 swept away the Stuarts with their centralising tendencies, William and Mary recognised the old colonial constitutions as established by charter.

England's Vast Possessions in America

At this time the rivalry between the French and English colonies made itself more and more noticeable. It was chiefly owing to the differences in their economic conditions that this had not happened before. The English settlements existed almost exclusively by agriculture; and their population was not so large but that the fertile district between the coast and the Alleghanies was amply sufficient for them. They had thus little inducement to penetrate farther into the interior, and did comparatively little to open it up. The French settlements, on the other hand, depending almost entirely on the fur trade, required complete control of an extensive "hinterland"; and every step in the progress of the colonies, every increase in their commercial activity, increased the need for territorial expansion.

This necessity had led them across the continent from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the delta of the Mississippi. The first to enter into competition with them had been the Dutch of New Amsterdam. They, too, were traders rather than tillers of the soil, and the opposition between their interests and those of the French was the more accentuated in that their settlements were not far distant from one another and were separated by no natural barriers. As the fur trade was to a large extent carried on by barter with Indian hunting tribes ("voyageurs" and trappers, though we often hear of them, were rare), competition in trade was naturally accompanied by rivalry for the good will of the Indians.

The Iroquois Armed by the Dutch

As chance had made the French, under Champlain, the allies of the Hurons, the Dutch naturally allied themselves to the Hurons' enemies, the Iroquois. Unrestrained by political reasons, as the French had been, the Dutch, without thought as to the consequences, supplied their allies with arms more freely than ever the French had, and thus rendered them not only formidable opponents to the Indians between the lakes, the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, but a permanent danger to all European settlements that did not enjoy the friendship of the Iroquois tribes. At the conquest of New Amsterdam the English inherited these friendships and enmities; the Dutch trading spirit remained a characteristic of the colony of New York.

Thus, we find it soon afterwards as hostile to the French as ever the Dutch had been; and on the French side the feeling of hostility was now more strongly manifested than it had ever been against the unimportant Dutch colony. At first the contest was confined to commerce. But in 1670, at the instigation of two Frenchmen, who, discontented with the Canadian Government, had entered the service of the English, the Hudson's Bay Company was founded. This company, which extended its operations as far as the Saguenay, was for a time a dangerous competitor with the French in the fur trade. But the boundary war, carried on for a long

The Founding of the Hudson's Bay Company

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time on a small scale, became of greater and greater importance when England and France, at war in Europe, tried to injure each other by attacks on the colonies.

These colonial wars, of which there were no fewer than five between 1688 and 1763, had all much the same character. At the beginning the French with their Indian allies made their way through the marshy forests south of the St. Lawrence to the English villages near the boundary, and there, fighting against the defenceless and scattered farmers, gained easy victories, disgraced, however, by the bloodthirsty cruelty of the Indians. The New England colonists sought to take revenge on the French mission and trading stations in the same manner; but they could not inflict the same amount of damage on the enemy because the posts attacked were not so valuable as the New England plantations, and not so helpless against attack.

Bloodthirsty Cruelty of the Indians

Besides, it was very difficult to win over to a common and energetic plan of action the many minds directing the affairs of the provinces, now united into the Confederation of New England States. The colony of Massachusetts became a kind of leader, chiefly owing to the fact that its capital, Boston, was the seat of the federal assembly. That, however, meant little more than that Massachusetts claimed the leadership, and occasionally assumed it in cases where it was not sure of the agreement of the federated colonies, and did not obtain their support; but it gained real authority neither for itself nor for the federal assembly. Still, Boston became more and more the point where the forces sent across the ocean from England to carry on the colonial struggle collected and prepared to take the offensive.

The Leading State of New England

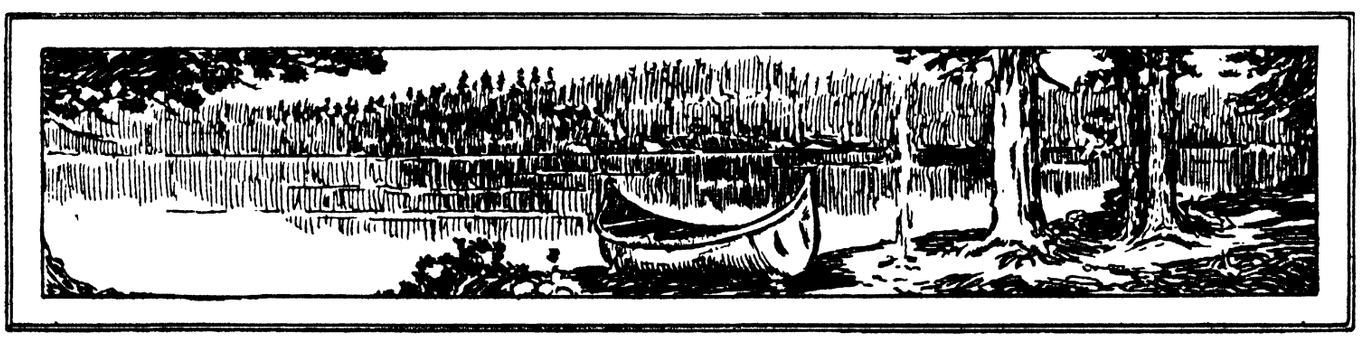
Naturally, it was not to the interest of the English to split up their forces by small expeditions in the backwoods, for which their troops were not prepared, and which, even if successful, could have little effect on the result of the war. They had a decided preference for a point of attack where the fleet that had served to transport the troops could co-operate. Such a point presented itself in the peninsula which lay between the St. Lawrence and the northern boundary of the New England states, called by the French Acadia, and by the English Nova Scotia. It had been settled by the French at the beginning of the seventeenth century; but some decades later it was included in the grant of land made to Sir William Alexander, and was even taken possession of by the English.

But the treaty of peace that restored to the French Quebec, which was taken at the same time, placed them once more in possession of Acadia, where, after a long period of unrest, a number of settlements began to flourish. The most important of these, Port Royal, was the capital of the province. But the New England colonists kept a watchful eye on this district, and did not let slip an opportunity of attempting its reconquest. An English fleet had come over to conquer New Amsterdam, but had been condemned to inaction by the astonishing rapidity with which peace had been concluded. This fleet, at the instigation of the New England colonies, made an expedition against Acadia, and conquered it without much difficulty; neither was it restored to France until 1667, some time after Charles II.'s accession.

The Historic Peace of Utrecht

In 1713, however, the Peace of Utrecht, following the War of the Spanish Succession, finally transferred Acadia to the British, though without any adequate definition of boundaries. The French withdrew to Cape Breton Island, and erected there the fort of Louisbourg, a fortress of such importance that it was known to the New England colonists as "the Northern Dunkirk." Like Dunkirk, it was the starting-point of piracies and raids, and its commanding position rendered it a perpetual menace to the unprotected New England coast.

KONRAD HAEBLER



BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

THE STRUGGLE FOR CANADA

WOLFE'S HISTORIC VICTORY AT QUEBEC AND DOWNFALL OF THE FRENCH POWER

By A. G. Bradley

ENGLAND was already at war with Spain and had been victorious at Portobello when Louis XV. joined issue with her in the dispute over the Austrian succession. The victory of Dettingen followed at once, but in 1745 she suffered the defeat of Fontenoy, and in the same year was paralysed for the moment by the rising on behalf of the Young Pretender. But what mainly affected the Canadian situation was her naval weakness in North American waters and the disastrous havoc that French privateers, issuing from the impregnable harbour at Louisbourg, wrought upon the now numerous merchant shipping of New England. At length the colonists could stand it no longer. At a moment of infinite gloom, when England was smarting from defeat by land and sea, and quivering with a Jacobite rebellion at home, the welcome but astounding news crossed the Atlantic that a colonial force had captured Louisbourg.

It was in truth a great feat of arms for raw militia led by lawyers, traders and skippers. Four thousand men had sailed from Boston under John Pepperrell, a leader of some genius, but of no experience, and the movement had been inspired by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, another man of mark. A small English fleet under Commodore Warren, with supplies, joined them at the scene of action. The tale of the siege cannot be told here. Exceptional courage and no little skill with their heavy artillery, were shown by these hardy Puritans, stimulated by that crusading fervour which still burned in a New Englander when he beheld before him a Papist and a Frenchman. The siege lasted forty days, when a breach sufficient to admit of an assault was effected, and 400 men got a lodgment within the works. About the same time, a ship from France, carrying reinforcements in men and much needed supplies, was captured by Admiral Warren, which proved a finishing blow to the hopes of the garrison, who, to the number of 1,500, then surrendered to the English, and, together with 2,000 citizens, were shipped to France. New England sounded pæans of triumph, and her militia had the novel satisfaction of garrisoning works fashioned with the skill and on the scale of a great European fortress.

Louisbourg Captured from the French

Short-lived Triumph of New England

Though the glory remained, its fruits were short-lived. For though the French had in the meantime sent a powerful expedition to retrieve their loss, which was defeated by winds, waves and disease, Louisbourg was restored to them at the hollow Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, to the despair of the English colonists and the indignation of all conversant with North American politics.

An uneasy lull of seven years succeeded the treaty. The mutterings of the coming storm, trifling in volume though they were, and almost inarticulate amid the thick mantle of boundless forests which still muffled this vast land of the future, nevertheless reached the ears of some few prescient leaders. The outposts of both countries were, in fact, confronting one another even then in menacing attitude

at the edge of the promised land in a fashion that only the sword could settle. The crisis had arrived. It was not this valley or that territory that was to be contested, but in effect the greater and most fertile part of what is now the United States of America. Europe was seething with territorial and dynastic complications which have filled countless volumes of history but left small mark on the world's future. In these wild woods, however, the momentous issue whether North America was to be in effect Gallic and Papist, or Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, was to be fought out. In Canada, the nature of the crisis was well understood.

The French Hold on Canada

She had her finger on the pulse of the west; her leaders were urgent, bold and sanguine; her plans defined. The British were to be confined to the narrow seaboard strip that the thirteen colonies then occupied. The deep mountain chain of the Alleghanies, which shut them off from the interior, and over which they had only just begun, in the persons of the land speculator and the trader, to cast longing eyes, was to be their perpetual and everlasting limit. Everything else was to be French, and, so far as the foundation of such things then went, they already were French. Tin plates nailed on trees in remote forests proclaimed the frontier, while forts and trading villages marked it more effectually.

With the English it was otherwise, though simply as traders they were welcome enough. But they did not stop at that; they came with axes, cleared the country, and drove away the game, and with it the Indians' means of existence. Upon the natural hostility of the latter, on the division of the British into so many separate and often jarring commonwealths; upon the industrial and generally unwarlike character of the settlers, France counted, and not without reason. If she had granted religious toleration to Canada, and admitted the thrifty Huguenots, who would have swarmed into those fertile regions across the Atlantic where their own standard flew, the map of North America would most likely have been painted in different colours. But Canada was nothing if not fanatical.

What France Lost by Her Blunders

By the virtues of her creed she had in great measure laid the foundations of her Western empire. By its very vices to an equal degree she threw that empire away. By the English on the east of the Alleghanies, with a few exceptions, all this was but dimly realised. Governor Shirley, who had organised the capture of Louisbourg, sounded the first note of warning, and with some difficulty stirred up the apathetic legislatures of the inharmonious, disintegrated, struggling groups of colonies into feeble action.

The government of Quebec, then under Gallisoniere, had, on the other hand, a clear enough policy—namely, to resist all encroachments of the English upon the west of the Alleghanies; and acted upon it. This first point of aggression was the Ohio Valley, where the Virginians had already surveyed lands and were preparing to settle them; and it may be remarked incidentally that both nations—France and England—claimed the whole west.

The struggle broke out formally, locally, and on a small scale in 1744 at the forks of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, where Pittsburg, the Birmingham of America, now spreads her miles of resounding industry under a canopy of smoke. The French erected in the following year a single lonely fort, which, under the name of Duquesne, became the key of the west. The following year, though England and France had not actually declared war, the ill-fated General Braddock arrived with two regiments, and, marching against the new fort with these and a handful of rangers, met with that sanguinary defeat on the Monongahela at the hands of the Indians, led by and leavened with French Canadians, that usually bears his name. Shirley himself led 1,500 men against the French fort at Niagara, but got no farther than Oswego, where he was checkmated by a French force from across the lake at Fort Frontenac.

Beginnings of the Great Struggle

Johnson, an Anglo-Irish gentleman, who controlled large estates in the Mohawk Valley, and acquired a singular influence over the Iroquois, though he could not prevent some of them joining the French, led 3,000 militiamen to Lake George with a view to seizing the strong points on the main route to Canada. A French force under a European, General Diskiau, was repulsed by Johnson on Lake George and the general captured; for 3,000 regular troops had now been sent to Canada, and the last French governor of the colony as it proved, the Marquess de Vaudreuil, was seated at Quebec. Technically, he was a Canadian, as he was born in the country

THE DESPERATE STAND OF GENERAL BRADDOCK AT FORT DUQUESNE: A STIRRING EPISODE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORY

The defeat of General Braddock while attacking Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburg, is one of the most stirring episodes in Anglo-American history. Starting out with a force of 2,000 men on July 8th, 1755, Braddock, after crossing the Monongahela, found himself attacked by a party of 900 French and Indians. Two hours' severe fighting followed, the English, owing to the enemy having ambuscaded the surrounding forest, proving living targets for the destructive fire of the French and their allies. Vainly trying to rally his men, Braddock had four successive horses shot under him before being mortally wounded himself, dying a few days later. Out of the 2,000 men who set out that fateful morning, only 977 returned to camp.

From the painting by Howard Pyle

while his father was governor; and he made the most of it. He was a vain man, without force or any military capacity, but not without patriotism. The population of Canada was then about 60,000.

The Acadians, in the meantime, leading peaceful, isolated lives upon a fertile soil, had increased to 10,000, and had been now for some forty years British subjects. When Louisbourg was restored to France, in 1748, the English Government atoned somewhat for their folly by founding the town of Halifax as a counterpoise. It is the only instance of an organised and successful effort at colonisation on a generous scale ever achieved by the British Government, and at the breaking out of the great war Halifax contained a population of 4,000. The agricultural settlements it naturally threw out into the woods behind created the difficulty which brought about that wholesale deportation of Acadians which Longfellow has made famous with a full measure of poetic sympathy and licence.

Halifax Founded by the British

Hitherto no question had disturbed the calm of the Acadians' existence, settled as they all were on the opposite shore of the province on the Bay of Fundy. Peaceful and industrious, if backward people, they lived outside the stream of North American life and racial friction. They were British subjects on the fringe of an otherwise unpeopled British province. They led their own primitive lives, while the English flag only flew over a trifling garrison or two of bored colonial militiamen. In 1713 they had been offered the oath of allegiance or a year's notice to quit as an alternative. They did not object to the oath, but demanded a qualified one, which excused them from serving against the French flag.

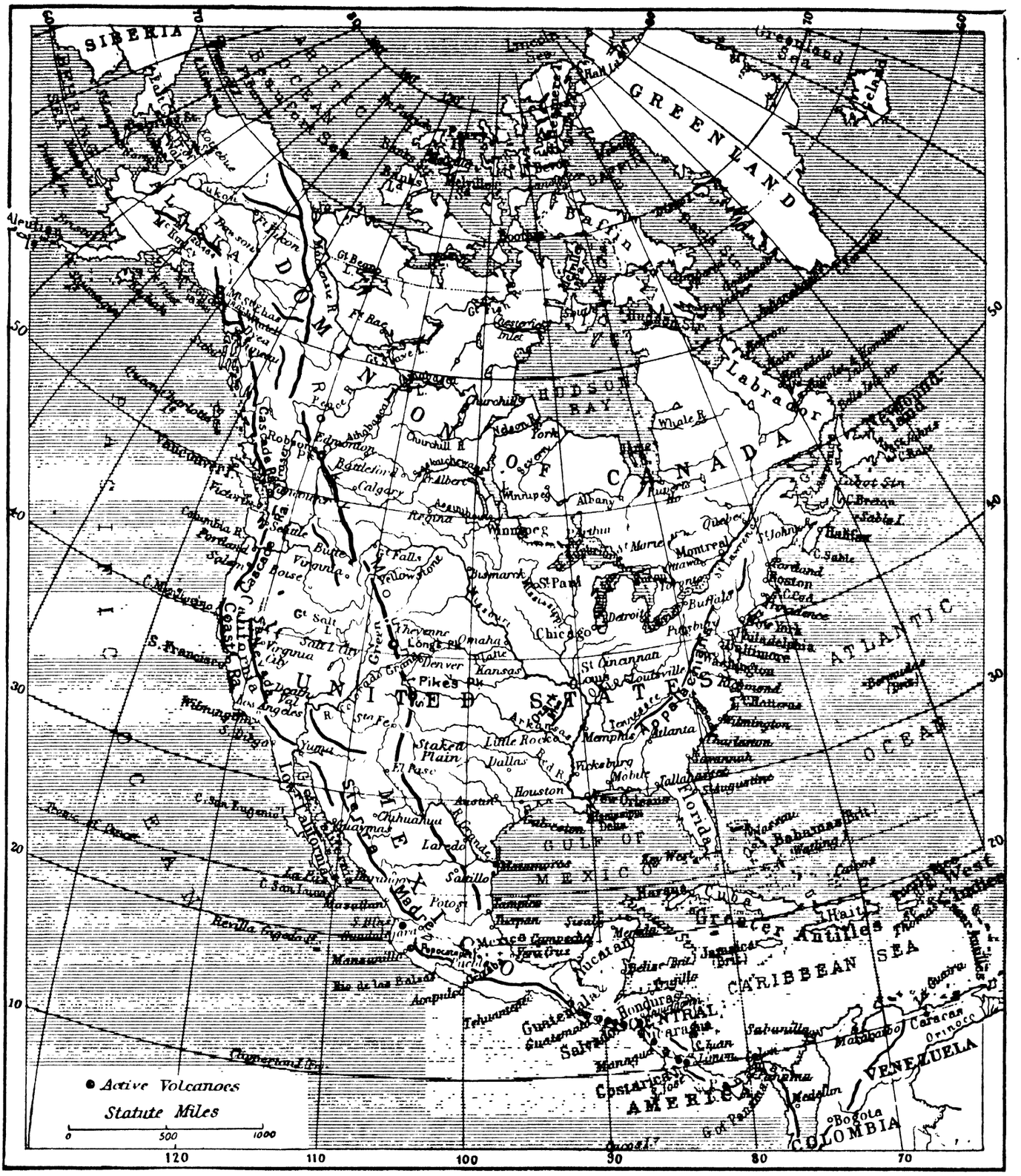
Canadian priests had continually stiffened their backs about this, assuring them that Acadia would be reconquered while the propinquity of Louisbourg gave colour to the notion. It is pretty certain that these simple peasants cared little what flag they were under so long as they were let alone, and the English Government had let them absolutely alone. They had been easy even in the matter of the oath. There were no seigniors, no taxes, no corvées, no military expeditions, as with their brothers on the St. Lawrence, with whom, however, they had no more intercourse than they had with France, which was nil. The origin, too, of the others is known with precision, but no one knows for certain the districts of France from which the original Acadians came. To this day they speak a slightly different vernacular, and have different characteristics from the Canadian French proper, due in part no doubt to their respective environments. When Halifax was founded and Acadia was renamed Nova Scotia, the province threatened to become English in blood as well as government. This changed the aspect of affairs for those who cherished the hope of its reversion to France; Canadian officials and priests, that is to say, and incidentally, too, the Micmac Indians, bloodthirsty, numerous, and with strong French sympathies.

The Simple Peasants of Acadia

Word went out that the British settler from the eastern shore, carving out a farm in the backwoods of this, his own province, was to be intimidated. This was done in Micmac fashion, not to be tolerated, of course, for a moment. The officials of Louisbourg and two or three fanatic intolerant priests were the instigators. How far the Acadians were involved is doubtful. Some few were, beyond doubt, reckless characters; others were merely hounded on by their superiors. The French, too, had erected forts at the gut of Cansean, that narrow neck which joins Nova Scotia to the mainland, but then a disputed boundary. In 1755, 2,000 armed men, French Canadians and local Micmacs, congregated here on war intent. New England answered in sufficient force and there was some little fighting. The wretched Acadians were now between the hammer and the anvil. They had consistently refused the unqualified oath now really vital to the British Government.

Acadia's Historic Exodus

They refused it still, under advice, for the most part given in all earnestness, from their priests endorsed by the Bishop of Quebec, the fierce Le Loutre being a foremost agent in the business. Colonel Laurence was governor of the province; Colonel Winslow, a New Englander and distinctly humane man, of the troops. To these two belongs the responsibility for the historic exodus. The greater blame at least lies in the heartless fashion in which the French Canadian officials had used these simple people as their tools. To the British authorities there seemed no alternative if life was to be made possible for their own settlers. All who had refused



MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, SHOWING THE UNITED STATES AND THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Although Columbus is generally given the distinction of discovering North America, it is practically certain that the Norsemen had landed on its shores nearly five centuries earlier. When John Cabot navigated the coast in the neighbourhood of Cape Breton, in 1497, the population of this vast continent, with an area, inclusive of outlying lands and islands, of 8,300,000 square miles, was counted by thousands, whereas to-day it is 105,000,000 souls.

the oath, numbering, with their families, some 6,000 souls, were forcibly deported with their money and movables. They were taken by sea and distributed in the various colonies, keeping families together as much as possible. It was a lamentable business, but the verdict of those who have not studied the question from the Treaty of Utrecht onward is worthless. The lot of the exiles was almost everywhere unhappy, and most of all in the case of those who went to the prime authors of their misery at Quebec. Some went to Louisiana, and it is sad to think these peaceful souls became in their poverty and despair themselves a terror to the peaceful. The most fortunate, strange to say, were those who fell among the Puritans of New England.

In 1756, though already for this long time quite active in North America, war was formally declared between France and England. New France, with about 4,000 regulars—for she never succeeded in getting many more—and

some 15,000 militia, but virile and compact, and half-conscious, was staking her very existence for an empire; England, with her brood of a dozen somewhat ungracious, ill-assorted offspring, blundering into the American part of the business without any very clear ideas, but chiefly because she was fighting France in Europe. Old France, unfortunately for herself, had lost her enthusiasm for Canada at the wrong moment, and only Canadians measured the stake. It would take a chapter to define the various local considerations which tugged this way and that at the thirteen British colonies and prevented their common action; only a few persons among them all grasped the great issue. France, at least, sent one of her best soldiers to Canada, and Montcalm becomes henceforth its leading figure. He had little talent pitted against him. Loudon, the English commander-in-chief, and a poor one, too, did not turn up till August, while Abercromby and Webb, who in the meantime represented him, were below mediocrity. Some good partisans, like Sir William Johnson, were active, but the details of a big war were for the moment too much for provincial officers.

Montcalm the Leading Figure in Canada

GENERAL MONTCALM

Montcalm was appointed commander of the French troops in Canada, where, in defending Quebec against the English, with General Wolfe at their head, he was mortally wounded, dying within a few hours of the fall of the city.

New England, however, girded her loins, and had several thousand brave but ill-disciplined militia in the field. The more southern colonies were selfish and backward, even in their own defence, for Braddock's defeat had let loose swarms of Indians, egged on by France, upon their frontiers, which were swept bare by the torch and tomahawk amid unspeakable horrors, and here the young George Washington, commanding a few Virginia militia, was engaged in futile but plucky efforts to stem the ravage.

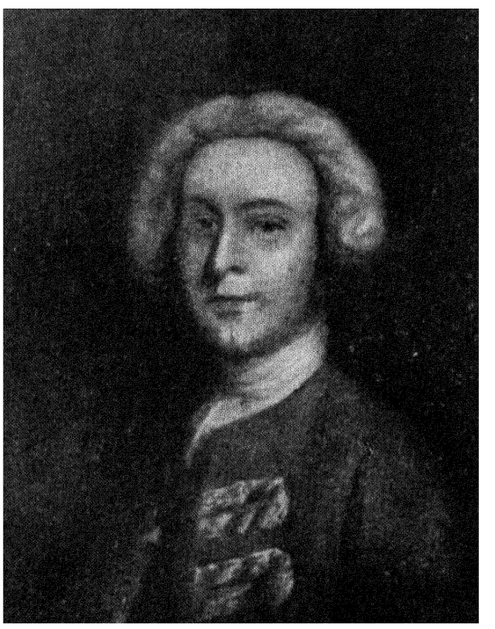
The season for campaigning in these northern forests was short. The summer of 1756 saw Montcalm entrenched with 6,000 men at Ticonderoga, at the head of Lake Champlain, and Loudon with nearly twice as many, a third of whom were regulars, at the head of Lake George, both posts being on the direct route from Montreal to Albany on the Hudson. The ostensible object of either general was to drive his adversary back and capture the town, which was his base. But neither felt equal to the task, and the summer passed in irregular skirmishing.

Montcalm, however, slipped round with another force, and captured Oswego, on Lake Ontario, the chief north-western frontier post of the English, together with 1,600 men and 160 guns, and razed it to the ground. So far the French had all the best of it. The following year, 1757, Loudon, at his own suggestion, was ordered, with the pick of his British regiments, to sail for Nova Scotia, and attack Louisbourg as a step towards a later expedition by sea against Quebec. It will be enough to say that Loudon and his army, reinforced by 6,000 men from England, spent the summer at Halifax, and did not attack either Louisbourg or Quebec. It must at the same time be said that the short seasons, the immense extent and roughness of the country, the enormous difficulties of transport and victualling, and even of getting news, account for much of what, on paper, often looks like culpable inertia. Montcalm saw with joy this foolish policy, and in the absence of Loudon and his army, moved down the Lakes with a large force and artillery, and captured Fort William Henry, after a brave defence by Colonel Monroe.

Two thousand prisoners were taken, but Montcalm's Indians got out of hand, and the victory was marred by a massacre of about 100 captives. Though Albany, the chief entrepot of the British western fur-trade, lay practically open, the unforeseen exigencies of eighteenth century backwoods warfare on a big scale dashed Montcalm's hopes. A famine was impending in Canada, and a ripening grain crop lacked hands to cut it. Thus ended a year disastrous to British prestige in America, but with no other great result.

Montcalm's fame, in the meantime, had travelled westward on the wings of the wind, and Indians from remote nations with bows and arrows had flocked to Montreal to serve under him, eat of his scanty store, and drink his brandy. His mission Indians, skilled riflemen, were invaluable, but these capricious, uncontrollable hordes were more than a doubtful blessing. Yet for policy's sake they could not be summarily rejected. Official Canada showed at this moment a strange mixture of vice and virtue, of vigour and apathy. The notorious Bigot was intendant, with a gang of harpies who shared his peculations; Vaudreuil, if not himself implicated, was indifferent, but was furiously jealous of Montcalm and frequently thwarted him.

The last was above reproach, and looked with disgust on the commercial baseness of those about him in this supreme hour of stress and trial; but, unlike Frontenac, he kept his temper and pursued at the same time his difficult task unflinchingly. For the government of France had now passed into hands that could not realise North America, or see the dazzling prospects or the ruin which at the moment presented themselves as alternatives. Yet with all the peculation and heartless corruption rife among Canadian officials, and many of the military long stationed there, an ardent patriotism and *esprit de corps* nevertheless animated all alike, the just and the unjust. This was well, for France either could not or would not send further help. Great Britain, on the contrary, had awakened from her slough of lethargy and jobbery to life, and Pitt was at the helm. In the next year, 1758, a fleet and army, in which James Wolfe figured prominently, recaptured Louisbourg. But as an offset, in this same July, at Ticonderoga, on the neck of the land between Lakes George and Champlain, Montcalm won his last and greatest victory. General Abercromby, one of the few incompetents that Pitt had been unable to remove, was approaching Canada by the Lake route, with 6,000 regulars and 9,000 provincials, the largest and best-equipped force yet seen in North America. Montcalm, with his able lieutenant, Levis, with but 3,400 men, mostly regulars, awaited this formidable host.

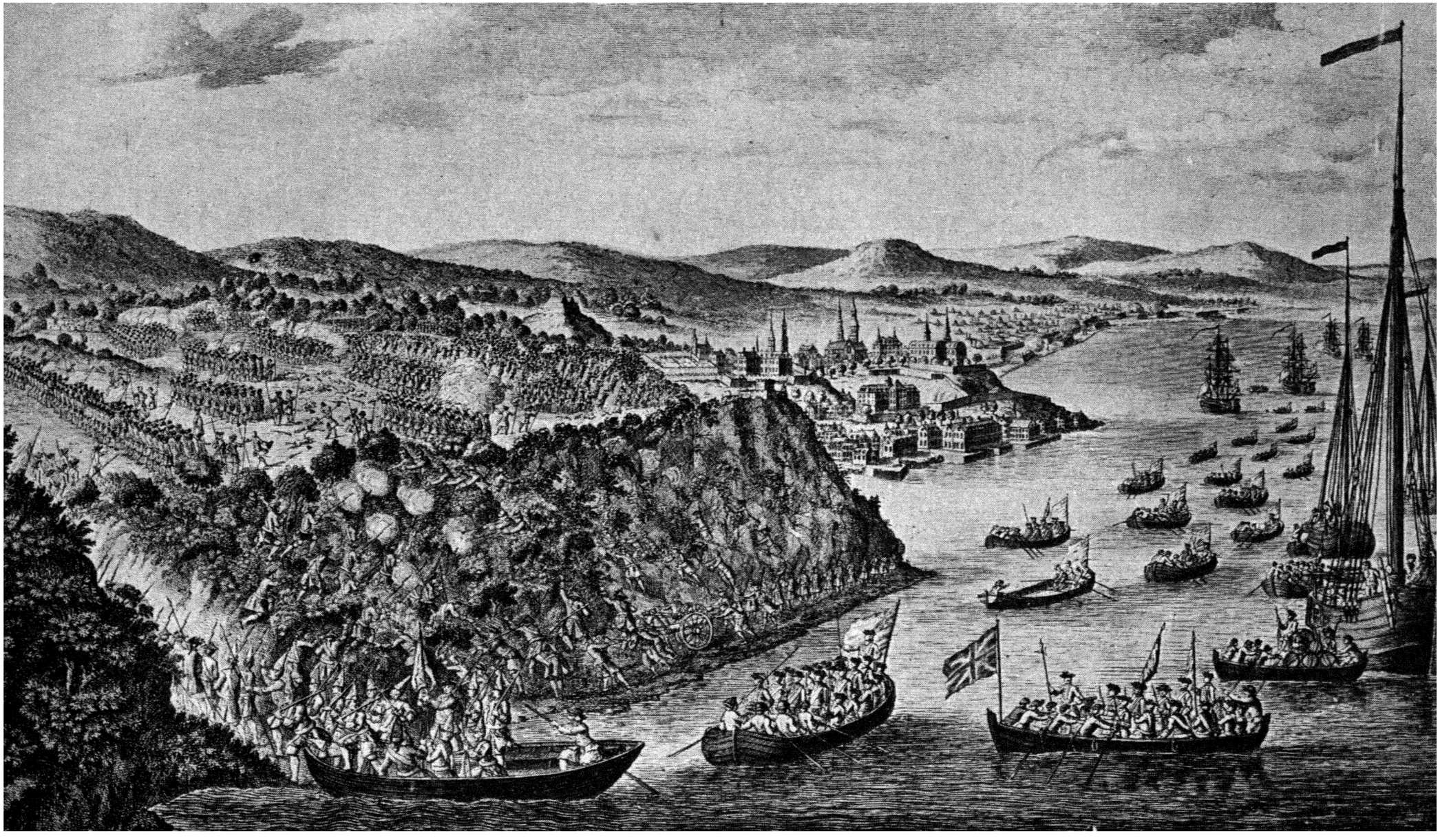


GENERAL WOLFE

Born in a Kentish vicarage on January 2nd, 1727, General Wolfe was a soldier of distinction even before his victory at Quebec, having fought at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743, at Culloden in 1746, and at Lawfeldt in 1747.

Montcalm Wins his last Victory

Rejecting the stone fortress of Ticonderoga, he threw up a circular palisade near by, and surrounded it with a *chevaux de frise* of fallen trees, with their branches pointing outwards. From within this, on platforms, his men could shoot in comparative security. Artillery would have blown this otherwise formidable entrenchment away in an hour; but Abercromby, who was well supplied, left his guns in the rear, and for three hours of a blazing July day hurled his regulars on ramparts impregnable to rifle and bayonet, the 42nd Highlanders, whose American record became one of the proudest, losing just half their numbers; 2,000 men fell valiantly in the hopeless task. At sunset the general abandoned not only his fatuous attack, but the campaign, scuttling back to the head of Lake George with a still large army in semi-panic, as if the enemy were at his heels. Such was Ticonderoga. Astonished and justly elated as were Montcalm and Canada, it was their last flash of glory. An expedition this same summer under Forbes, with George Washington upon his staff, and following more or less on the steps of Braddock, captured Fort Duquesne. Pitt had now set his mind not merely on driving the French power from the west, but from North America altogether, and in 1759 his final effort was made for the capture of Canada. He had now found young and ardent leaders, who caught his fire and communicated it to the private soldier, while the nation was behind him to a man. Sir Jeffery Amherst took the command in America, and with a strong force was himself to move up the Lakes, over the scene of Abercromby's disgrace, on



THE BATTLE THAT WON CANADA: GENERAL WOLFE'S CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, ON SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1759

The struggles between England and France for the possession of Quebec came to a conclusion at day-dawn on September 13th, 1759. Twice before the British had attempted to recapture the city, but without success. In February, 1759, General Wolfe sailed from England, landing opposite Quebec in June. The attack proved one of tremendous difficulty. On the eve of the 13th, Wolfe and his troops, at a point insufficiently guarded, mounted the Heights of Abraham, where a short, decisive battle followed, the French being completely routed. The above picture shows the scene on that historic morning, which decided the fate of Quebec, the British forces obtaining their great victory over the French regulars.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY, ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1759

General Wolfe's supreme moment of victory came with that of his death. The bitter struggle for Quebec was at last over, the French forces were vanquished, the British flag would shortly wave over the city after an interval of 130 years, and Montcalm's dream of a French-Canada lay shattered, himself at the point of death. Foremost in the fighting on the Plains of Abraham, General Wolfe, who had emerged scatheless from the battles of Dettingen, of Culloden, and of Lawfeldt, was mortally wounded, and the above picture shows the great English soldier, the son of a Kentish vicarage. breathing his last in the presence of a few of his faithful followers. His body was brought home, and buried in Greenwich Church.

Montreal. Another expedition was to march on Niagara, the French key to the north-west. Lastly, and most notable of all, was that force of 8,000 men, mainly veteran troops, under General Wolfe, which was borne by a British fleet under Admiral Saunders against Quebec. Canada, by this time almost wholly cut off from the Mother Country by British fleets, had now to fight for her life, and braced every sinew for the struggle. If but one-twentieth of the 100,000 men France was devoting to useless war in Europe had been sent earlier to her aid she might have given another account of herself. Levis was in command at Montreal, but his hour was not yet.

Canada Fighting for Her Life

Quebec was the vital spot, the heart and key of Canada. Here sat Montcalm himself, with nearly 4,000 regulars and 12,000 militia, greatly doubting indeed if a fleet of battleships could be safely navigated up the treacherous currents of the St. Lawrence by seamen having no acquaintance of it. But on June 27th that question was settled, and the British fleet lay beneath the city, discharging redcoats on the Isle of Orleans, which there parts the wide stream. The fortifications of the town had been made good. Crowning the point of a lofty promontory parting the St. Lawrence from its small tributary, the St. Charles, its landward or western side was defended by walls, and was held, moreover, as impracticable by the almost perpendicular cliffs which, for some miles up the St. Lawrence, alone gave access to it.

The foot of the town fronting the waters bristled with fixed and floating batteries. Across the St. Charles the low ridge of Beauport, lying back from the St. Lawrence and rising from its flats—these last half covered at high tide—stretched for five miles to where the great cataract of the Montmorency leaped down it with a sheer drop of nearly 300 feet and made a natural flank defence. Crowning this long ridge of Beauport, and heavily intrenched, lay 12,000 to 14,000 men, the majority, to be sure, no match for regulars in the open, but quite as effective with rifles in their hands behind a strong position. Here, too, was Montcalm, with Vaudreuil, the governor; for the city, deemed unapproachable save by way of their intrenched Beauport lines, rose just across the St. Charles on their right, and was garrisoned by 2,000 men. Not six persons, probably, in all that British host had ever before set eyes upon Quebec, and it was a sufficiently formidable prospect as now presented to them with a well-found garrison of nearly twice their number, animated by patriotism and religious fervour, and led by a general of renown.

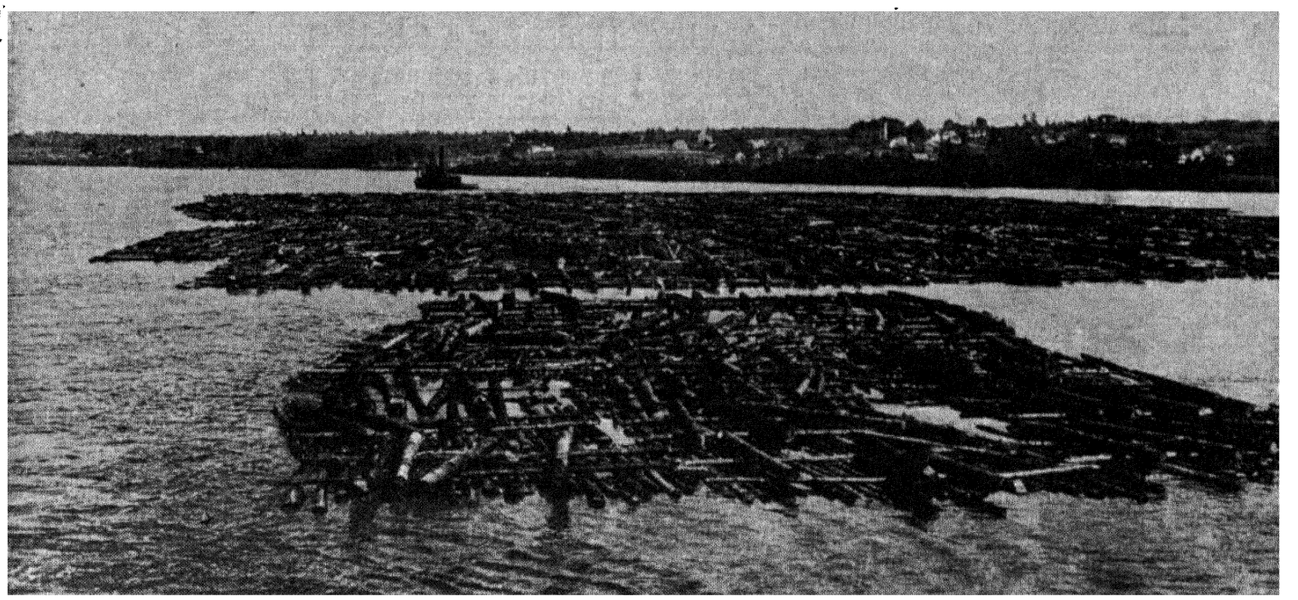
The British Attack on Quebec

What Wolfe—now just thirty-one—thought, with the eyes of Pitt and England on him, and barely four months in which to crown or ruin his reputation, he has told us. But space imperatively forbids any full description of this famous siege. How the British artillery from across the river at Point Levis pounded the city to ruins; and how Wolfe, seeking in vain for a weak spot, flung 2,000 over-eager men upon the steep, embattled ridge of Beauport to their heavy punishment.

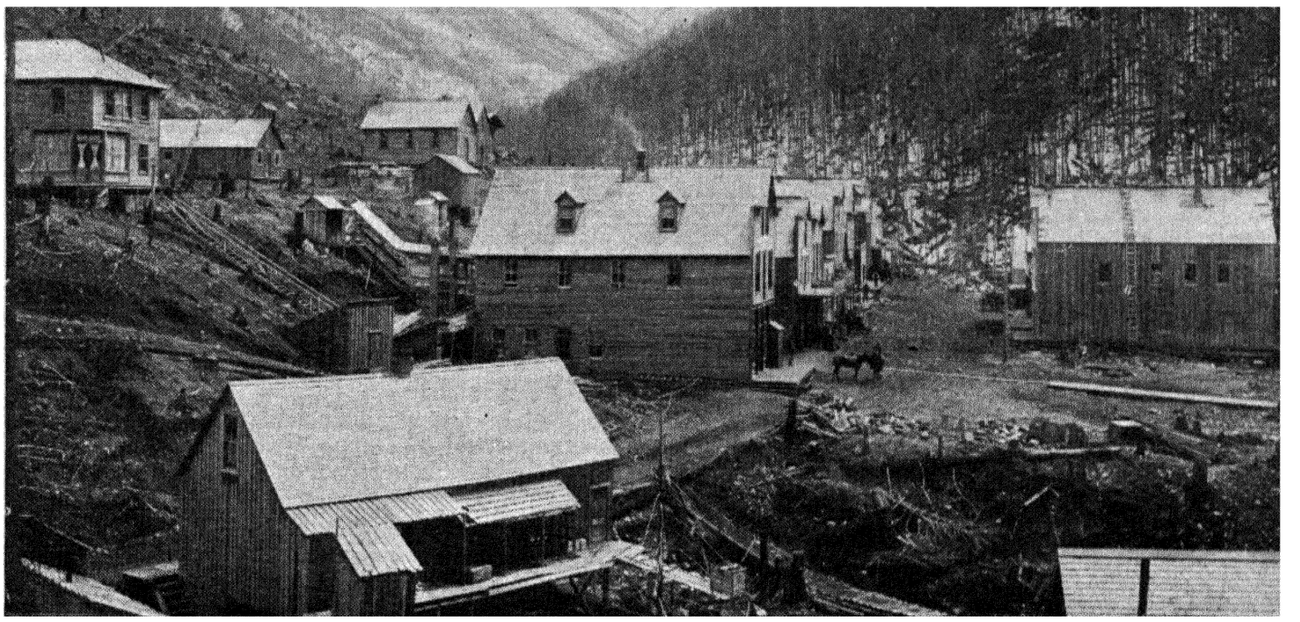
Montcalm had tried fireships; otherwise he wisely sat tight awaiting his wintry ally, whose very approach would drive the English out of the St. Lawrence. Fighting in the open, even at odds, he knew to be in Wolfe's favour, while behind his works he had him at an enormous advantage. Eight weeks thus passed; the early winter was in sight, but success no nearer. The fleet under Saunders, contrary to the usual custom of those times, acted in perfect harmony with the general, but could advance the great object no further. At length the young leader, sick in body almost unto death from chronic disease, rose with great difficulty from a fevered bed with a new and daring resolve, though its import he kept to himself, not even confiding it to his brigadiers—Monckton, Townshend and Murray.

Wolfe's Brilliant Ruse

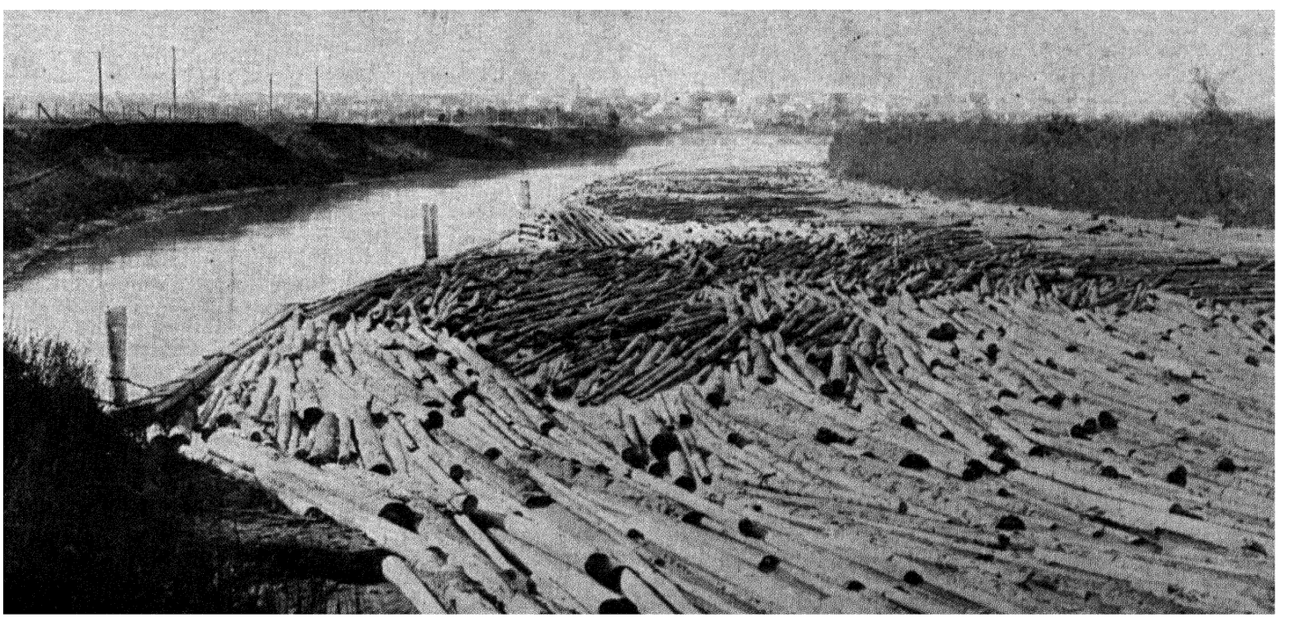
The batteries by land and sea still held the attention of the besieged; while on September 7th 4,000 men were marched up the south shore of the river, accompanied by some ships to Cap Rouge, seven miles above the city, where De Bougainville, a capable officer, lay with 2,000, mostly good, troops to guard the upper country. The ruse was admirably maintained. Montcalm was even unaware that a serious body of troops had gone upstream, while Bougainville thought they meditated an attack on himself. Wolfe still kept his own secret till he issued his general orders on the night of the 12th. Some time before he had noticed a foot track leading up the cliff a mile and a half



A RIVER SCENE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC: LOGS IN TOW



LUMBER CAMPS IN THE FORESTS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



CUT LOGS IN THE ASSINIBOINE RIVER THAT HAVE FLOATED HUNDREDS OF MILES

SCENES IN CANADA'S GREAT LUMBER INDUSTRY

6067

above the city on to the plateau behind it, known as the Plains of Abraham. In the dark of the early morning of the 13th his force was dropped into boats and crept silently down-stream under the cliffs, narrowly escaping discovery by the sentries stationed there, to the appointed spot known as Wolfe's Cove. Here they were landed in relays, the ships following at a distance. Dragging themselves up the steep ascent, and overcoming one or two weak French posts at the summit, the whole 4,000 men were ultimately drawn up on the plateau before either Quebec and Montcalm to the east, or Bougainville to the west, knew anything about it. Montcalm only heard the news at six, and was thunderstruck. Hurrying all the troops he dare withdraw from the Beauport lines through the city, he marched out to meet the British, with about 5,000 men.

The Fight That Won Canada

They met on the plateau a mile back of the city, now familiar to the world as the Plains of Abraham. Discipline soon settled the matter. Two withering volleys, followed by a charge of bayonet and Highland claymore, sent the French flying, with the loss of about 1,500 men, in panic to the city after about twenty minutes' confused fighting. All was practically over when Bougainville and his force arrived at the English rear, where a regiment had been held in reserve to stop him. The brave Wolfe, however, fell in the great hour of victory, and his eyes closed on the success of his scheme. Montcalm, too, was mortally wounded and died that night.

All was now panic within the French lines. Vaudreuil and the surviving troops hurriedly abandoned Quebec and made their way by inland roads up the river towards Montreal, the militia mostly scattered to their homes, and the city a day or two later surrendered to Townshend, who had succeeded to the command. The British loss in the battle was about 600 killed and wounded. Canada was now virtually won. That brief struggle on the Plains of Abraham was one of the world's most decisive, as it was one of its most dramatic, conflicts.

What Wolfe's Victory did for North America

It finally settled the question whether North America was to be French or English. Incidentally, too, by the removal of the French power it made possible the birth of the United States.

But Canada was not yet literally conquered. Prideaux had captured Niagara; but the middle and third expedition against Montreal, under Amherst, delayed by obstacles both of Nature's and Levis's making, failed to get through that year. Levis, with the remnant of the French and colony regulars, continued to make a brave, if futile, struggle, including a gallant attempt to recapture Quebec from its English garrison under Murray in the following spring. But in the same summer he laid down his arms at Montreal, and Vaudreuil formally surrendered Canada to Amherst, then at the head of three British columns, which from three different quarters had, by skilful planning, arrived there upon the same day.

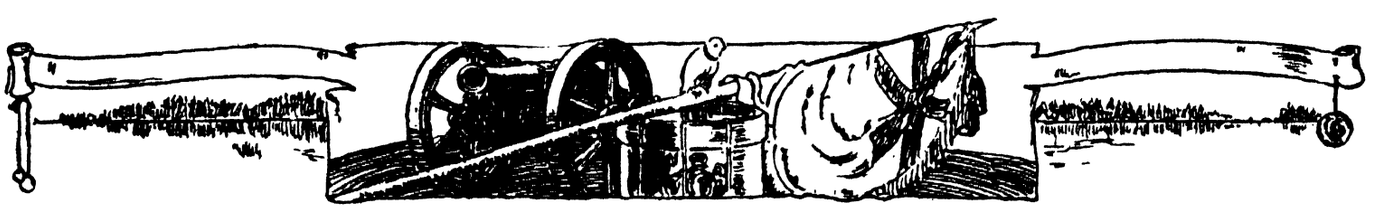
The initial terms here granted to the French Canadians were generous, nor did their formal ratification by treaty and subsequent Acts of Parliament entail any substantial alteration. They were guaranteed in the free exercise of their religion, while the property of their religious houses, with the exception of the Jesuits and two or three others to be reserved for the king's pleasure, was secured to them.

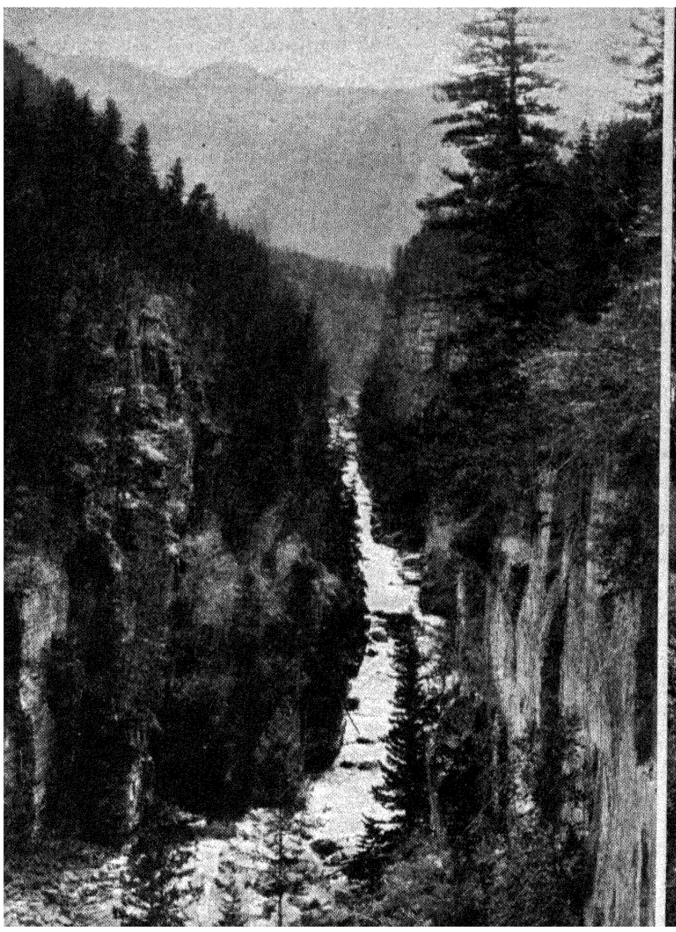
Britain's Awards at the Treaty of Paris

The war in Europe closing two years later, the Treaty of Paris was ratified in February, 1763. By this, Canada, Cape Breton, and the whole country east of the Mississippi was ceded to England, leaving only New Orleans and Louisiana to France, or, rather, to Spain, as they were transferred to her by way of compensation for her cession of Florida to England.

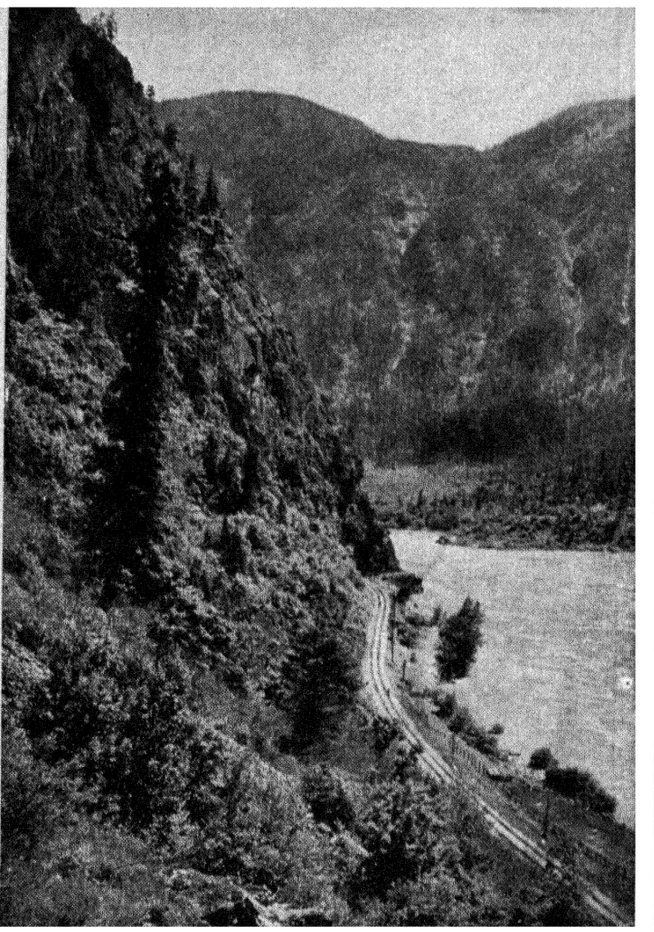
Unfortunately, in the teeth of Pitt's opposition, the small barren islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and certain fishing rights in Newfoundland, were also yielded at a moment when Great Britain, then at the height of her power and glory, could have resisted far greater demands than this with impunity.

A. G. BRADLEY

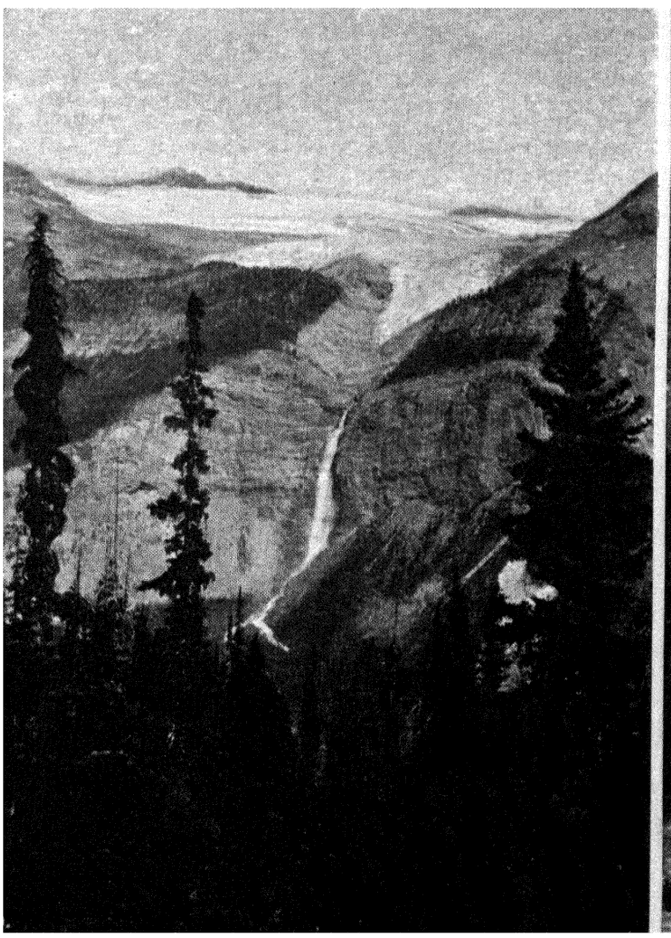




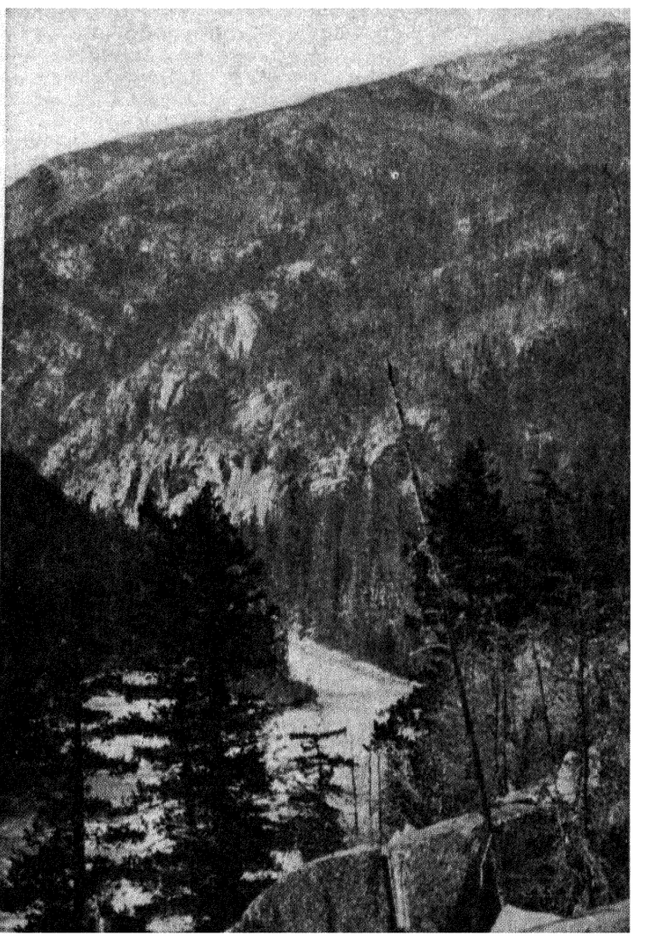
A MOUNTAIN STREAM IN THE ROCKIES



FRASER CANON, NEAR YALE, B.C.



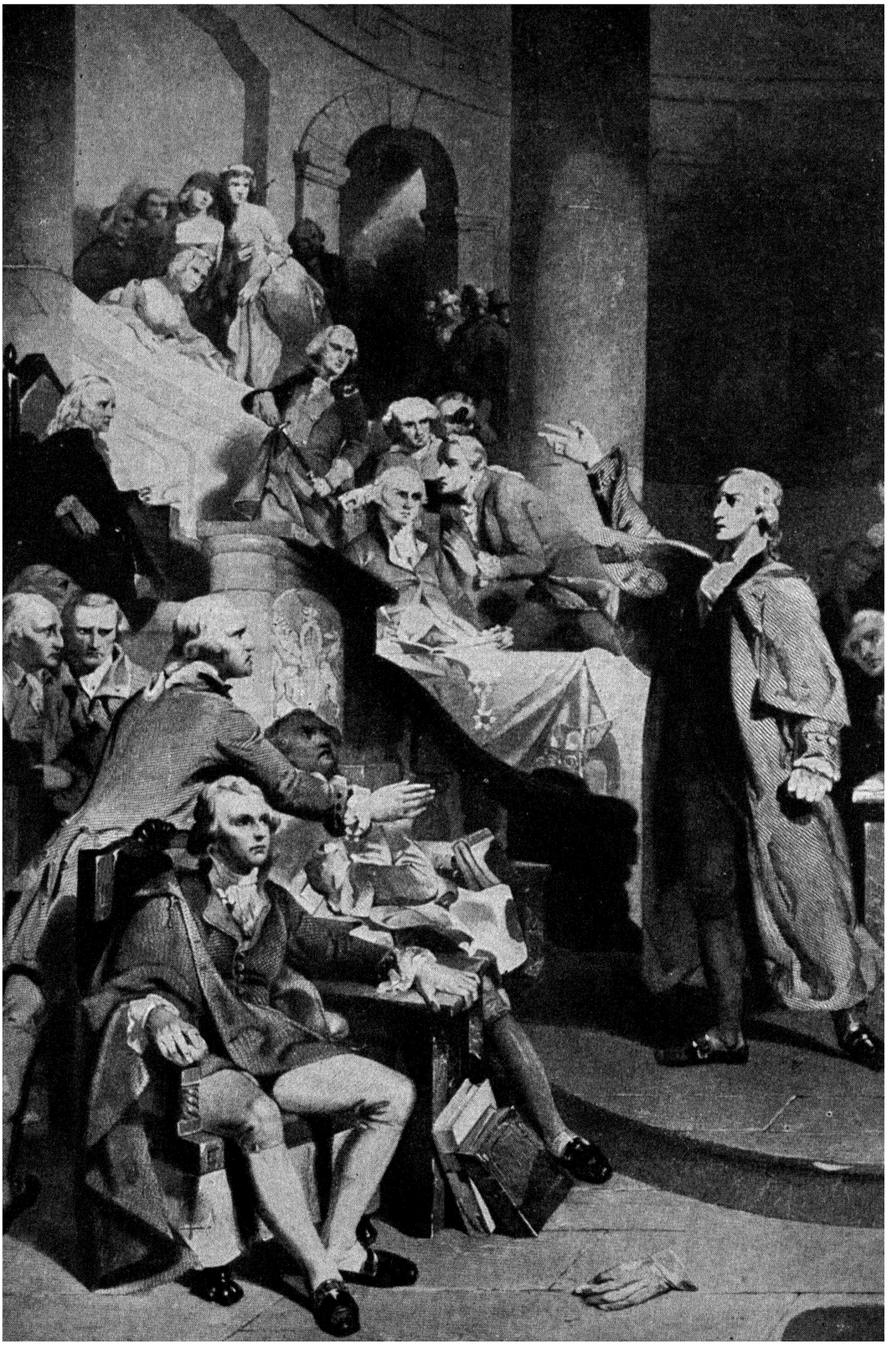
TAKAKHSA FALLS AND TOHO VALLEY



THE HOMATHCOH RIVER

BY MOUNTAIN AND STREAM IN CANADA

Photos by courtesy of London "Canada" newspaper



BRITAIN'S TAXATION OF HER COLONIES: PATRICK HENRY'S FAMOUS SPEECH OF PROTEST

The passing of the Stamp Act by the British Parliament gave rise to much opposition in the American colonies, contravening, as it did, the recognised principle that taxation should only be by assent of representatives, and showing that the Mother Country claimed to legislate for the colonies to her own advantage and to their disadvantage without consulting the people of the colonies. The above illustration shows the ardent orator, Patrick Henry, making his famous speech, in which he denied the right of Britain's taxation, before the House of Burgesses, in May, 1675.

AMERICA ON THE VERGE OF REVOLT

THE RIFT BETWEEN THE OLD COLONIES & THE MOTHERLAND

THE Peace of Paris left only two European Powers with a footing on the North American Continent—Great Britain and Spain, which had ceded Florida in exchange for Havana, captured by the British during the war, and had received Louisiana from France. Spanish rivalry was a negligible quantity. The French in Canada acquiesced in the transfer of the sovereignty from Versailles to Westminster. If their goodwill were retained, North America might be regarded as practically British. That the whole of it did not remain a part of the British Empire was only due to a schism in the British race itself, which led to the establishment of a new Britannic nation quite independent of the British Empire.

British North America, then, consisted of two main divisions—the thirteen British colonies which had attained the organisation of self-governing states, subject to certain rights of control retained by the Mother Country; and the new dominion, with its French population, religion, language, customs and institutions; to which must be added the communities of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, as well as Florida, which had not yet emerged into a form of organisation sufficiently advanced to entitle them to be described as states. The great question of the future, unrecognised at Westminster, was that of establishing between the Mother Country and these two main divisions of her American empire relations which should give that empire permanence—for if the great war had finally secured it from serious attack by a foreign foe or rival, it had by that very fact introduced an element of disintegration.

Britain's American Empire

The presence of the French had in itself served to enforce the dependence of the colonies on the Mother Country. Their individualism or particularism was far too strong to permit of their subjecting themselves voluntarily to a common control for the purpose of resisting French aggression, so long, at least, as the Mother Country recognised an obligation to hold French aggression in check with her own fleets and armies. It was worth while to pay a substantial price to be free from the strain of maintaining an efficient military organisation. A degree of submission to a central authority was involved, but it was the authority under whose ægis the several states had come into being. Submission to authority was the price paid for protection. On the other side, it had been worth while for the Mother Country to extend that protection, not from altruistic motives, but on account of benefits received. She had no inclination to interfere with the normal autonomy of the colonies; but if her own interests and those of the colonies clashed, it was natural that she should insist on giving her own the precedence.

The Price Paid for Protection

The colonists might protest, grumble, evade, but they could not afford to repudiate. The difference which the great war had made was precisely that it was no longer worth while for the colonies to pay the old price for protection. In effect, this price was the regulation of trade, imposing restrictions on the colonies in the interest of the Mother Country. The navigation acts of the commonwealth—Cromwell, to whom they are commonly attributed, was not yet lord protector, and, after a year in Scotland, had been fighting the Battle of Worcester only a month before they were enacted—inflicted little injury on the colonies; the more stringent form given to the Act after the Restoration was more serious in its effects.

Restrictions on Colonial Commerce

Direct trading between the colonies and foreign countries was prohibited, while imports and exports were virtually restricted to English, or, after the union

with Scotland, to British shipping. Moreover, the government at Westminster forbade in the colonies the manufacture of goods which entered into competition with English products. The grievance was so marked that the laxity of colonial officials in enforcing the regulations was habitually and deliberately winked at, and a huge illicit traffic was permitted to grow up under the regime of Walpole. For it was a cardinal tenet of that Minister to remedy grievances not by legislation, which might rouse angry opposition, but by administrative disregard of breaches of the law—by going as far as possible in the direction of treating the law as a dead letter.

Walpole's Method with Grievances

But that laxity would have been superfluous unless it was intended to palliate a serious grievance. A grievance which required to be palliated in Walpole's time, when the need of English protection was growing daily more palpable, was quite certain to require something more than palliation when the need of protection had disappeared altogether. Next it is to be observed that the administration of the colonies was liable to be directed from the Mother Country, which appointed the governors, who were the executive chiefs. In practice, there was ordinarily nothing to invite antagonism between the administrative and the representative assemblies.

But in England the representative assembly had been in possession of practical control of the executive for half a century. If it should be brought home to the colonial assemblies that they did not possess this control, that the executive might set them at naught, it was morally certain that they would follow the precedent of the English House of Commons and would not be contented to leave the effective control in the hands either of the Crown or of a parliament in which they were unrepresented. The English Parliament in its struggle with the Crown during the previous century had based its claims on fundamental rights of citizenship which it could not logically deny to the colonists. The average colonial might grumble, and had, in fact, grumbled to some purpose, on occasion; but agitation was not likely to reach a dangerous stage at such times, as agitators had nothing more serious to denounce than a theoretical subjection. It would be another matter if the theoretical subjection developed into a practical antagonism, as would happen if the administration became actively engaged in enforcing the will of the sovereign of England against the will of the colonists. In like manner, parliament had accepted the administrative autocracy of the Tudors, which was in accord with the popular will, but challenged and overthrew that of the Stuarts, because it set itself in antagonism to the popular will.

Why the Colonials Grumbled

Here, then, were two great grievances—one actual and of long standing, the other potential. And the effect of the war had been to place the colonies in the very position to resent grievances; or at least it had removed one very strong deterrent to active resentment.

On the other hand, it is a good deal easier for us to-day to realise the extent to which the conditions were changed than it was for politicians in England in 1763. It was less obvious that the colonists had been set free from the need of protection; it was still supposed that forces would have to be maintained on American soil—not only in Canada—for that purpose. The axiomatic truth that France could not be dangerous to our American dominions so long as we held command of the sea was not appreciated. Moreover, a very few months after the Peace of Paris an Indian rising occurred which pointed to a possibility, at least, that the American continent itself contained enemies powerful enough to force the settlers to appeal to the Mother Country for aid.

The North American Indians

In the altered political condition of North America, brought about by the Peace of Paris, none was worse off than the Indians. Under French rule the Indians were doubly favoured, because the French settlements, in which agriculture played quite a secondary part, had need of them in two ways—first, to obtain by barter articles of food and trade; secondly, to aid in resisting the overpowering competition of the English settlements.

Thus the Indians were not only not driven out by the French, but were often encouraged to settle under the protection and in the immediate neighbourhood of the French boundary forts. The English backwoodsmen who now forced their way into this region brought with them an utter want of consideration for the Indians; and the conflict which soon broke out was occasioned rather by the colonists than by the natives. The latter were, it is true, not

wholly free from blame. For generations the Indians had been accustomed to the idea of the unlimited power of their fatherly patron, the distant French king. There may have been, among the Canadian settlers and among the French fur-traders and rangers who lived in the closest intimacy with the Indians, some who really believed that the present state of things was only transitory. At any rate, the Indians were in many cases led to believe that the great king was only asleep, and that when he awoke he would certainly remember his children in the distant wilderness and free them once more from the heavy yoke of the stranger.

The general ferment caused by these circumstances threatened to become dangerous to the English. A determined Indian chief of clear judgment tried to take advantage of the situation to stir up a rising of his countrymen which should place him in a position of power and honour. A chief of the Ottawas named Pontiac had during the period of French rule played a considerable part as representative of a powerful tribe. After the defeat of the French, he, too, had made peace with the English; but when he was disappointed in his hopes of gaining honour and influence among them, he resolved to be revenged on them. He was able, by means of his messengers, to persuade the Indian tribes of the west, from the Lakes to the Mississippi, to join in a great conspiracy against the English. In May, 1763, he himself was to give the signal for a general rising by surprising Fort Detroit, between Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

Failure of the Indian Rising

A number of English forts were actually stormed, and laid waste with the usual barbarities. But the failure of Pontiac's attack on Fort Detroit, which he besieged for months, paralysed the movement. It was completely checked when reinforcements, sent out from Pennsylvania to relieve Fort Erie, which was also besieged, gained a decisive victory over the Indians at Bushy Run. Next year Pontiac went farther towards the southwest and tried to get the Indians on the Illinois and Mississippi to join in the struggle. How dangerous an opponent he was is shown by his endeavours to get the French garrisons, which in many cases had not yet been broken up, to take his part against the English. But in this he failed, and as the English troops were at his heels, he wisely enough gave up his warlike plans and submitted, as most of the chiefs allied to him had already done.

The interpretation placed upon this object-lesson encouraged the idea that considerable military expenditure would still be demanded from the Mother Country by the colonies. And, in addition to this, it was easy to feel a strong conviction that in any debit and credit account between colonies and Mother Country the balance of debt was heavily against the colonies. Not the colonial militia, but ships and regiments from Great Britain, and money out of the national exchequer, had overthrown the French power and secured freedom to the colonists for westward expansion. Though there were colonies such as Massachusetts which had made substantial sacrifices, the burden of the expenditure had been borne not by the colonies but by England; and the bulk of the profit was to be reaped not by England but by the colonies. That is to say in effect that the colonies had not yet discharged their debt for protection in the past. But when moral obligations come to be measured after this fashion, the parties are apt to apply different standards of value, and English politicians left out of the scale what the colonies had paid to England by the commercial regulations.

The Colonies' Debt to Great Britain

Now, in dealing with the newly acquired Canadian dominion, the policy adopted aimed at reconciling the French population to the new government. They were not offered self-government on the English analogy—they had never had it, or dreamed of it, nor would they have understood it if it had been granted them. What they got, however, was a paternal government, which sought to disturb them as little as possible, with the result that the end was successfully achieved. But with their own kith and kin the English Ministers dealt altogether otherwise. George Grenville, who became the ruling spirit after Bute's withdrawal, was appalled by the expenditure which the war had entailed, and was eager to fill the depleted treasury. He looked to the colonies, for whose sake the war had been waged, and found that they were not paying their share.

Grenville's Strong Hand on the Colonies

On the contrary, he found that by the illicit traffic they were evading the payment even of that share for which the law had already provided. He

resolved in the first place to enforce the law; goods must pay their dues at the ports, and smuggling must cease. To that end the ships of his Majesty's navy were deputed to perform the functions of revenue cutters; and the lucrative trade, in which the most respectable citizens had shared extensively and hardly surreptitiously, became on a sudden extremely precarious. However annoyed the colonists might and did feel, men of British race always have a strong prejudice against putting themselves technically in the wrong, always endeavouring to believe in a technical justification for resistance to constituted authority, to find precedents for showing that the authority is acting *ultra vires*.

Passing of the Contentious Stamp Act

Here Grenville was palpably within his rights. No one had ever disputed the right to impose customs duties for the regulation of trade; the duties being imposed, no one could dispute the right to enforce them. The colonists would have found it extremely difficult to find any technical plea on which his action could be challenged. But his next step, however, gratuitously provided that much sought for technical plea. The Stamp Act was passed, ordering government stamps to be affixed to all legal documents for the purpose of providing revenue.

There was nothing in the colonial charters to bar the British Government from imposing such a tax; but there was no precedent for it. Customs for the regulation of trade had always been held to be distinct from taxes for purposes of revenue. In England, the Crown's prerogative of imposing customs without leave of parliament had been upheld by the courts, and had ultimately been surrendered to parliament for valuable consideration. But taxes for revenue had lain with parliament for centuries, and the Bill of Rights in 1689 had expressly laid down the principle of taxation only by assent of representatives. Yet here was parliament claiming to tax the citizens of the colonies in total disregard of that principle, a fundamental principle to maintain which the English had cut off the head of one king and sent another packing to France.

Taxation Without Representation

It was no doubt true that the circumstances differed in the very material point that there existed no practicable method of providing the colonists with representation, a possibility which the Bill of Rights had not included in its purview; but that did not invalidate the proposition that to ignore the principle was to stultify that charter of English liberties. "Taxation without representation" was not the real colonial grievance; but it was the technical plea behind which the colonial grievance was gratuitously enabled to take cover.

It must be remembered that before the passing of the Stamp Act itself, Grenville had not been content with enforcing the existing import duties; additional duties had been scheduled, and it had been expressly stated that the object of these additional duties was to raise revenue. This was in itself sufficient at least to provide a handle for raising the question of constitutional principles. The fight between Crown and parliament in England had begun on a precisely similar point.

At the accession of the Stuarts, the exaction of the established customs for the regulation of trade by royal prerogative was recognised without qualification. James I., being in want of funds, extended the duties by what were known as the "impositions." Parliament had at once claimed that such extension was in the nature of taxation, and required the consent of the people's representatives. The law courts had supported the Crown; but parliament by resolution had traversed the decision of the judges, and had never admitted the validity of the claims of the Crown. Protest now on the part of the colonies was on all fours with the old protest of the English Parliament against the impositions. But the effect of the Stamp Act was to give their protest the same basis, in principle, as the Petition of Right, the Declaration of Right, and the Bill of Rights. But the essential grievance of the colonies went much deeper than the technical point. It amounted to this: that the Mother Country—the people of England—claimed to legislate for the colonies to her own advantage and to their disadvantage, without consulting the people of the colonies; whereas the people of England had fought a great civil war rather than submit to legislation which they had not sanctioned.

The Essential Grievance of the Colonies

For their own submission to such legislation in the past the colonists had received value; but they did not see how they were going to receive value for it in the future. They were perfectly certain, sooner or

later, under these circumstances, to claim the rights of free men which their fellow citizens in England had asserted very decisively for themselves in the previous century. In England, however, as in every European country, colonists were regarded as having abrogated the full rights of citizenship; they were, so to speak, people who had been authorised to exploit the territories on which they were permitted to settle, on such terms, and only on such terms, as the Mother Country deemed sufficiently profitable to itself; they had no right to claim a revision of the terms of contract in their own favour, on the ground of abstract political doctrines, none to assert that restrictions which their charters permitted constituted legitimate grievances.

The letter of the law warranted the maximum claim of the Ministers in England; but what was novel in these claims was in direct defiance of constitutional principles affirmed in English statutes; and even what was not novel was liable to be challenged on general principles. But there was still a serious difficulty in the way of accepting the colonial argument in practice. If the British Parliament surrendered its technical right of taxation out of consideration for constitutional principles, how was Great Britain to be indemnified for expenditure incurred on behalf of the colonies?

Great Britain in a Difficulty

The only method available was that of voluntary contribution based on the recognition of a moral obligation, each colony contributing what it thought fit. For the colonies possessed no common central authority which could apportion their shares in a common fund; and, under such conditions, each individual colony was likely to discover very good reasons for paying less than its neighbours. The alternative—the representation of the colonies in the British Parliament—offers, even at the present day, obstacles which seem insuperable. In the days before steamships it was manifestly quite outside the region of practical politics.

In modern days we have accepted the principle—not without some warrant for the old expectation that the colonial translation of moral obligation into pounds, shillings and pence would leave the Mother Country's share disproportionately large. The politicians of the eighteenth century did not accept it, in spite of the declamation of Burke and the elder Pitt, both of whom declared vehemently in favour of the colonial appeal to fundamental constitutional principles. Ministers took their stand on the letter of the law. They did not believe that the colonists would set them at defiance, and had no doubt whatever that if they did Great Britain would have no difficulty in bringing them to reason. There is ground for believing that if Ministers had relied in the first instance on the moral appeal, the answer from the colonies would not have been inadequate, for an unwonted warmth of sentiment had been aroused by the triumphs of the British arms, and the name of William Pitt inspired the utmost enthusiasm.

Grenville's Flagrant Innovation

Grenville chose the other course, and with the most exasperating methods. Before introducing the Stamp Act, he invited an expression of opinion from the colonies, although there had never been any intention of allowing their views to carry any weight. The Stamp Act itself was futile, because the amount of revenue which it would raise could not at the best be more than insignificant: a minimum of value was to be obtained at the cost of a maximum of irritation. To make matters worse, this flagrant innovation was accompanied by a "Quartering Act," requiring the colonies to provide barracks and free quarters for the officers of the troops to be maintained, although the colonists did not admit the necessity for their retention.

There was a violent outburst of indignation, which had been provided with the constitutional formula so invaluable to the agitator. There were already signs that American markets would be closed to British goods, and British merchants were uneasy. The great mass of the colonials would have passionately repudiated any suggestion that they were disloyal to the British connection. When the ardent orator, Patrick Henry, exclaimed "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. had his Cromwell, George III."—the cries of "Treason! Treason!" prevented him from continuing for some moments, and were really allayed only by the ingenuity of his evasion—"George III. may profit by their example." But perfectly honest professions of loyalty were compatible with a very stubborn defiance of "tyranny." In the interval between the

The Colonies Opposed to "Tyranny"

passing of the Stamp Act and the day when it was to come into force popular feeling had expressed itself so vigorously, not to say riotously, that no one was found ready to discharge the official functions without which the new act could not be given effect; no one, evidently, could have done so except at the risk of his life. But even more significant of the character of the approaching crisis was the action of Massachusetts, with its Puritan political traditions. Massachusetts invited the colonies to send delegates to a representative congress, in effect for the purpose of protesting, and thus set a precedent which might in the future provide means to concerted action. Delegates assembled from nine states, and those from six of them signed a petition to the king, together with a memorial to parliament, in which the right of parliament to tax the colonies was repudiated.

Protest to King and Parliament

In the meanwhile, events in England were taking a more favourable turn. The Grenville Ministry had been obliged to resign almost immediately after the passing of the Stamp Act, owing to a serious disagreement with the king over the Regency Bill. Pitt himself could not be induced to form a Ministry; but the government was undertaken by the more Liberal group of Whigs, who were headed by the Marquess of Rockingham, whose secretary, Edmund Burke, was now to appear for the first time in parliament.

In full accord with Pitt, and, indeed, at this time with popular sentiment—for the quarrel with the colonies was having an extremely disturbing effect on the mercantile interests—the Rockingham Ministry repealed the Stamp Act; and although at the same time a Declaratory Act was passed affirming the abstract right of taxation, the immediate effect was most pacificatory. For, simultaneously, a number of existing duties were materially reduced—a measure which, while it pleased the Americans, benefited the revenue more than the Stamp Act could have done, owing, first, to the increased demand for the cheapened goods, and secondly to the disappearance of the main inducement to smuggling.

The Brief Rockingham Ministry

But the Rockingham Ministry lacked prestige and influence with the country, and was in political disagreement with the king. It was forced in turn to resign, and Pitt at last accepted office, only to construct an amazingly miscellaneous cabinet and then leave it to anarchy. For the great Commoner accepted a peerage, which withdrew him from the arena of the House of Commons, and was then so sorely gripped with disease that he became wholly incapable of taking part in public affairs. In Chatham's name, the Grafton Ministry proceeded to leave undone every project of the great statesman, and to do everything which he would have most emphatically condemned. The Stamp Act had been passed in 1765 and repealed in 1766; in 1767 Charles Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, set the mischief at work again, and having done so, died, leaving to others the reaping of the whirlwind which he had sown.

Townshend's Revenue Act could not have been more ingeniously contrived if it had been his deliberate intention to irritate for the sake of irritating. He imposed six new duties, apparently with the object of emphasising the abstract right to tax, seeing that the return expected from them collectively was not more than £40,000. Of the six, one only, that upon tea, was of any commercial importance. The grotesqueness of the thing becomes the more apparent when we realise that the effect of the impost was not to increase but to diminish the price which the Americans had to pay for their tea.

America Indignant at the Tea Tax

For hitherto, under the navigation laws, tea was not carried direct to a colonial port from India; it had to pass, on its way, through an English port, where it had to pay duty. Its price at the colonial port was consequently enhanced by the amount of that duty. Townshend's Act granted a drawback of this amount—that is, the duty paid on entering the English port was returned, while the new duty imposed at the colonial port was only one-fourth; so that, in effect, three-fourths of the old duty was remitted to the colonial purchaser. But it was exacted at the American port, merely to exemplify the right of exacting it. And thus it once more set ablaze the flame which the Rockingham Ministry had all but quenched. The monstrosity of the tax lay in its sheer wantonness, not in the hardship it involved.

The effect was immediate. The colonies were pervaded with a fixed determination to boycott the taxed goods, and all goods imported from England, until the obnoxious

taxes should be withdrawn. Non-importation agreements became the order of the day, with disastrous effects on British trade, accompanied by increased activity in home manufactures. The Massachusetts assembly passed resolutions, sent petitions and protests, and took the lead in inviting plans and schemes for concerted action. The governor, Bernard, required them to withdraw the circular letter in which the invitation had been conveyed, but the assembly flatly refused, by a majority of more than five to one. The governor dissolved the assembly, and refused to issue writs for a new one, whereupon a convention was called together, attended by delegates from every settlement. The convention had no legal standing, but the people of Massachusetts recognised its authority, while it conducted its proceedings skilfully enough to avoid any technical breach of the law.

Other provincial assemblies followed the Boston example in passing strongly expressed resolutions. Troops began to arrive in Boston from England, in response to Governor Bernard's demands, but it was only with the utmost difficulty that provision could be made for them; the colonists entirely refused to comply with the terms of the Quartering Act. Viewing their conduct as little short of veiled rebellion, the English Parliament passed resolutions in favour of reviving an obsolete statute of Henry VIII., and applying it in the colonies, so that trials in which the action of government officials was involved might be removed for hearing from the province concerned. George Washington in Virginia was already feeling that armed resistance might prove necessary, in 1769, though he was as yet as far as possible from advocating the idea of independence. But it can hardly be doubted that, beneath the surface, that idea was beginning to strike root.

Murmurings of the Coming War

This was the moment chosen for the most fatuous of all the government measures. Of Townshend's six taxes, five were withdrawn; but the sixth—that on tea—was retained. Chatham had already recovered sufficiently from his illness to protest and retire from the Ministry; Grafton, its nominal head, now followed suit; and at the beginning of 1770 Lord North began his disastrous Ministry. It was almost at this moment that a riot occurred in Boston, in which some of the soldiery were forced to fire on the mob; half a dozen persons were injured, and three were killed. Demagogues exaggerated the incident into a "massacre," though a jury of Bostonians acquitted the soldiers. For the moment, however, agitation was driven beneath the surface. Hutchinson, a Boston man, was made governor in place of the somewhat exasperating Bernard, and the English Ministers seem to have come to the conclusion that there was no more serious trouble in store. An awakening came in 1772, when the royal schooner Gaspee, on revenue duty, was boarded by night as she lay aground at Providence, in Rhode Island, and was burnt, while no evidence could be procured as to the perpetrators of the outrage. And now plans which had been slowly maturing took shape in overt action.

Boston's Reply to the Tea Tax

The towns in all the New England states, in Virginia and in South Carolina, established correspondence committees; the boycott of British-borne tea was made practically complete. At Charleston tea was landed, but found no purchasers. At New York it was not allowed to be landed at all; ships and cargoes were dismissed from the harbour. At Boston, the people would not allow the tea ships to land their cargoes, and the governor refused to let them leave the port till they had paid duty. After a great public meeting, a party of Bostonians, dressed for the occasion as Red Indians, boarded the tea ships in the presence of an applauding multitude, and emptied their contents into the sea.

This was in December, 1773. It was the signal for a series of repressive measures enacted in 1774. British sentiment, once not unfavourable to the colonies, had swung completely round, in consequence largely of the illegality of the methods which the Americans were now adopting; moreover, the losses to English trade were now arousing not merely perturbation, but active resentment. And this was intensified by the action of Benjamin Franklin, who was acting in London as agent for several colonies. By some means never explained, Franklin had obtained possession of a private correspondence between Whately, George Grenville's secretary, and the governor and the chief justice of Massachusetts. Those letters he sent to America, and in America they were

Franklin's Breach of Honour

published. The Americans were furious on account of the opinions expressed; the British were not less disgusted at the breach of honour involved in their publication.

Three "penal" Acts, then, were passed against Boston. The Boston Port Act closed the port entirely. A second Act removed from Massachusetts the trial of any official who should be indicted for acts performed in the course of his official duties. A third in effect cancelled the charter of the colony. In addition to these, another general Quartering Act was passed. And at the same time the suspicions of the Americans were intensified by an Act which was not directed against them in any way, being concerned entirely with the administration of Canada.

Protestant Feeling in New England

There, as we remarked at the beginning of the chapter, representative government on the English model would not even have been appreciated; and the population was Roman Catholic. The Quebec Act was in effect a measure for the administration of Canada as a Crown Colony, and for the official establishment of Roman Catholicism. New England abhorred Romanism, and imagined the measure to be a political experiment intended to be applied at an early date to the older colonies who were claiming the right of free citizens. The Quebec Act aggravated the effects of the penal legislation.

Massachusetts had stood in the van, and was paying the penalty; but the rest were determined to stand by her. The Virginian assembly passed a resolution of protest and appointed a public fast for the day on which the Boston Port Act was to come into force. The governor dissolved the assembly, but it continued its meetings on its own account. Virginia and Massachusetts agreed in calling for a general congress, to meet in Philadelphia. The congress met in September; every state except Georgia was represented. Among its members were Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams and George Washington. It drew up a Declaration of Rights embodying the principles which need not again be rehearsed, and citing the series of Acts by which it was held that those principles had been violated. It adopted non-importation resolutions. But it still definitely declared its loyalty, and George Washington still believed that independence was "not desired by any thinking man in all North America." Even so the Long Parliament had entered upon the great civil war with a firm belief that it was not disloyal to the monarchy. The Massachusetts Charter Act had deprived the assembly of the right of nominating the council. The assembly was summoned by the new governor, General Gage, in October.

American Declaration of Rights

The members now nominated by the Crown to the council either refused appointment or resigned immediately. The governor thereupon countermanded the writs for the assembly, but his proclamation was ignored, the elections were held, and the members assembled. Its authority, though without legal sanction, was universally recognised. Prompt steps were taken for the organisation of a militia, called "minute men." In connection with it a "committee of public safety" and a second committee of supplies were organised. Massachusetts was working its own administration, as though a governor were a mere superfluity—even a governor who was also commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in America. And in the meantime every provincial assembly, except that of New York was ratifying the resolutions of the "Continental Congress" at Philadelphia, which had adjourned after a sitting of seven weeks. Parliament met at Westminster, and the King's Speech expressed a resolute refusal to yield to the American spirit of disobedience and resistance. Once more Chatham appeared to plead for conciliation, "not for indulgence but for justice," to demand the repeal of the obnoxious measures. This appeal fell on deaf ears.

Colonies Preparing For War

In the commons, North brought forward a childish proposal that the taxes should be withdrawn in the case of colonies which voluntarily made adequate offers of contribution to the treasury. At the same time, since the closing of Boston Port had failed of its object, a string of other ports were treated more or less after the same fashion. The resolutions of the Opposition, presented with splendid eloquence by Edmund Burke, were as useless as the eloquence of Chatham in the other chamber. And the colonists, following the example of Massachusetts, continued on all hands to organise their militia, and to collect provisions and munitions of war.

A. D. INNES

THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE TRIUMPH OF THE COLONIES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED STATES REPUBLIC

THE breach between the American colonies and the Mother Country was, in no reasonable sense of the term, "inevitable"; it was the outcome of a purblind policy based on an untenable theory. That theory, common to all the nations which had attempted colonisation, was, in effect, that colonists had no rights as against the parent state.

The idea that the colony will break away from the parent state as soon as it can stand alone has no inherent justification. The family bond is not necessarily severed when the son grows up, but if the son is treated as still *in statu pupillari* he is tolerably certain to rebel. While the colony feels the need of protection by the mother country it will submit to having its own interests subordinated; when it feels capable of standing alone, it will not. The bond has become one of mutual sentiment and mutual advantage, demanding mutual consideration, and the extent of central control to be exercised must be adjusted on that basis; but there is no essential impossibility about effecting such an adjustment. Moral obligations continue to subsist, but only under a moral sanction, and if another sanction is applied the moral sanction dwindles to the vanishing point.

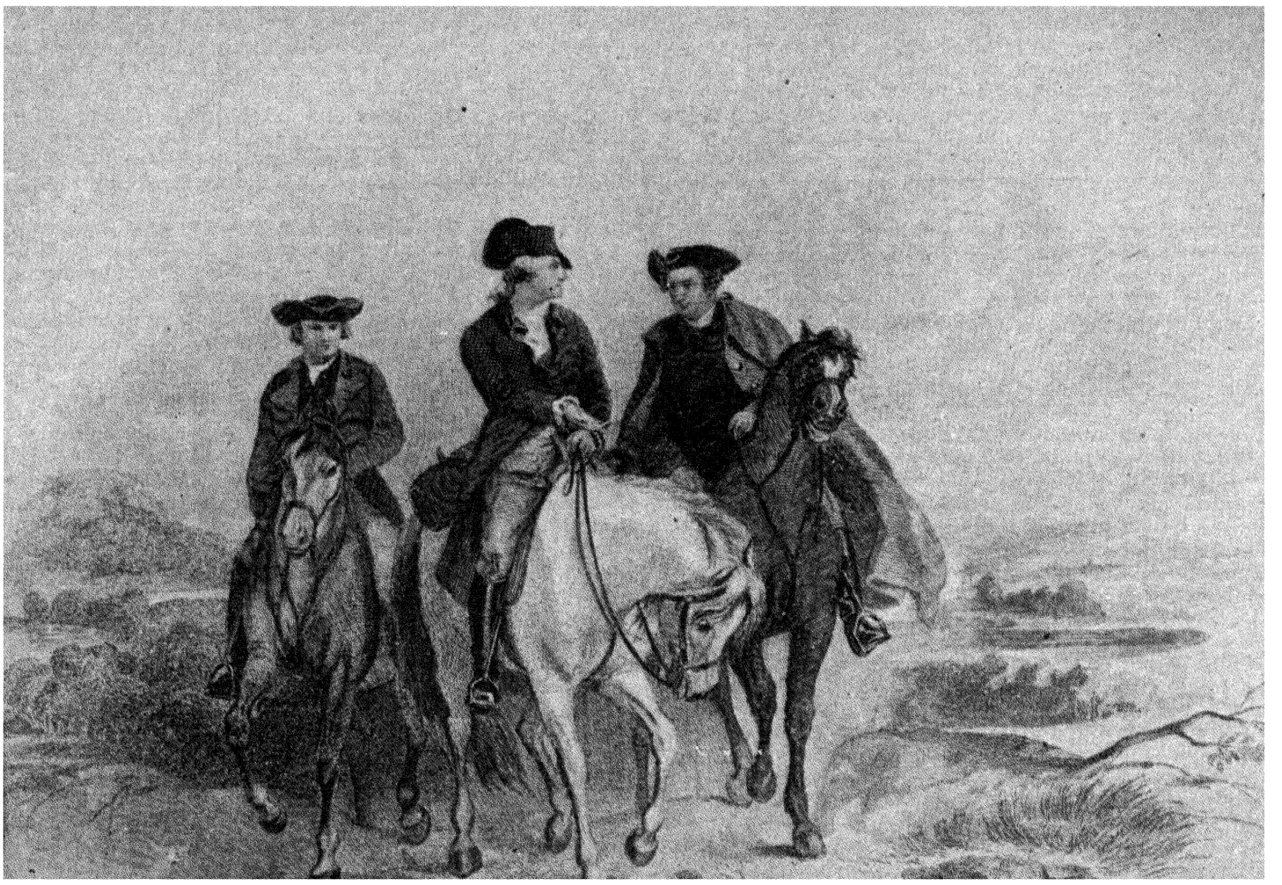
Restrictions that Troubled the Colonies

The American colonies had reached a stage of development at which they were capable of working out their own salvation; they were quite certain sooner or later to insist on the removal of restrictions which interfered with that operation. Commonsense demanded the removal of such restrictions when their existence had no moral warrant. Moderation, tact, appreciation of the other point of view, were required for the readjustment. But King George and his Ministers demanded a readjustment in the direction of British claims for which there was no precedent. They were not without justification in claiming an indemnity from America; but, if they elected not to trust to the colonial conscience, it was their business to aim at getting the maximum return for the minimum of irritation. Instead, they contented themselves with asking for a return so small as to be not worth having, and doing so in the most exasperating manner possible. They gave themselves away to the disloyalists, who fanned the flame of ill-feeling and waited their own time to turn it to account. Both sides had at last gone so far that neither could draw back without some degree of ignominy. In the spring of 1775, it is doubtful if one man in twenty among the serious public in America was desirous of severing the ties with England. But in the then state of tension, a collision between colonial and British troops might occur at any moment

Fanning the Flame of Ill-feeling

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts—the acting governing body—had collected its war material at Concord. Thither, on April 18th, 1775, General Gage, governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief in America, despatched a party of redcoats to take possession of the stores. The militia had warning of his intention; and when the English troops reached Lexington Common they found themselves face to face with a hostile force. Here the first shots were exchanged; here the war began. At first the militia retired, and the English entered Concord without resistance. But in a short time their position there became critical; a retreat was inevitable, and it was not unaccompanied by danger. Once a shot had been fired, the colonists rose on all sides. The English troops were hard pressed, suffered severe losses, and continued their retreat

The First Engagement in the War



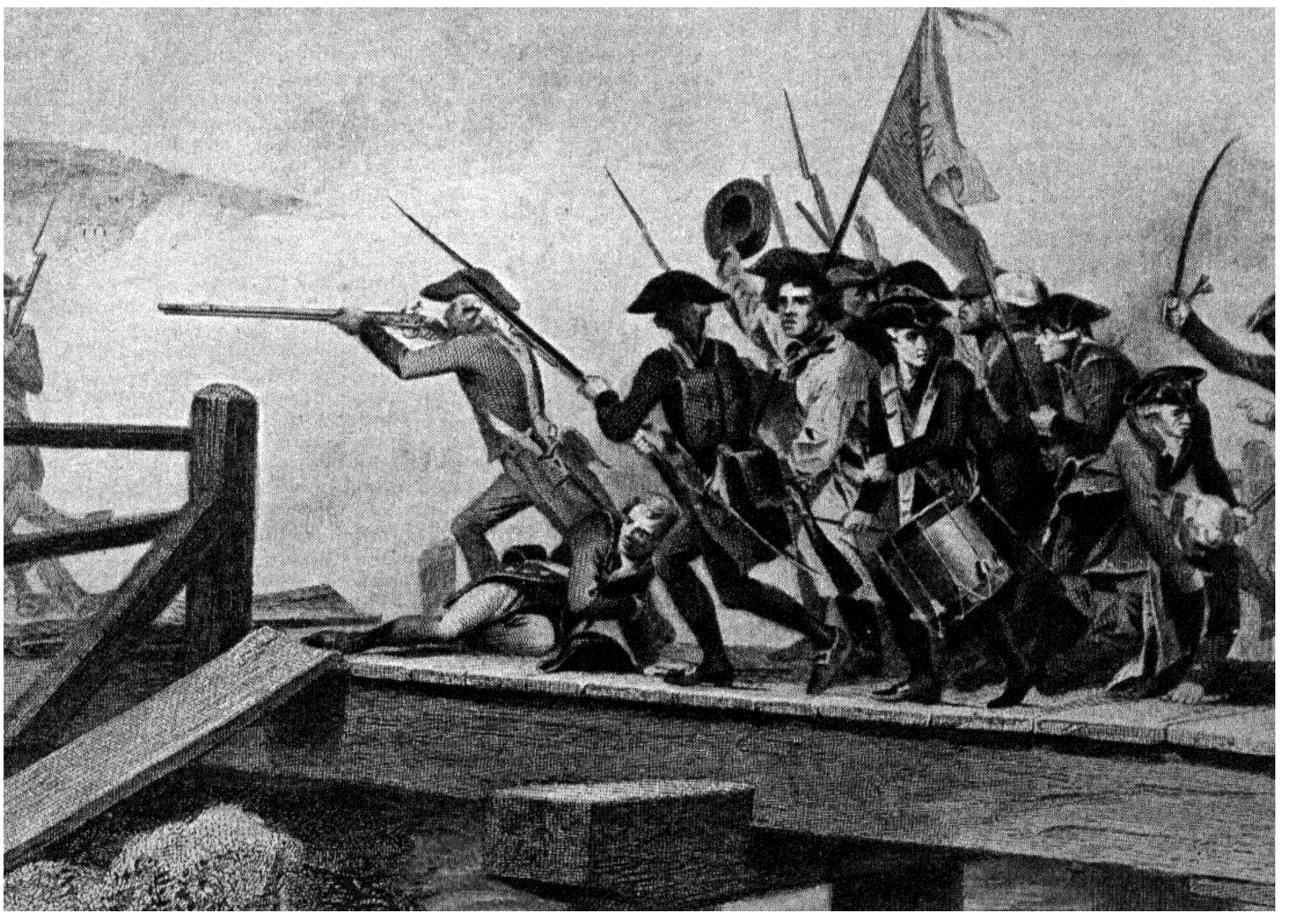
WASHINGTON, HENRY AND PENDLETON ON THEIR WAY TO THE FIRST CONGRESS

THE FIRST PRAYER IN CONGRESS, HELD AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1774

The first mention of a congress for North America was made in 1690 by Jacob Leisler, a suggestion that was renewed eighty-three years later by Benjamin Franklin, who at that time was in London. The following year the colony of Virginia proposed that all the other colonies should send representatives to a congress held at Philadelphia. The proposal was accepted, and the first real American Congress met on September 5th, 1774, sitting until October 26th.

From the painting by Matterson

THE FIRST ENGAGEMENT IN THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE



THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE ON CONCORD BRIDGE, APRIL 19TH, 1775

The differences between the American colonies and the Mother Country culminated on April 18th, 1775, in an engagement between the colonial and British troops at Lexington. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had dispatched troops to take possession of its war material at Concord, and on the way thither the English redcoats found themselves face to face with a hostile force at Lexington Common. After entering Concord, the position of the English troops became critical, and a retreat was inevitable, hence the historic struggle on Concord Bridge.

to the trenches before Boston. In the next few days the investment of the town began, and continued almost a year, during which nothing more important occurred than an occasional skirmish between the opposing forces. Such was the state of affairs when congress renewed its sittings at Philadelphia.

Britain's Sharp Measures with Her Colonies

Its petition to the king had been contemptuously rejected; the English Parliament had given its consent to the employment of force to bring the colonies back to obedience, and had voted considerable sums for the strengthening of the fleet and the engagement of mercenaries, drawn chiefly from the smaller German principalities.

Detachments of troops were arriving in America, and the fleet committed occasional acts of hostility on the American coast. The congress, in which all the thirteen states were now represented, could no longer persist in the humble attitude of the preceding year. It took up the position, not as yet of fighting for independence, but of defending itself until England should give compensation for the damage done, re-establish the infringed rights of the colonies, and recognise their constitutional demands.

One more vain effort was made to avoid the final and fatal appeal to arms. An address known as the "Olive-branch Petition" went to London; it expressed readiness to accept all the regulations which had been in force down to 1763. It went as far as it was possible to go in the way of concession. But the king and his Ministers did not want concessions. They would have nothing short of uncompromising submission; and plain submission was out of the question. Lexington had been followed by open hostilities, and the Battle of Bunker's Hill had been fought before the Olive-branch Petition arrived. It was not rejected; for it was not allowed to be presented at all. The practical answer to it was a proclamation against sedition, and the raising of German mercenaries. The outbreak of war placed the congress in an exceedingly difficult position.

Congress in a Difficult Position

Though recognised by all the North American colonies, it possessed no technical authority. It was a deliberative assembly devoid of all inherent power, and its resolutions could only be put into execution when the provincial assemblies indirectly responsible for them had given their consent. In most respects each of the provincial assemblies was supreme in its own district; and the petty jealousies between the provinces soon led them to keep watch most jealously over this local supremacy. It was only in taking action against England that the authority of congress was fully recognised.

Congress appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the forces of the thirteen colonies, and Montgomery and Schuyler leaders of the army which was to induce Canada to join the revolutionary movement. As money as well as men was necessary for an army, it established a war fund to which each state was to contribute proportionately. Congress went a step farther in rejecting the English proposals for mediation and sending agents to several courts of Europe in order to dispose them favourably towards the cause of the colonies. A declaration of independence was as yet intentionally avoided; but in reality the congress already claimed for itself the rights of an independent power. Meanwhile, the struggle was continued in the north. In 1774, the Quebec Act had finally settled the form of government for Canada. The province was given a decidedly centralising organisation, and was placed under a military governor.

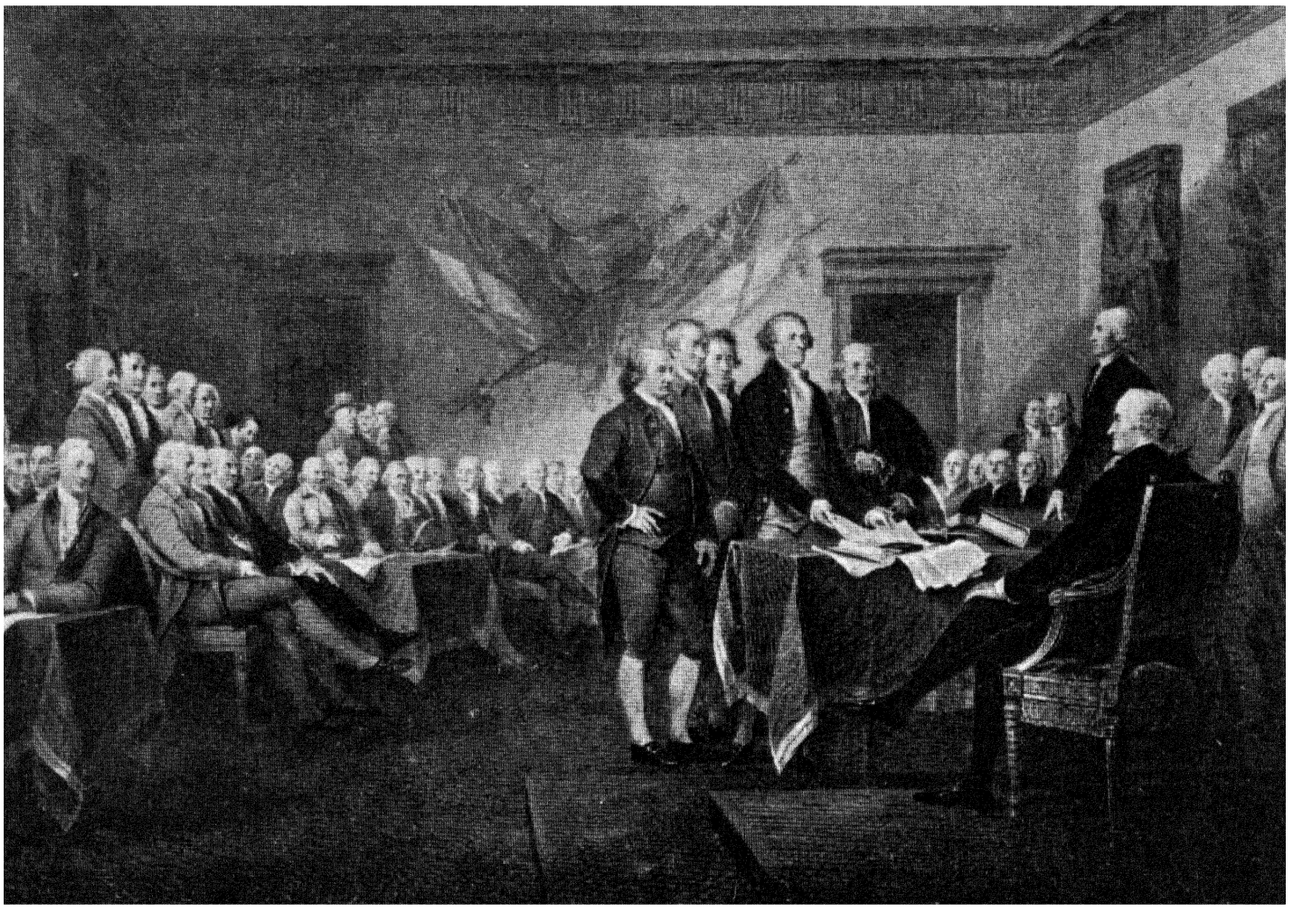
Leaders in the War of Independence

It was further decided to extend the southern boundary of the province as far as the Ohio. In resolving to make its first move in this direction, the congress had two objects in view: first, to reconquer the territory which the change in the boundary threatened to take from the New England states; and second, to induce Canada, if possible, to join the other thirteen provinces. Immediately after Lexington a bold stroke had placed the Americans in possession of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Lake Champlain, and opened up to them the way into Central Canada. In August Montgomery and Schuyler took the offensive; but the movement was crippled by disagreements among the leaders of all ranks.

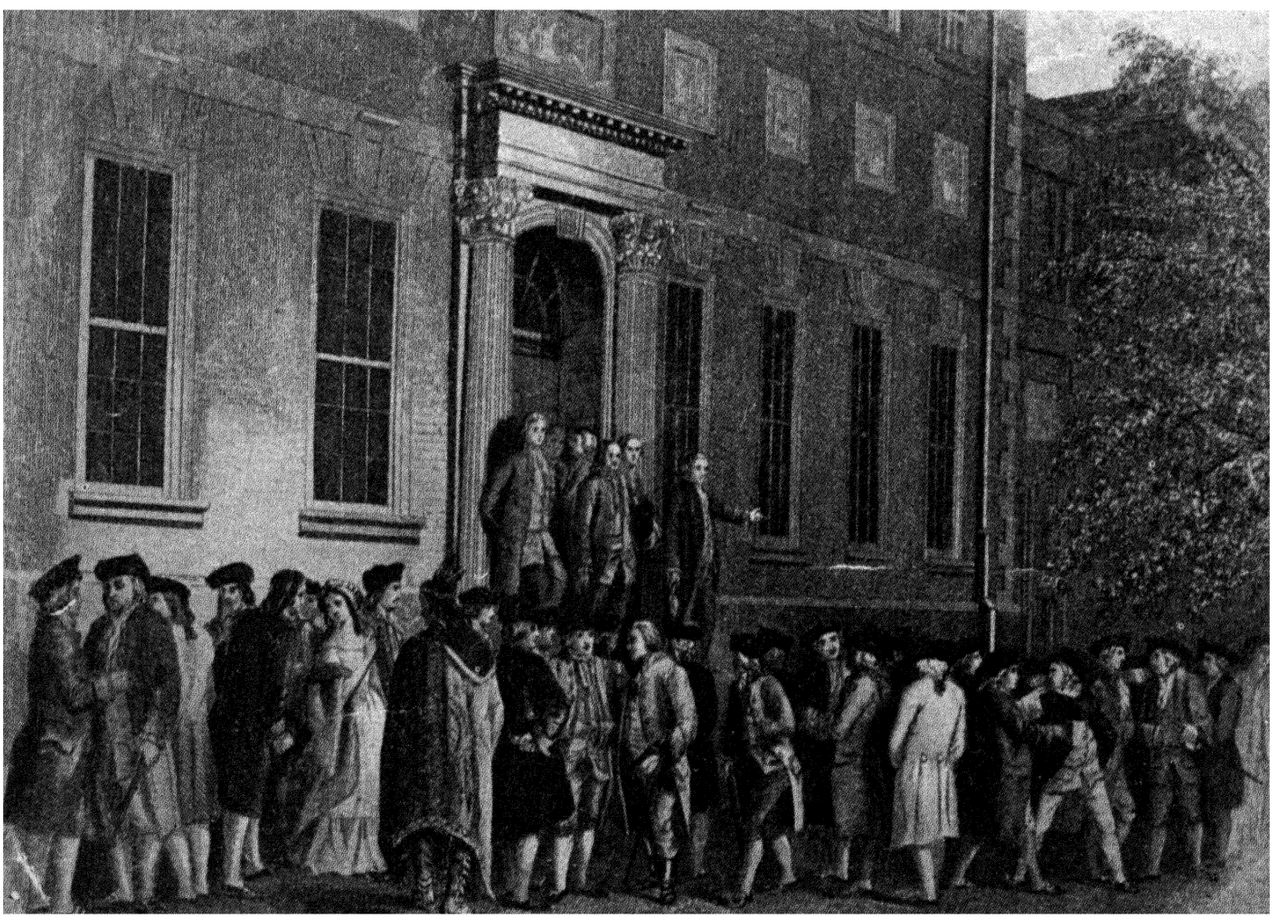
Schuyler resigned his command. Montgomery besieged and took St. John's, and then pressed on towards Montreal. Before this town he made a long halt, and thus prevented a third corps, which had marched against Quebec under Arnold,

THE FAMOUS BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL ON JUNE 17TH, 1775, IN THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Battle of Bunker's Hill was in reality the first of the many hard-fought battles which marked America's struggle for independence. The Americans, having successfully repulsed two severe attacks from General Gage, who occupied the city of Boston, were only dislodged from the heights of Bunker's Hill and the adjoining Breed's Hill after much severe fighting. Although victory rested with the British, their death-roll amounted to 1,054, while that of the Americans was 449. The above picture shows the death of Joseph Warren, the American patriot.



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES ON JULY 4TH, 1776
The Declaration of Independence marks a dramatic stage in the war which was ended only by Britain abandoning her colonies, with the exceptions of Canada and the island of Newfoundland. "We," ran the declaration, "solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, Free and Independent States."



PROCLAIMING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FROM THE STATE HOUSE
Immediately after the Declaration of Independence had been agreed to by Congress, the announcement of this epoch-making step in American history was publicly made from the outside of the State House in Philadelphia.

from accomplishing anything. When, in December, the two detachments at last united to make an attack on Quebec, it was repulsed with great loss, Montgomery himself falling. In so far as the campaign had in view the stirring up of revolution in Canada, it was a complete failure. It was only with difficulty that the position gained could be maintained.

Boston, however, was the main theatre of conflict. Fifteen thousand men of the New England militia had gradually collected there, and so shut in the English garrison that its maintenance began to be a matter of difficulty. This induced Gage to push forward bodies of troops in various positions. The besiegers replied by an advance towards Charleston. The opposing forces met at Bunker's Hill on June 17th, 1775. The progress of the combat was typical of the War of Independence. The militia fought bravely, but their leaders had so little capacity for their task that the battle ended with the abandonment of all the positions taken up. From a military point of view the English had gained a victory, but they reaped no advantage from it. The American losses were replaced, and both leaders and men burned with the desire to renew the struggle. At the beginning of July, Washington arrived in the camp before Boston, and took over the command of the army of the united provinces. This made no change in the progress of the siege. The evil results of the militia system were already making themselves felt among the Americans. The colonists were quite prepared to go through a short struggle, but the long inactivity involved in the reduction of a hostile position undermined their discipline and made them unwilling to remain under arms longer than the time of service agreed upon. It is true that some of the provinces were ready to send fresh men to take the places of those discharged; but, with these, training and exercise had to be begun all over again, and when they were proficient their term of service was nearly ended. Thus it was that the capabilities of the American Army were by no means what was to be expected considering its numbers. The leaders must have possessed the highest ability, both as regards diplomacy and strategy, to attain with such poor material the excellent results they did. The English Government gradually came to the conclusion that it was a mistake to keep its main force shut up in Boston. General Howe, who succeeded Gage in command, was ordered to evacuate the town, and withdrew his forces to Halifax, in Nova Scotia. The British, it should be remarked, had complete control of the sea, and their fleet was under the command of Lord Howe, the general's brother. It was a triumph, however, for the Americans to be able, after nine months' siege, to enter the town which had been first selected for punishment by the home government. In May, 1776, congress met at Philadelphia, for the fourth time, under most favourable auspices. The prevailing elation found expression in a proposal brought before congress some weeks later, that the colonies should separate from the Mother Country and form an independent state. Congress was not elected by popular vote; each state legislature sent as many delegates as it thought fit.

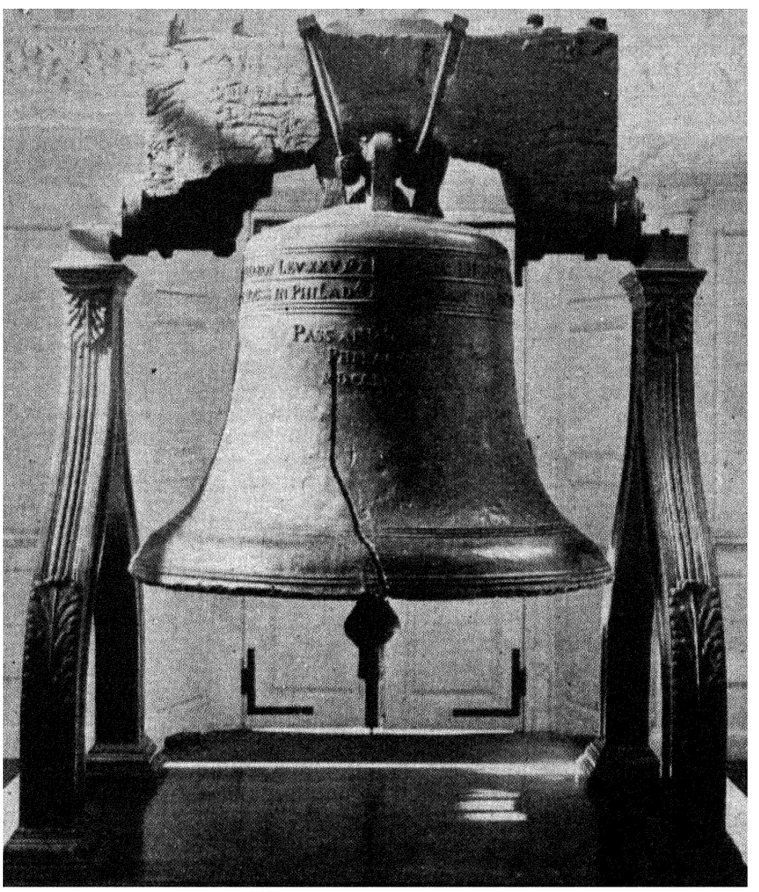
GEORGE WASHINGTON

The greatest figure in the American War of Independence, he displayed remarkable powers of leadership as commander-in-chief of the colonial army, and in spite of defeats, led his forces to ultimate triumph. In 1789 he was elected the first president of the United States of America.

This peculiar composition of the deliberative body rendered it impossible to ascertain how far the proposal embodied the general desire of the inhabitants of

the thirteen states. Public opinion, as known in England, did not exist at this time in the colonies. What appears to be the expression of the popular will was generally but the action of a small number of determined politicians who knew what they were aiming at, and who played a prominent part in the correspondence committees and in congress. Under these circumstances it is specially significant that inquiries made led to the conclusion that the proposal to put forth a declaration of independence would not command a majority, even in congress. But the party for independence was in this case excellently led. Hitherto the leaders had not refused assent to the most conciliatory measures, convinced that every failure would bring those who hesitated nearer to their position; and now once more they found a diplomatic way of escape. To withdraw the proposal would be nearly as severe a check as to have it rejected; it was quite safe, however, to postpone discussion and voting for several weeks, as was done on June 10th. How little the leaders doubted that victory would ultimately be theirs was shown by their appointing a commission to discuss the steps which the declaration of independence would render necessary. They were justified by success; and when the proposal was again brought up a number of the opponents of separation from England withdrew from the congress, so that on July 4th the Declaration of Independence, which the committee had meanwhile carefully prepared, was solemnly proclaimed as the unanimous decision of the congress. Among the colonists the result of the struggle that had meanwhile broken out in different places was awaited with the greatest anxiety. Even those who from the outbreak of the war had looked on separation as its necessary consequence felt clearly that it was too early to give themselves up to rejoicing.

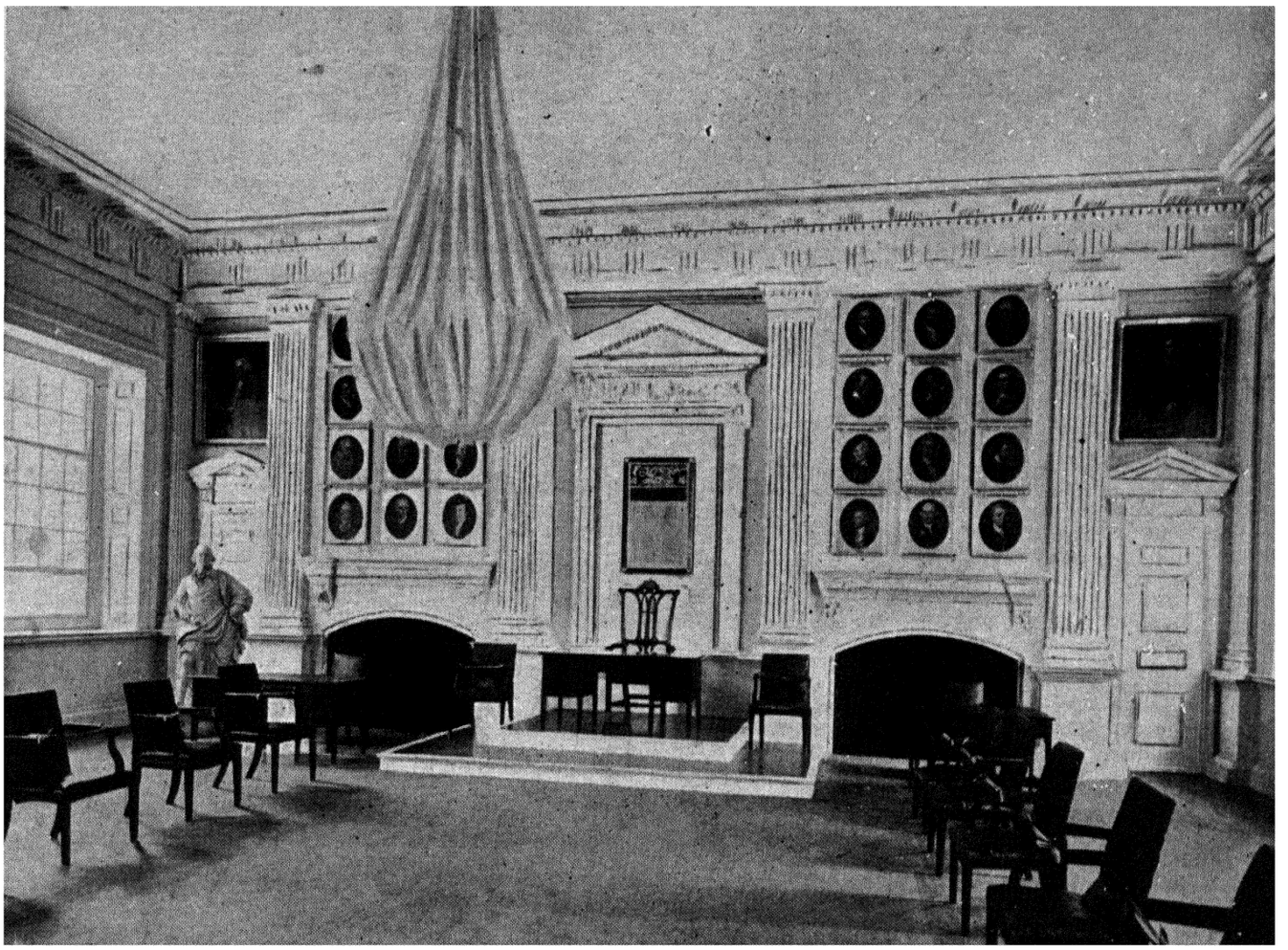
After the evacuation of Boston, Washington went, as early as April, 1776, to New York, in the expectation that this important port, whose population included a numerous royalist party, would be the next object of the British attack. At first it seemed that this expectation would not be justified. A part of the English fleet directed its course southward, and tried to take possession of Charleston, in South Carolina. But on its being repulsed, the British forces again united, and, under Sir William Howe, effected a landing on Long Island towards the end of August. This Washington with his militia was unable to prevent; nor could he offer serious opposition to their advance. He was fortunate in being able to lead his over-matched force across the East River back to New York without serious loss, it being useless for him to hope to hold New York, and thence continued his celebrated retreat, which, considering the difficulties he had to contend with, was a great achievement even for one so talented. Nevertheless, the retreat seemed a severe blow to the cause of American independence.



THE BELL THAT DECLARED INDEPENDENCE

Hung in the dome of the old State House, Philadelphia, this bell announced the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Brought from England in 1752, it was, owing to an accident in transit, recast in Philadelphia, when the words "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" were inscribed on it.

More dangerous to Washington than his English foe, who followed him from one position to another with deliberate slowness, was the condition of his own army. In each of the numerous letters in which



INDEPENDENCE HALL, SHOWING THE CHAIRS AND PORTRAITS OF THE SIGNATORIES

The plain low building which sheltered the first American Congress was the scene of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The portraits on the wall are those of the signatories, and the chairs those which were used on that occasion. In this room also Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. Independence Hall is now kept as a museum of historical relics. It was outside this building that the Declaration was announced to the public.

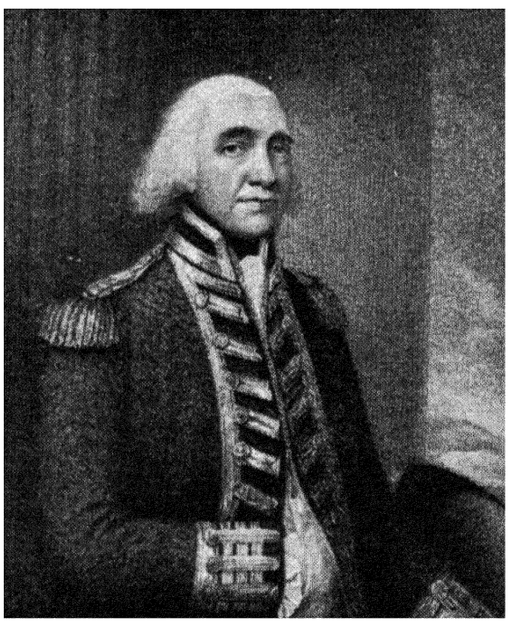
he informs congress of the course of events at the seat of war Washington returns to the point that with the militia, badly disciplined and unwilling to serve a day more than their short term, he can gain no success against Howe's army, which was composed of well-trained professional soldiers. He repeatedly demands, at least for the period of the war, a standing army and a trained corps of officers.

The thirteen states had declared themselves independent; but congress had still to draw up a scheme for their internal organisation. A considerable time must elapse before this could be approved of by the legislatures of the several states. At first each state turned to congress with its own claims and appeals for help; but all left it to congress to find help for their necessities and misfortunes. The separate states did not always recognise the paper money that congress was forced to issue to cover the expenses of the war, and yet it was precisely money and soldiers that all demanded from that body. Though the army and its commander had often just ground to complain of the congress, it must not be forgotten that the latter, though having the best of intentions, was often unable to give help.

Washington understood perfectly how to take advantage of Howe's slowness to protract his retreat as much as possible. The British took possession of New York on September 15th; but immediately thereafter were decisively checked by the Americans at Harlem Heights. A month later, after the British had moved by water to Westchester County and had thus swung towards the rear of the American position, the two armies met at White Plains. The result of battle there was to give the British the control of a portion of the country between Long Island Sound and the Hudson, thus enabling their land forces to keep in touch with their naval forces on both bodies of water, and, on the other hand, to restrict further the lines of the Americans and to separate them from their allies on

the upper Hudson and in New Jersey. Finally, in November, the Americans at Fort Washington, being attacked from three directions, were forced to abandon the east side of the Hudson in its lower course, and to withdraw into New Jersey.

Washington had now to make a rapid retreat to the Delaware, and with forces disorganised by continued retreat he could no longer hold the enemy in check. At the beginning of December congress believed the capital, Philadelphia, no longer secure, and fled to Baltimore before the approach of the hostile army. But this time it was able to return without the enemy having set foot in the American capital. The most serious thing was that with such ideas prevalent the cause of freedom was losing many adherents. Only after Washington, at the end of 1776, had surprised and defeated the enemy at Trenton did the spirits of his men begin to rise a little. The persistent inactivity of the British general is only explicable on the theory that he was confident that the "Continental" Army would break up of itself; and in fact it was only the indomitable patience and the iron resolution of its great chief that prevented it from doing so. Disappointed in his expectation of the collapse of the enemy's forces, Howe apparently resolved to adopt a less opportunist plan of campaign for 1777, in conjunction or co-operation with the forces now in Canada. We have seen that the attempt to coerce Canada into joining the thirteen colonies ended in a disastrous fiasco; the French habitants were quite satisfied with the British Government, whereas their feeling towards the New Englanders in particular was anything but friendly. In 1776, the British were in possession of Crown Point, and a British flotilla controlled Lake Champlain. The plan of operations then was that General Burgoyne should descend from the lakes, while General Clinton advanced with a column from New York to meet him, thus completely cutting off the New England states. Properly carried out, the effect of the scheme would probably have been decisive.



ADMIRAL LORD HOWE

Fighting in the American War of Independence, Admiral Lord Howe nobly maintained the British prestige on the sea, out-manœuvring the French force in American waters, and proving the greater skill and confidence of the British sailors even when opposed to an enemy much stronger in numbers.

But Howe attached still more importance to the capture of Philadelphia, counting on the moral effect, for it had no strategical value. Washington with his army lay between New York and Philadelphia, and a direct advance would be almost certain to meet with a repulse. But the control of the sea gave Howe an alternative course. Leaving Clinton in command at New York—although that general should have been on the point of starting to carry out the concerted movement with Burgoyne—Howe embarked the bulk of his forces and sailed for the Chesapeake. Thus Washington's position was turned, and he was no longer master of the road to Philadelphia. Enthusiasm for the war had now reached its lowest ebb in the colonies. The news that arrived from England had not a little to do with this. The amnesty which Howe had promised the New England states if they would submit was now assured by parliament to all who returned to their allegiance. The prospect was also held out of measures which would remedy the most oppressive evils complained of by the colonies. Not only in great part of America, but also in the European states, which followed the progress of the War of Independence with strained attention, a reconciliation between the Mother Country and the rebellious colonies was confidently believed to be impending.

Such expectations naturally drove all the lukewarm to the English side. Even the presence of congress, which had returned to Philadelphia, failed to keep public opinion unwavering in the Quaker city. Washington, by the resistance he offered during his skilfully conducted retreat, delayed the English advance; but in the middle of September

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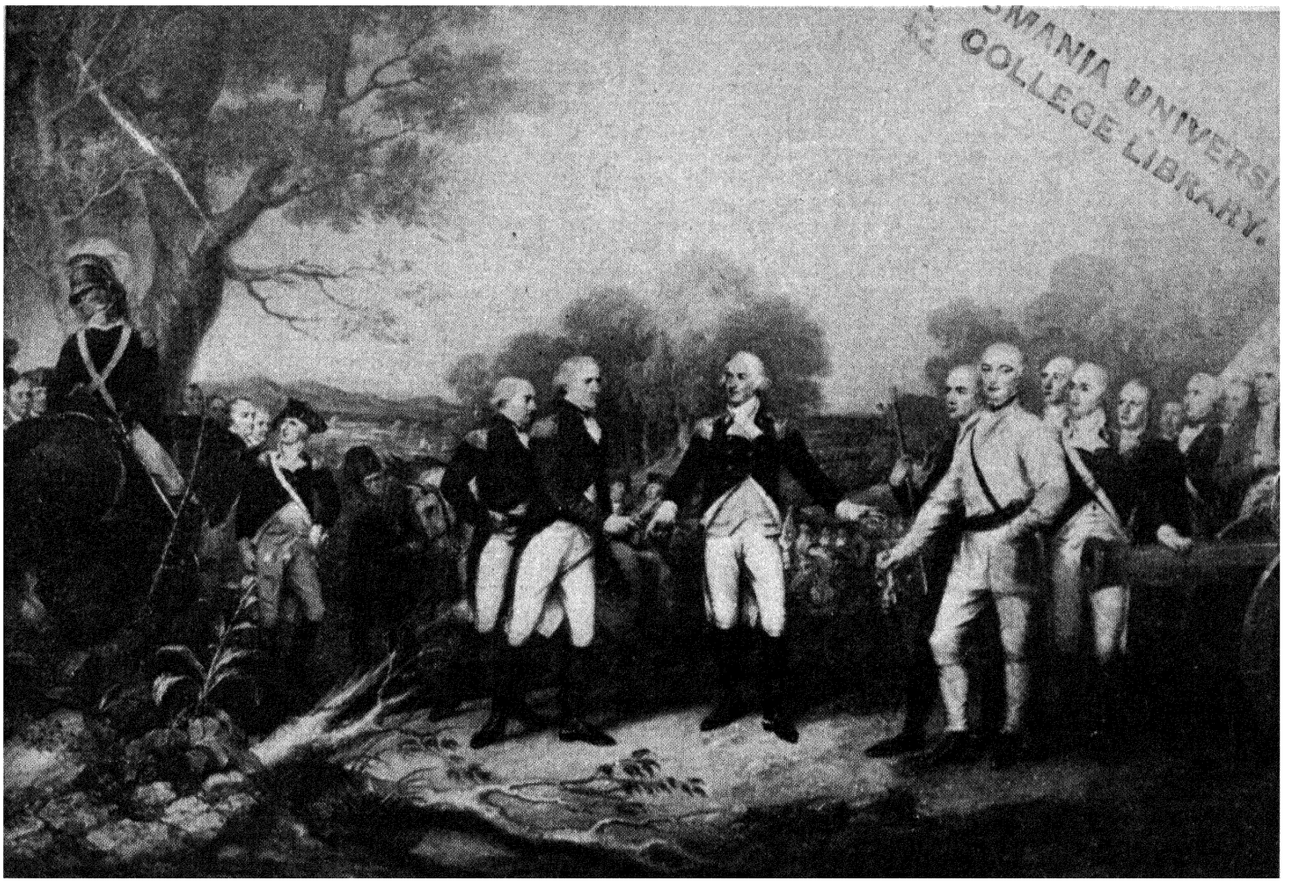
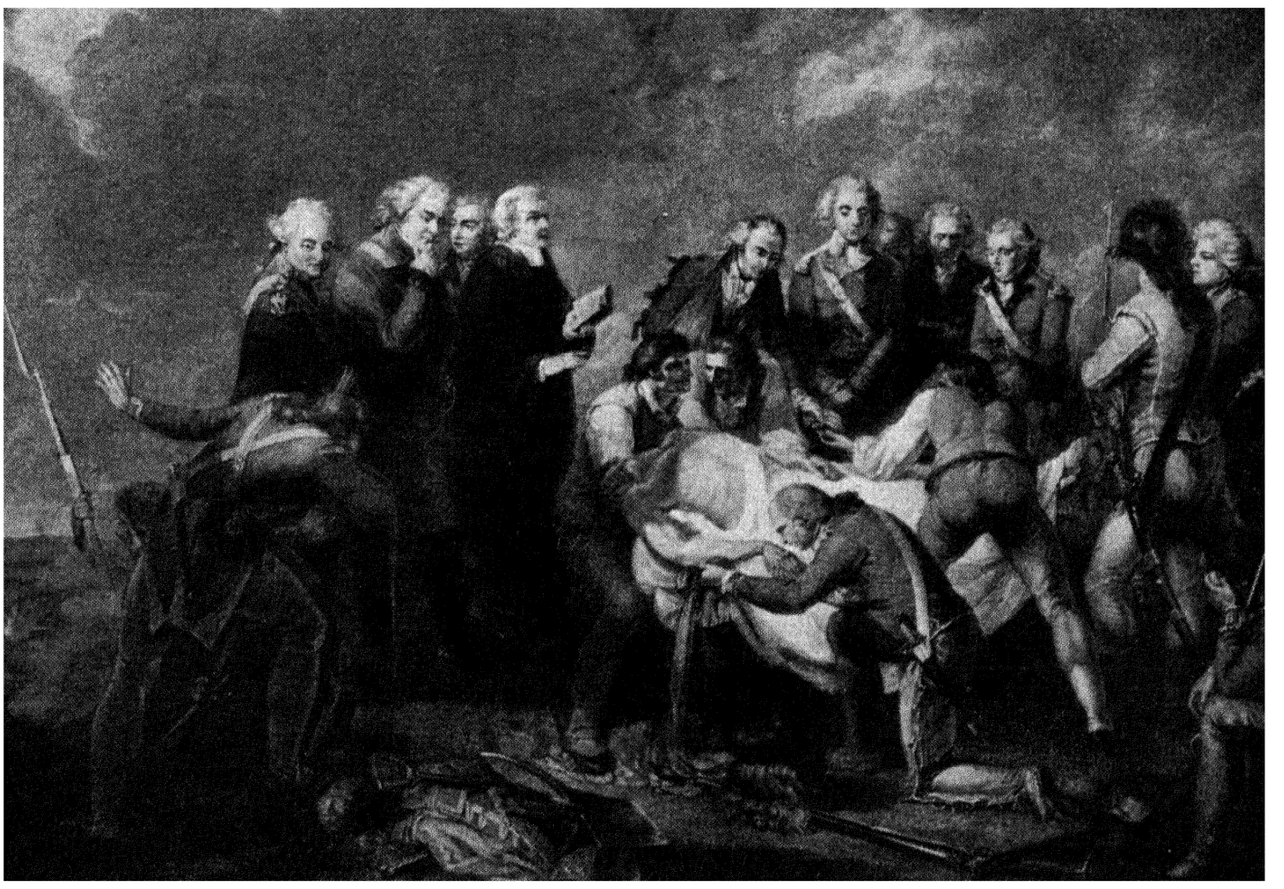


SURRENDER OF THE BRITISH UNDER GENERAL BURGOYNE AT THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA

Burgoyne's surrender of Saratoga on October 17th, 1777, was not the least of the defeats which Britain suffered at the hands of the Americans. It was after this humiliation, which fell like a thunderbolt on British ears, that Chatham made his famous declaration: "You cannot conquer America. If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms; never, never, never!"



BURIAL OF GENERAL SIMON FRASER, WHO WAS KILLED AT SARATOGA

Fighting under General Burgoyne at the Battle of Saratoga, General Simon Fraser was wounded in the thigh, and, dying on the following morning, was buried in one of the British redoubts. As the last rites were being performed, and while the chaplain was reading the service for the dead, the Americans, ignorant of the motive of the small group of people, opened a heavy fire, which they continued until not a solitary person remained.

From the painting by J. Graham

he had to announce to congress that he was no longer in a position to protect the way to Philadelphia. On September 26th, 1777, the English Army occupied the revolutionary capital.

But this apparently brilliant success soon appeared in another light. A few days later, Washington returned to the attack, and succeeded in cutting off all Howe's communications with the interior. The latter was now forced to attack the forts on the Delaware that were still in the hands of the Continental Army and threatened his line of communication with the sea. These forts were neither sufficiently fortified nor strongly enough garrisoned to be able to hold out long, but they withstood the English Army and fleet for almost five weeks. Even this was a decided advantage, for the season was now so far advanced that both armies had to go into winter quarters. The condition of the Continental Army, which had to undergo privations of every kind, and in consequence suffered severely both in numbers and in morale, would have been serious had not fortune in the meantime favoured the arms of the Americans in the north and thus brought about a decisive change in the entire situation. For the movement against Philadelphia had ruined the northern plan of campaign. It had kept Clinton locked up in New York long after he should have been on the march, and the American general, Gates, had in consequence been left to conduct his operations unhampered. Burgoyne himself had advanced from the north with an effective army of regular troops, part British and part German, numbering 8,000 men, and the beginning of his campaign was a series of uninterrupted successes.

Burgoyne's Series of Successes

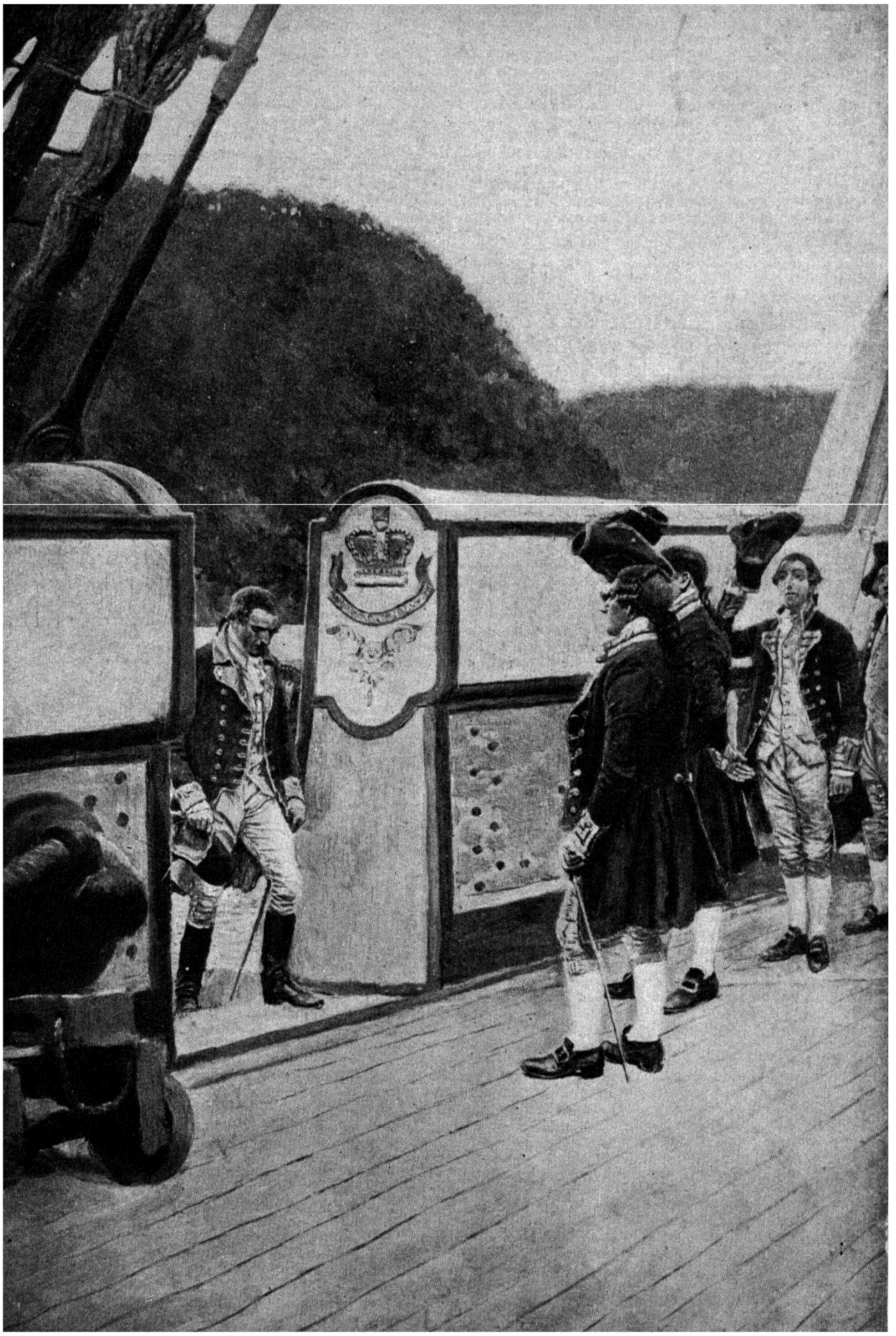
He met with no serious resistance at the outset, and if Clinton had been moving from the south, serious resistance might have been altogether prevented. Ticonderoga, which the Americans considered the impregnable key of the north, fell into his hands almost without bloodshed. The garrison, which, began its retreat partly by land and partly by water, was dispersed. Until they reached the upper Hudson, the English met with no serious opposition from the Continental troops; General Schuyler had only time to destroy roads and bridges, and to withdraw all supplies out of the reach of the English. But in accomplishing so much he changed the whole course of events. When Burgoyne reached the Hudson his force was considerably reduced, as he had to leave garrisons behind him to keep open his lines of communication. Moreover, the troops were too exhausted by the excessive exertions they had to make in the heat of the summer to render passable the roads through the marshes between Lake George and the Hudson. To make matters still worse, they were quite destitute of supplies. Misfortune suddenly broke on Burgoyne from all sides.

Checks to British Forces

Here in the north the war was a great deal more popular than in the Quaker state, Pennsylvania; and with the approach of danger the leaders of the Continental Army received daily fresh accessions of strength. It was the British right wing that received the first check. It was ordered to take Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk; but after a fruitless siege of some weeks' duration it had to begin a retreat to Canada that much resembled flight. A detachment that Burgoyne sent into Vermont to forage was almost annihilated in open combat; all its war material fell into the hands of the Continentals. Finally, Burgoyne himself had to advance, if only to obtain provisions; he crossed the Hudson and met the main army, commanded by General Gates, at Freeman's Farm. The first indecisive encounter was equivalent to a severe defeat for Burgoyne; and when, a few days later, he made a second attempt to gain breathing space for his starving soldiers, he was so thoroughly beaten that his only course was to retreat.

But even this was no longer open to him. Encouraged by their victory, the Continental troops surrounded him on all sides, and when Gates, with the main army, offered battle a third time before Saratoga, Burgoyne and his army, seeing the uselessness of further bloodshed, laid down their arms, on October 17th, 1777. The armies that faced each other in this campaign were not very large according to modern ideas. But apart from the fact that England could not often replace an army of 8,000 men, the Americans gained great strategic advantages. Burgoyne's capitulation meant much more than the failure of the plan to divide the American forces by occupying the line of the Hudson;

Surrender of Burgoyne and His Army



AN AMERICAN TRAITOR: THE ESCAPE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD

The above picture depicts a stirring incident in the life of the famous adventurer and traitor, Benedict Arnold. Originally a surgeon, Arnold, at the outbreak of war between Great Britain and her colonies, joined the latter, and considerably distinguished himself. Towards the close of the war he made a secret offer to General Clinton for surrendering West Point to the British, employing Major Andre, a British officer, to negotiate. The plot was discovered. Andre was shot as a spy, Arnold himself barely managing to escape with his life into the British lines.

From the painting by Howard Pyle

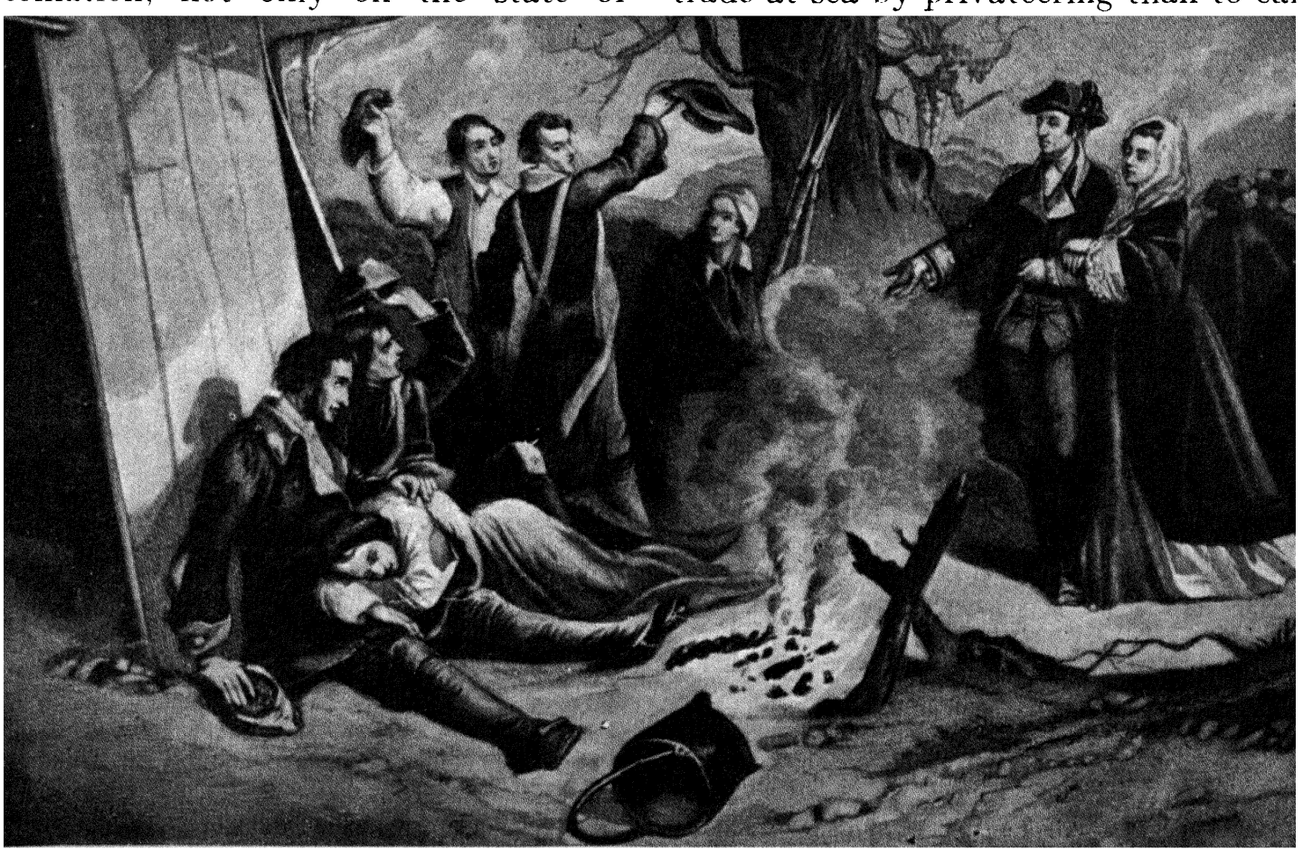
the Canada frontier was now secure for a time at least against British attack, and the British garrison in New York was isolated, having no means of communication with the other British armies, except by sea.

Viewed simply as an incident in the war between the British Government and the recalcitrant colonies, Burgoyne's disaster was serious, but very far from being decisive. It was, in fact, the turning-point of the war, because it introduced a new factor on the American side. Hitherto, the presumption that Great Britain must, in the course of time, overwhelm the colonists had held back foreign Powers from intervention. Saratoga gave the impression that the Americans might win on their own merits. There was one European Power which was athirst for revenge on England: France found the temptation to throw her sword into the scale too strong, and the French intervention secured the colonial victory.

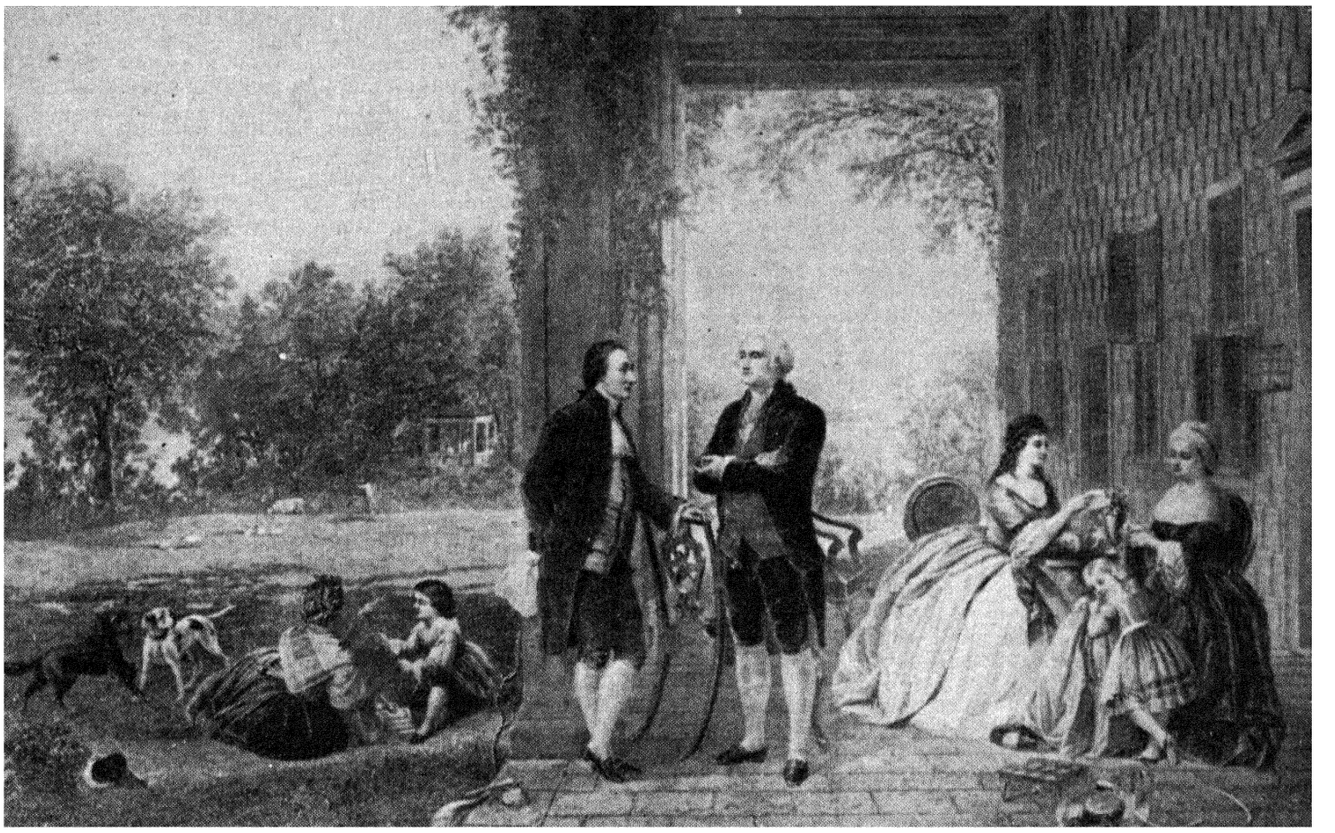
Since the earliest signs of serious dissension between England and the colonies, France had watched events in America with the closest attention. Her leading statesmen waited longingly for the opportunity to take revenge for the losses and humiliation inflicted on her by the peace of 1763. As early as 1767 a French agent had been sent to North America to obtain information, not only on the state of public opinion there, but also upon the means the colonists had at their disposal in the event of war with England, and as to what kind of help they would most urgently require. But French policy was then considerably in advance of the claims put forward by the colonists. The reports which the agent, De Kalb, sent from America did much to cool French eagerness to support the colonies. The plan of taking revenge on their enemy by promoting an American revolt had to be abandoned for a time. But as soon as the first congresses were convinced that their rights could be maintained against the Mother Country only by force, they remembered the disposition displayed by France; Paris was the first and most important point to which the congress had sent its agents; nor did it send them in vain.

French Support for America

Naturally, the French Government could not, in 1775, enter into open communication with the agents of the still quite unorganised rebel provinces; but it nevertheless gave the Americans much secret support. As soon as war had openly begun, the Americans started hostilities at sea. It was quite in accord with the strongly developed business spirit of the northern provinces that they should be much more eager to do injury to British trade at sea by privateering than to carry



GENERAL WASHINGTON AMONG HIS SOLDIERS AT VALLEY FARM



WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH MARQUESS DE LAFAYETTE AT MOUNT VERNON

In their struggle for independence the American colonies had the sympathy and support of the French nation, not a few of whose bold sons crossed the ocean to fight against their hated enemy, the British. Chief amongst them was the youthful Marquess de Lafayette, shown with Washington in the above picture, who commanded an American division with conspicuous ability and success, and was publicly thanked by Washington for his military skill and valour.

From the painting by T. P. Rossiter

on an honourable, though less profitable, war by land against the British Army. Soon after the Declaration of Independence, the first American privateers ventured across the ocean into British waters. The ship which in the autumn of 1776 brought Benjamin Franklin to France as accredited representative of the new republic, brought into Havre, as prizes, two English vessels which it had captured on the way. This constituted on the part of France a breach of the peace then existing between her and a "friendly nation"; but American privateers continued to take refuge secretly in French harbours. Though the American delegates were not officially recognised, it was an open secret, especially after Franklin's arrival, that they had the direct support of the French Government in buying war material, fitting out ships, and enlisting officers and crews which were taken to America secretly, or under a false flag.

Privateers Under French Protection

Franklin, from the beginning, felt sure of the favourable issue of the negotiations for a treaty of trade and friendship with which the newly organised Foreign Office had entrusted him; but these sanguine expectations were not altogether realised. There can be no doubt that not only the French Government, but the whole French people, sympathised with the cause of the United States. This was not for any love they bore the Americans, but principally because they saw in a successful American rising a means of injuring the hated English, and they only too eagerly seized the chance of taking revenge on them. Thus Franklin was permitted to visit Paris, and in his private capacity could speak his mind freely to the leading French Minister, Vergennes.

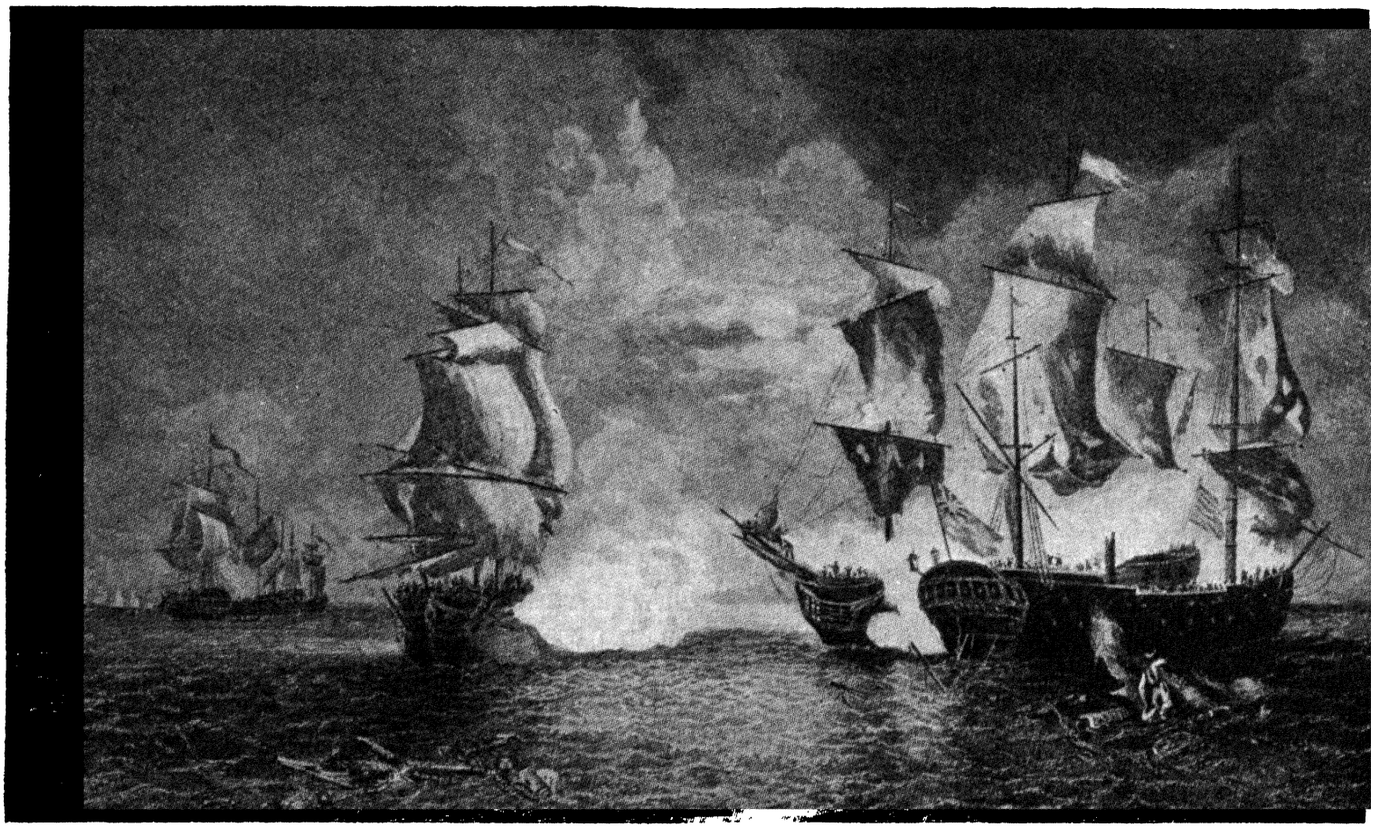
But a public reception was avoided; the more so because the campaign following the Declaration of Independence was unfortunate to such an extent that the final victory of the Americans was seriously doubted. France's attitude during the year 1777 was purely expectant. Even the amount of secret assistance given to the rebels was insignificant. The only event attracting attention was the departure for America of the youthful Marquess de Lafayette, who, with De Kalb and other Frenchmen, crossed over in a ship he had fitted out to join the enemy of his national foe.

France had at that time almost permitted Great Britain to gain the advantage of her. The American agents negotiated not only with France; they also sought to get into touch with other Powers, and even

maintained relations with England. These threatened to take a peculiar turn immediately before and after the capitulation of Saratoga. After the capture of Philadelphia, England had offered the colonies an amnesty and the removal of their principal grievances; after the capitulation of Saratoga she went a step further and held out the prospect of the recognition of a certain degree of independence in return for a permanent and intimate union between the colonies and the Mother Country. The American agents were hardly empowered to make such an agreement with England. But the danger threatened by this combination, together with the improved prospects of the campaign, led France to take a decisive step. The treaty of friendship and commerce over which the Americans had been kept in suspense for more than a year was concluded in a few weeks—February 6th, 1778. This amounted to an official recognition of the United States.

The knowledge of the impending alliance alarmed even North's Ministry into making proposals which the Americans would have welcomed at an earlier stage; but now there were very few who would be content with anything short of independence. The Rockingham Whigs would have been ready to make peace even on those terms. But the spirit of the nation rose; at whatever cost, it would not bear to submit to Bourbon threats and Bourbon dictation. Chatham, almost dying, had himself come down to the house to protest against that last ignominy, the rending of the empire in submission to France.

In the midst of his speech—he was permitted to speak sitting—he fell back in a fit; a month later, he, who had raised his country to the highest pinnacle of triumph—he, to whose voice a purblind king and an infatuate Ministry had refused to hearken—was laid in Westminster Abbey: and England was still fighting for very life.

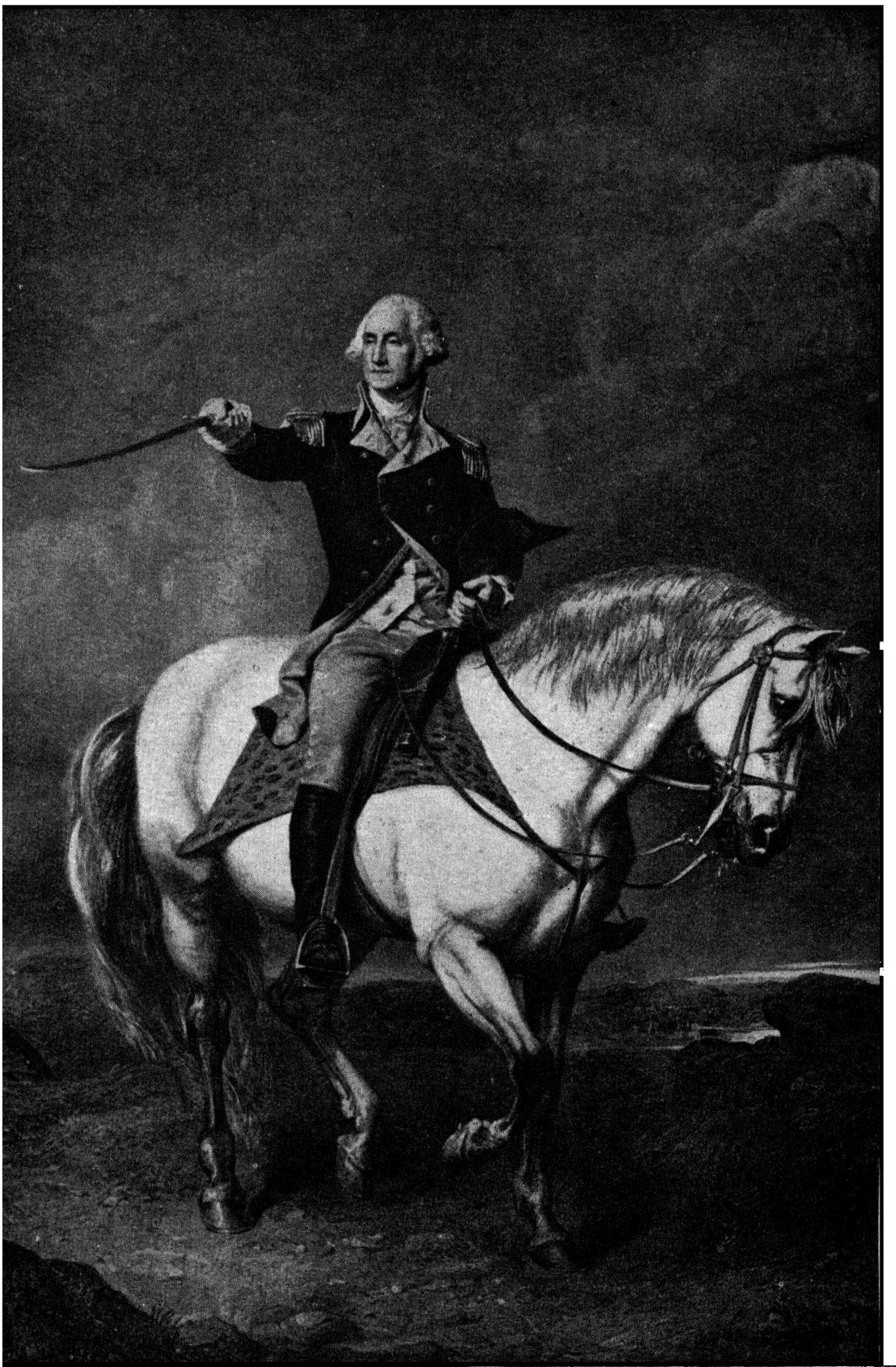


PAUL JONES IN A NAVAL FIGHT OFF THE COAST OF SCOTLAND IN 1779

A native of Scotland, the bold John Paul Jones adopted the role of naval adventurer, and in 1775, obtaining a commission in the American Navy, he cruised round the British shores while the War of Independence was in progress, attacking the shipping. In 1779, as shown in the above picture, he captured the king's ship Serapis in a naval fight off the Scottish coast

For folly and incapacity had played havoc with every department. The navy, which swept the seas with might irresistible in 1760, had not been maintained; while France, guided by Choiseul, had been acting on the lesson she had learnt at such bitter cost, and had been creating her own navy anew. Now, on paper at least, the odds hardly lay with the British, and the British prospect of victory in America depended on the retention of naval supremacy.

On American soil, the immediate result was the evacuation of Philadelphia and withdrawal to New York, Howe retiring, and Clinton taking the chief command.

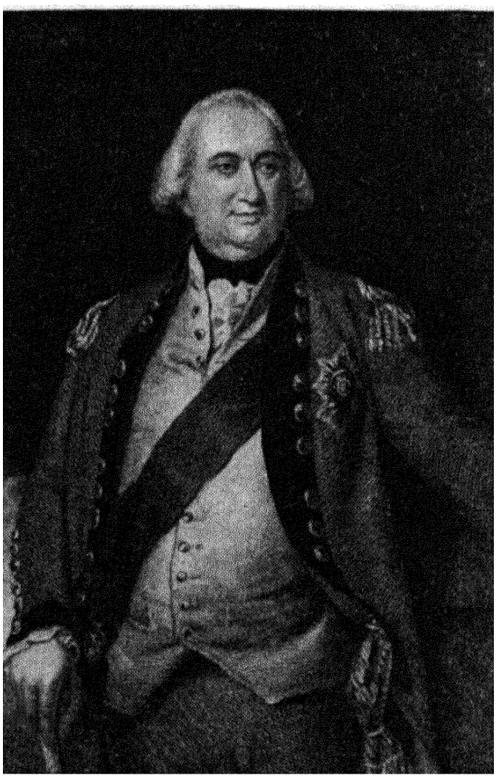


WASHINGTON ON THE BATTLEFIELD AT TRENTON, DECEMBER 8TH, 1776

The varied fortunes of the American colonists in the early stages of the war with the Mother Country did not augur well for the ultimate triumph of their rising, and gradually the cause of freedom and independence lost many adherents; but when, at the end of 1776, Washington, by a series of brilliant manœuvres, surprised and defeated the enemy at Trenton the spirits of his men began to revive, and they followed him with renewed hope and confidence.

From the painting by John Faed

That the withdrawal from the Chesapeake to New York was successfully effected was due to the skill of the admiral, Lord Howe, who outmanœuvred the now superior French force in American waters and accomplished the transference of the troops before D'Estaing had realised the situation. From the British point of view, the one redeeming feature of the war lay in the still superior skill and confidence of the English sailors, which nearly neutralised the greater numbers of the French. Thus, later in the same year, it was the inability of the French fleet to intervene which allowed Clinton to despatch an army to the south, with a view to creating a diversion by a campaign in those provinces which had not hitherto felt the stress of war. But the British fleet could no longer sail when and where it would. Its chief business came to be that of keeping the French out of action. It was not only by sea — that is, on the British line of communication — that the French intervention took effect. Already a considerable number of foreign officers had taken service in the United States. Lafayette and his friends had been fighting with the Americans since the preceding year, though originally received with such ill-concealed distrust that some of them returned to France bitterly disappointed.



THE MARQUESS OF CORNWALLIS
Son of the first Earl of Cornwallis, he served in the American War even while disapproving of it; but though he gained several notable successes he was finally compelled to surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1781.

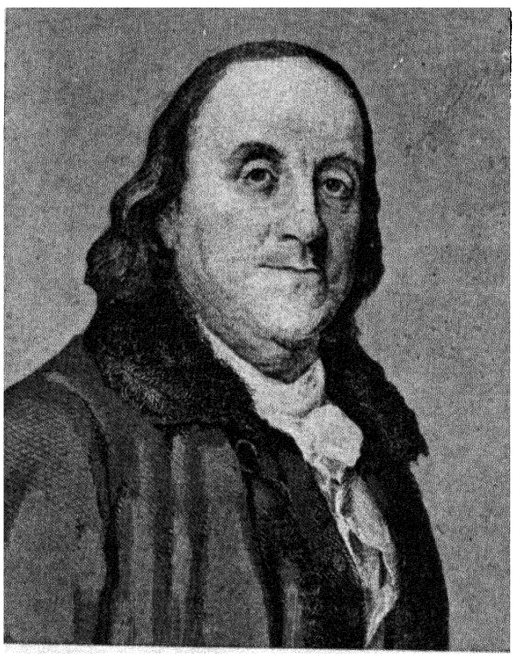
Lafayette's enthusiastic advocacy, however, was not without effect in bringing the French Government to consent to the despatch of an auxiliary corps under Rochambeau. Their presence did not prove an unmixed blessing to Washington; for the colonial officers regarded the Frenchmen with considerable jealousy, while the chief was painfully alive to the diplomatic necessity for treating them in a manner which made the jealousy more acute. Still, the Americans found themselves compelled to recognise that the foreign contingent and the foreign officers were a valuable addition to their forces. Both Rochambeau and Lafayette, young as the latter was, were endowed with military capacity, which Washington could not have afforded to despise, even had he attached less importance to the French alliance than he actually did.

From that alliance great wonders were at first expected, not only by Washington and the army, but to an even greater extent by the congress, which had returned in triumph to Philadelphia. It was already so convinced that a decisive victory was impending that it considered it superfluous to do anything more towards it. The disillusionment was the greater when a peculiar combination of unfavourable circumstances rendered the joint campaign of the Americans and the French almost fruitless. From the beginning there had been a party in congress that did not look with favour on the French alliance. It found support in the New England states, which transferred their old antipathy to the Canadians to the French, who were now about to fight as their allies for colonial independence. Moreover, the offers on the part of England to enter into negotiations with the rebels as to the removal of their grievances had caused the idea to take root that a reconciliation was imminent on the basis of the recognition of their independence.

The prospects of peace were seriously affected by the French alliance, for though the Americans interpreted the agreement in the sense that France would only secure their independence, and, this done, make no opposition to a direct understanding between the colonies and the Mother Country, yet the French Government, in continuing negotiations at Paris with the delegates of congress, especially with Franklin, and also, by means of its accredited representatives, with the

A CAPITULATION THAT ENDED THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR: THE BRITISH SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN ON OCTOBER 19TH, 1781. Falling back on the Virginian village of Yorktown, Lord Cornwallis and his army were besieged by the American forces. The only hope of the British lay in relief reaching them from the sea; but, as the French were in possession of the harbour, that hope vanished, and Cornwallis was left with no alternative but capitulation, the surrender being made on October 19th, 1781.

congress at Philadelphia, took care that the principle should be recognised that none of the contracting Powers should make peace without the concurrence of the others. This made the termination of the war no longer solely dependent on the recognition of the independence of the United States. These business politicians now forgot how remote this had been before the French alliance, and tried to persuade the states that the continuance of the war was solely due to the French. Though they undoubtedly overshot the mark in this, the congress and an overwhelming majority of the American people were of the opinion that since France, as was natural, was seeking by this war to gain advantages for herself and her allies, especially for Spain, which joined the alliance in 1779, it was only right that she should bring the war to a conclusion with her own money and troops. The demands made on the French Government by the leading statesmen of congress were almost incredible. Their only possible excuse is the political and diplomatic inexperience of men suddenly transformed from lawyers and merchants into the responsible leaders of a mighty state.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

To Franklin, perhaps more than to any other man, belongs the distinction of bringing the War of Revolution to a successful issue, for it was owing to his efforts that France interfered and gave to the colonists the support necessary to turn the scales in their favour.

There was, it is true, a small circle of really statesmanlike characters among the men who helped to found the United States. Foremost among these stood George Washington. The course of events suddenly placed this conscientious and peaceful country gentleman at the head of the union army; but in his case circumstances served only to develop great capacities and to bring to light splendid talents. At the outbreak of war, Washington was in his forty-third year. He was not a professional soldier, and his only experience of war had been as an officer of the Virginia militia; but so successful was he in this capacity that he was appointed its commander-in-chief in 1755. He entered public life more from a sense of duty than from inclination, and he retired to his rich estates as soon as possible. He typified all that was noblest in the Virginia planters. His appearance was striking—almost too aristocratic for a republican; but none was more enthusiastic than he for the cause of American liberty.

His sound education and his knowledge of the world fitted him for a diplomat; his wide knowledge of national economies for a statesman. Nor was the limited experience gained in little wars his only qualification for the military position he held; for he possessed two distinguishing qualities that render him, in all respects, one of the most remarkable men America has ever seen. These qualities were the power of taking a clear and unprejudiced view of the situation, which enabled him, even in the most trying circumstances, to calculate and consider with imperturbable composure, and to await the right moment with an iron patience; and an extraordinary energy that enabled him not only to accomplish much himself, but to move all around him to put forth their utmost strength.

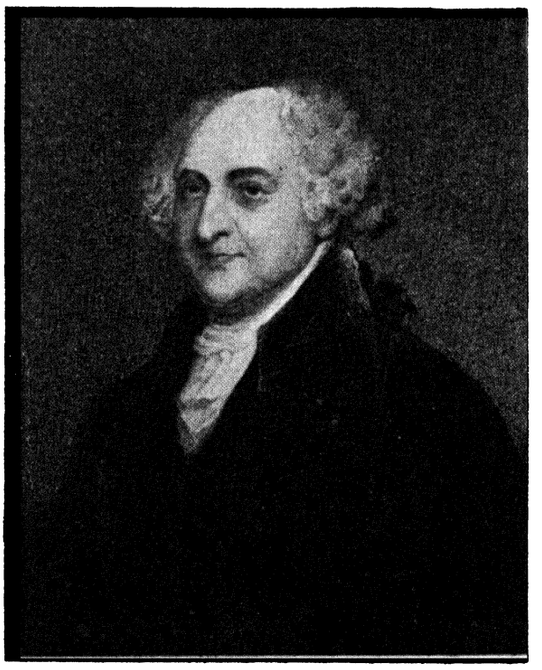
Washington at the Head of the Army

At the beginning his position was difficult; even his rank as commander-in-chief, which the first impulse of national enthusiasm had given him, was not quite safe from the envy of jealous rivals or the eagerness of selfish place-hunters. He himself was perhaps the least concerned about his position; for he learned daily how many duties it imposed on him and how little real power he possessed. But he was even greater as a diplomat than as a strategist, and was thus enabled to solve the difficult problem before him, and to stand continually between the inexperienced politicians of congress and the European diplomats schooled in the political etiquette of the Old World. From the time of the alliance with France he maintained, not only at the seat of war, but also in the field of

politics, a kind of government independent of congress; but in both spheres his characteristic reserve enabled him to avoid all dangers.

There was no other man of his nation who could be compared with him. Even Benjamin Franklin, with his homely honesty, stood far behind him in political far-sightedness. Despite this, no one, perhaps, played a greater part than Franklin in bringing the revolution to a successful issue. Born in humble circumstances, he had worked his way slowly and laboriously upwards by his own efforts; and throughout his life he preserved something of the manners said to be characteristic of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, where he had spent his youth and middle age. He was not a man of great actions, but the long experience he had gained at the English court as agent for the colonies enabled him, more than all others, to win the sympathy of other nations for his struggling country; and the credit of having induced France to side openly with the United States belongs chiefly to him. But his attitude during the peace negotiations showed how much he was affected by the shrewdness that usually characterised the politicians of the youthful state. Many efforts have been made to clear him of the charge of having taken part in the negotiations with England which, though contrary to the agreement with France, were carried on in secret by the American diplomatists. But no amount of explanation can get rid of the fact that Franklin's characteristic appearance of confidential frankness and good-natured honesty served to screen the double-dealing of his fellow diplomatists, though he had perhaps no direct part in deceiving the allies he himself had gained. During the war he exerted little direct influence on affairs at home; but his sober and practical commonsense and his business experience helped in no small degree to remove the formidable difficulties that lay in the way of diplomatic success.

Franklin's Share in the Revolution



JOHN ADAMS

Representing Massachusetts in the first congress, this statesman proposed the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief on the outbreak of the war; after holding the office of vice-president, he succeeded Washington as President of the United States in 1797.

Beside these two leaders stood a number of less important personages of similar political views; but among the influential politicians there were scarcely any others so clear-sighted or so unprejudiced. The significance of this soon appeared when, on the conclusion of the French alliance, weightier events took place in the field of diplomacy than on the field of battle.

In accordance with their plan of campaign, the British transferred their operations to the south. In January, 1779, they conquered Savannah and defended it successfully against the French fleet. In February, 1780, the English commander-in-chief, Clinton, landed in South Carolina and forced the American troops in Charleston to capitulate after a siege of five weeks. It appeared as if British supremacy would be re-established in the south; and for a time not a single detachment of organised American troops opposed the English. But the object aimed at soon showed itself unattainable. Except on the coast, the land was sparsely populated and but little cultivated. This rendered permanent military occupation impossible, and placed great difficulties in the way of all military operations. This was very well known at Washington's headquarters. Thus, instead of following the British to the south, the leader of the American Army kept in view operations on the Hudson against New York as most likely to decide the issue of the campaign. Clinton was thus compelled to come north again, while in the south a partisan war went on with varying results.

This was stirred up from both headquarters by the despatch of regular troops under approved leaders, so that the British were never in undisturbed possession and still could never be driven out. During these cross-expeditions a number of important battles

were fought in North and South Carolina. At Camden the English gained a victory in which the brave De Kalb lost his life; at King's Mountain and at Cowpens the Americans were successful; other battles, such as that at Guilford, were claimed as victories by both sides. But the situation remained essentially unchanged. The English maintained their hold on the thickly populated coast districts; but in the interior bands of Americans carried on a guerrilla warfare, making unexpected attacks on outposts and cutting off small detachments of British troops.

Cornwallis Surrenders at Yorktown

In 1781, however, Cornwallis, who held the southern command, was ordered to fall back on Yorktown, the British no longer having the control of the sea necessary to enable them to send him reinforcements. Clinton himself was held fast in New York by Washington, who was threatening the place with an assault in force. But such was not his real design; Clinton learned suddenly that the siege was practically abandoned and the army on its way to the south. It was at this point that the aid of the French proved decisive. Lafayette had been largely responsible for paralysing the operations of Cornwallis, whose position now depended on the maintenance of communications by sea. The appearance of a French fleet, newly arrived, under De Grasse, turned the scale.

The British Admiral Hood also arrived, with the intention of relieving Yorktown; but the French were already in possession of the harbour and were not to be enticed into an engagement. On October 19th, 1781, Cornwallis found himself with no possible alternative but capitulation. With the fall of Yorktown, the last hope of mastering the colonists was gone. From this point, interest centres entirely in the naval war between Great Britain and France; its striking feature was the British recovery of naval ascendancy. Since Spain had joined the allies, nearly all her energies had been employed on desperate efforts to reduce Gibraltar, which had held out with grim determination, while at rare intervals British fleets had succeeded in throwing in supplies.

Britain's Ascendancy on the Sea

But in 1782 she despatched a fleet to the West Indies to join De Grasse, who was already in force considerably greater than the British. Their one hope was to force an engagement under conditions which would give the chance of crippling a portion of his fleet. Reinforced by the Spaniards his numbers would be overwhelming. He was determined not to risk an engagement till those reinforcements had joined him. He started on a race with the English Admiral Rodney to reach the point of rendezvous; but by a fortunate co-operation of breezes and calms Rodney overtook him, and, although in less force, attacked him. The battle of "The Saints" is famous, among other things, for the adoption of the plan of attack, thenceforth a favourite manœuvre with the British, known as "breaking the line"—that is, piercing the enemy's line, enveloping his rear, and destroying it before the van can come to its aid.

Rodney annihilated the fleet of De Grasse in what was, in some respects, the most critical engagement in English history. For defeat would have meant the irrevocable loss of a naval supremacy which was tottering; its ultimate recovery gave Great Britain the victory over Napoleon.

The New Union in Danger

Five months later, the allies made their last tremendous assault on Gibraltar; but the Rock remained in the possession of its garrison. Much as these events served to excite those on the spot, and important as they were to Great Britain, they had comparatively little influence in determining the final result of the war as it concerned the Americans. The leading French statesmen soon came to the conviction that, instead of having gained an active ally in the struggle against England by their alliance with the United States, they had in reality only gained permission to carry on the war for the Americans with French money, French soldiers, and French ships.

From the fall of Yorktown till the conclusion of peace the negotiations in this connection occupied the attention of congress much more than the concerns of the war had ever done. The debates were carried on with such vehemence that on more than one occasion the newly-made union of thirteen states threatened to fall asunder into groups with divided interests. What American politicians would naturally have preferred was that Great Britain should give up all her North American possessions and renounce all her claims in the northern continent in favour of the

United States. In negotiations with the agents by whom the British throughout the war strove to bring about an understanding, they based their claim on the statement that the proximity of the United States and a British Canada would be a perpetual cause of discord between the two nations of the same blood. Benjamin Franklin deserves the credit of having skilfully put forward this view during the negotiations he conducted with the British agent, Oswald ; but in the final settlement the point was not again brought up, so that it was scarcely necessary for Great Britain to reject the demand.

In regard to their southern boundary the Americans were less greedy for territory. They had become quite accustomed to the idea of giving back Florida to Spain as payment for her participation in the war, and especially for the subsidies which had been continually solicited, though without success, from the court of Charles III. But this point was not the true source of discord in the congress. There were two other conditions, to one of which the representatives of the southern states clung with as much tenacity as those of the North did to the other. How far-sighted the politicians of the southern states were on points affecting their future interests is shown by the fact that they wished to have the cession of the interior as far as the Mississippi, and the right of free navigation of this stream down to the Gulf of Mexico, regarded as indispensable preliminaries to the conclusion of peace. The British Colonial Office had organised the land west of the Alleghanies independently of the old provinces, and the settlement of this territory on any considerable scale had been but recently begun from the southern provinces. Nevertheless, the leaders in the southern states perceived perfectly the immense importance for this district of the waterway to the Gulf of Mexico, and were resolved not to give up this security for the future.

Discussing the Terms of Peace

For a long time discussions upon the conditions of peace possessed a purely theoretical interest. The efforts of the leader of the army, on the one hand, and of the representatives of France, on the other, succeeded in restraining the embittered war of words and in obscuring those subjects on which utterly irreconcilable views were held. When, in March, 1782, by means of Franklin's personal relations with some of the members of the newly formed English Cabinet, the general desire for peace was finally confirmed, strife broke out afresh in the congress. The party of the northern states, which would have preferred that Franklin, the friend of the French, should be deprived of all share in the negotiations, were so far successful that they placed beside him two representatives of their own views—John Adams and John Jay. The history of the peace negotiations shows once more the total absence of a real executive in the young state. The congress had indeed established a department for foreign affairs ; but its representatives, during the peace negotiations, never received definite instructions, and, once on French soil and removed from the interference of congress, they were really independent. That the negotiations were so quickly concluded, and that in a manner exceeding the expectations of the most sanguine American politicians, was due to the weakness of the English negotiators.

Recognising the Independence of the States

The peace ratified at Versailles, September 3rd, 1783, recognised the thirteen United States of North America as an independent state. Almost all the demands of the American party politicians were conceded by the British. Florida, which was restored to Spain, formed the southern boundary of the states ; the Mississippi the western ; and navigation on this river was to be free to Americans and to the British. The northern boundary ran from the St. Croix River across the watershed between the Hudson and the St. Lawrence, and then through the Great Lakes to the source of the Mississippi. The right of participating in the fisheries on the Newfoundland Banks was expressly conceded. As for the rest, a treaty of peace and commerce between Great Britain and the United States was to restore as far as possible the relations interrupted by the war. The recognition of the United States by the remaining European Powers was delayed ; but this was of little importance to the young state, as it enjoyed not only the recognition but also the goodwill of the Powers which were of most importance to it. Thus, as far as the outside world was concerned, the Republic of the United States was firmly established. KONRAD HAEBLER

The Republic of the United States

THE AMERICAN ATTACK ON QUEBEC IN 1775: THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY IN LEADING THE ASSAULT

The American attack on Quebec occurred on the last morning of the year 1775, when in a bitter wind General Montgomery and his men made for the lower corner of the town. At the Près de Ville barrier they were stopped by the discharge of a battery, Montgomery and a dozen others falling dead in the snow, and the remainder flying for their lives into the darkness.

From the painting by J. Trumbull

CANADA DURING THE GREAT WAR

BRITISH TRIUMPHS AGAINST THE AMERICANS

WHEN Canada was ceded to Great Britain by France all the military and most of the civil officials of Canada returned to France; the latter, with Bigot at their head, to be heavily and justly punished for their egregious frauds. A good many of the Canadian noblesse went, too, being offered commissions in the French Army. War-sick and impoverished by the presence of contending armies, Canada now resigned herself without difficulty to the just and lenient rule of the English officers who governed her for many years after the peace.

The habitants, forming probably five-sixths of the 70,000 souls by this time in the country, settled down in their parishes to increase and multiply under the mildest regime they had ever experienced. There were no more corvées and no more wars; otherwise everything went on much as before. They paid their dues to the parish priest, and their trifling rents to the seigniors. The English criminal law, milder than their own code, was administered by the military authorities. Civil law remained as before in spite of edicts intended to encourage the English customs. Thirty to forty seigniorial families, much more than half the total number, remained in the colony, while in Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers were a goodly sprinkling of traders and professional men.

Canada in the Hands of the British

Murray remained for six years as governor, assisted by a nominated advisory council, and, as regards the French, proved a just and popular administrator. Sentiment apart, there was complete harmony between the English garrison and the small French upper class and clergy. The losers in a stand-up fight did not expect in those days to be put into the seat of the victors, while the habitants, almost wholly illiterate, did not know what votes meant. The disturbing, or at least dissatisfied, element was composed of the few hundred British traders, mostly from the American provinces, who settled in Quebec and Montreal. For it should be said that the Americans, particularly in New England, with its Puritan traditions, had greatly resented the religious toleration that had been granted to the Canadians. The newcomers to Canada shared that view, and being naturally of republican tendencies, as, in fact, were most of the Anglo-American colonists long before their rebellion, objected to living under a government that had no elections and gave no scope for political activity. Their views of popular government, however, did not extend to the 70,000 French, but only to the few hundred not generally very good specimens of Anglo-American settlers.

Puritans Opposed to Toleration

From their body they considered an elective assembly should be chosen to legislate for the rest and control the supplies, while the French laws, religion, and even language should so far as possible be suppressed. This point of view did not commend itself to the British Government, but its exponents, whose numbers slowly increased, caused most of the friction to be found in Canada at that period; and when the great revolutionary agitation began south of the border, its promoters worked hard to stir up the French Canadians to like endeavours.

Here, too, it will be necessary to remind the reader that the destiny of Canada, such as we have seen it fulfilled, could not have been foreseen in 1763. Settlers upon its soil from England seemed then quite unlikely. The fertile colonies to the south, with their enterprising English population, religious affinities, and milder climate, offered overwhelmingly greater attractions to the British immigrant. Canada seemed destined to remain a small French nation under English rule, and to reconcile the

Canada a French Nation

Canadians to that rule seemed so obviously politic, it was almost inevitable that the hearts of the earlier British officials should be in accord with that policy. Montcalm, when he foresaw the conquest of Canada, wrote in private letters to friends, which are still extant, to the effect that the English would be fools if they tried to Anglicise their new subjects. He—Montcalm—foretold the revolt of the "republicans" of the other colonies, and that an Anglicised Canada would surely go with them; whereas, if the Canadians were encouraged to retain their homogeneity under the British Crown, and were well treated, the latter would have a loyal, brave and docile race that would stand staunchly by it against those ancient enemies and neighbours with whom they had so little in common.

Montcalm's Faith in Canada's Loyalty

Nor was Montcalm by any means alone in reading the handwriting on the wall. Many Frenchmen familiar with North America found consolation for defeat in the prospect of their rival's future difficulties. There were Englishmen, too, who were against the retention of Canada for that very reason, and nothing probably but the intoxication of those glorious years of universal victory prevented there being many more. With a limited Canada in the hands of a French king, the English colonies would not have dreamed of an independence immediately exposed to his always restless sword, his fleets, and his armies.

For against French Canada alone, and a mere handful of regulars, their powerlessness, without British aid, had been too glaringly exposed. The French Revolution was then in the womb of the future; what effect that might have had on a French Canada is of necessity a matter of mere speculation, but, like the other, does not here concern us. English troops, too, at the peace, had taken the place of the French garrisons throughout the far western posts, some of which they were several months in reaching, and they had hardly settled down in them when there broke out the great rising of the western Indians, known as Pontiac's War. The English, with some truth, were regarded as potential land-grabbers, and the numerous bodies of French fur-traders throughout the west, being human and naturally sore, had painted their rivals' designs in the most lurid colours to their credulous Indian friends, and persuaded them that the French king, their father Onontio, was not vanquished, but sleeping to gather strength for a mighty revenge.

Pontiac the Leader of Revolt

Pontiac was the man produced by the hour—diplomat, orator, warrior and leader of men. First and last he set all the Indians on the war-path from Michillimackinac in the remote North to the tribes on the Mississippi in touch with New Orleans. A glance at the map and the scale of distances will give a notion of the range of his power. All the English outposts had now to fight for their lives. There were heroic defences like Gladwyn's at Detroit, and many massacres. The western French were treated throughout as neutrals, the frontiers of the middle colonies were ravaged from end to end, and hundreds of families, flying from burning homes, cowered in doubtful shelters of weak, ill-victualled forts, often leaving as many behind them tomahawked or tortured to death in the woods.

This did not directly concern the government at Quebec, the campaigns which finally quelled the rising being directed from the North American military centre of New York. But the peace which followed established the English garrisons, and opened again the fur trade of the west, which for long remained the mainstay of Canada. In 1766, Sir Guy Carleton, a distinguished soldier of American experience and friend of Wolfe's, afterwards Lord Dorchester, came out as governor to the Château St. Louis, and proved the greatest of its English occupants. Other men as distinguished have held the post, but none had the opportunity to show their mettle under such continually difficult circumstances and for so long a period. Nothing occurred in Canada calling for notice here till the passing of the Quebec Act by the British Parliament. A peck of minor troubles, however, was in progress.

The Good Work of Lord Dorchester

Incapable persons, the product of English political jobbery, were planted on the colony, knowing neither its language nor even their own business. The small English community in the towns continued their agitation for popular government administered by themselves. The clashing of the legal codes, too, was a chronic source of minor trouble. The Quebec Act was passed in 1774. This substituted an oath of allegiance in place of a test oath for Roman Catholics. The French civil law,

with certain modifications, and the English criminal code, were definitely established, while the tithe, literally a twenty-fifth, always an unwritten law, was now secured to the clergy by statute from all professing the old faith. The administration was to be continued in a governor and council nominated by the Crown. The idea of an elective assembly of British Protestants only, which was urged by representatives of the latter before parliament, found little support in debate. Carleton threw his influence strongly on the side of those concessions to the French, which have been regarded as their charter, and are the base of the political and religious liberties they have ever since enjoyed, though not, however, without some friction.

By the light of after knowledge, much indeed may be urged against this course. But the united empire loyalist refugees, who became such a strong element later, were then undreamed of. Ontario was still a wilderness only trodden by the Indian and the trapper, its fertility buried under dense forests, and its capacities not yet within the prophets' visions. The Quebec Act tied the Church and the small upper class of French Canadians firmly to the government, but gave great discontent to a majority of the British. The condition of the habitant remained much as before, and, being what he was, he had every reason to be content, and indeed actually was so.

The Canadians Faithful to Great Britain

Now, however, the feverish agitation which preceded the American War was seething in the colonies. The Canadian British in the main sympathised with it, some violently so. The French gentry and clergy, on the contrary, were from every motive hostile to it; while, as regards the peasantry, they were profoundly ignorant even of its meaning. The American leaders, who had so raged at the religious liberty granted to the French-Canadian Catholics at the Conquest, now addressed them in flamboyant proclamations as the down-trodden slaves of a tyrannical government, and urged them with unctuous flattery to unite their fortunes to their true friends and brethren.

To the educated French-Canadians this was, of course, only so much nonsense, while the others could not read it. So the American agitators, through their agents and Anglo-Canadian friends, now set to work by means of travellers on commercial pretexts to corrupt their simple and illiterate neighbours. The credulity of the habitant was unfathomable, and his hereditary hatred of the heretic "Bastonnais" now broke down before the unblushing mendacity of these peripatetic politicians. They played on the Quebec Act, and twisted the retention of the tithe and seigniorial rents into a badge of slavery. It was given out that the corvées were to be resumed, and that the territorial militia, which was retained by the English in its original form for defence of the country, was to be utilised for fighting England's battles in Europe.

Canada in a Precarious Position

Nothing, in short, within the scope of an American demagogue's imagination running riot among a hopelessly uncritical and credulous audience was omitted, in order to alienate the habitant; should the advice of their new friends be rejected, it was darkly hinted that an American army of 50,000 men would sweep the province and make its inhabitants deplore their obstinacy. The success of the agitators was tolerably complete, as was quickly shown when the crisis came, and the militia were called out. Carleton, who had incurred much criticism for his activity in securing what he thought fair treatment for the French, felt this apparent ingratitude of their peasantry most bitterly. Town meetings, too, were held in Quebec and Montreal, in which the disaffected British declaimed against the Quebec Act. Nothing, indeed, could have been more precarious than the situation of Canada at this time, for, in spite of Carleton's warnings, there were not 1,000 regulars in the whole colony.

The first shot of the war was fired at Lexington, in April, 1775. In May, the Champlain forts on the route to Canada had been seized, and it was soon known that an invasion of the colony was impending. Martial law was proclaimed, and a portion of the militia called out. It will be enough to say here that the response to this call to arms was almost nil. It was in vain that the seigniors and the militia captains waved their swords, and the priests, whose influence, for the only time in Canadian history, had been undermined, called on their flocks. The few that mustered, and still fewer that marched, defied their officers and dispersed. The American General Montgomery, an ex-British officer, having

The First Stages of the Great War

captured in the meantime most of the British regulars sent to obstruct his way in frontier forts, arrived with an army at Montreal. Carleton, who had vainly endeavoured to raise a sufficient force there was compelled to abandon it, and with some risk and difficulty made his way back alone to Quebec. Here was the last resource and defence of Canada, which everywhere else was soon overrun and occupied by the Americans. It was now mid-November, 1775, for we have had to hurry over two or three months thick with events and small fights of no vital consequence. The young American, Arnold, of sinister fame in later days, had executed a daring march to Quebec through the rude wilderness trail from Kennebec, arriving before the city after a struggle of three weeks with half the 1,400 picked men he started with.

American Attack on Quebec

He got there just before Carleton, and awaited the arrival of Montgomery. Turning every man out of the city who would not arm, Carleton found himself with about 700 French and 500 English volunteers of a most miscellaneous description, 200 regulars, half of them recruits, and some sailors, about 1,500 in all, and a total population of 5,000. The defences had been previously looked to; the artillery was adequate, and the city was victualled. When Montgomery joined Arnold early in December, their united force was somewhat under 2,000 men, with sufficient guns. The Americans expected the fall of Quebec to follow almost at once upon Montgomery's challenge, like the walls of Jericho before Joshua's trumpets.

That general, though a brave and able soldier, treated Carleton to some rare flights of threatening and offensive bombast, which were received by the latter, who regarded the ex-British officer as a traitor, with silent contempt. After three weeks of futile cannonading and rifle fire, Montgomery delivered his famous attack about four o'clock in the last morning of the year, 1775. He himself led a small division from Wolfe's Cove along the margin of the frozen river under the cliff against the barricade that defended the town at the lower corner beneath Cape Diamond. Arnold, in the meantime, made an almost simultaneous attack at the far side, and on a barrier protecting another narrow entry to the town by the St. Charles River. A bitter wind, laden with fine snow, was blowing, and it was pitch dark. The garrison, who, under Carleton's stimulating leadership had shown surprising vigour, were all alert.

British Victory at Quebec

Montgomery was met at the Près de Ville barrier by the unexpected discharge of a battery, which stretched him and a dozen of the foremost with him dead upon the snow, while the remainder fled into the darkness. Arnold's corps had more success, at first forcing the outer barrier quite easily, and getting into the lower town. There, however, they found themselves enclosed in narrow streets between cross fires, and after an hour or two of brisk fighting were repulsed, leaving about 600 dead, wounded, and prisoners behind them. The British loss was trifling, and their triumph complete.

American reinforcements, however, came up from Montreal, and the siege dragged wearily on till the following May. But this amateur garrison—French and English—showed amazing spirit, while the besieging force suffered greatly from cold and disease, and the city was never again in danger. Early in May a British fleet arrived bringing that fine army which, in the following year, was to surrender under Burgoyne at Saratoga, and the Americans were chased not merely from Quebec, but completely out of Canada.

Americans Chased Out of Canada

For, if the city had fallen on December 31st, the Canadian peasantry, who directly and indirectly had greatly helped the Americans, would have openly sided with them, and it is practically certain that the colony would have been made the fourteenth state of the Union and been lost to the British Crown. As it was, the habitant before the close of winter had tired of his new friends. Four thousand alien and ill-disciplined soldiers—even if well-intentioned—of a traditionally hated race and creed, especially when they were paying for food in almost worthless currency, could easily outstay their welcome.

So the Canadian returned to the fold of his British shepherd and his former state of content and political indifference a wiser and sometimes a sadder man. No further attack was made on Canada throughout the war; while Carleton, who had saved her to the British Crown, resigned in disgust at his treatment by that incapable and unprincipled Minister, Germaine.

ATTEMPTED CONQUEST OF CANADA

THE GREAT WAR OF 1812 AND WHAT IT DID FOR THE BRITISH COLONY

WHEN the English troops evacuated the territory of the new republic in 1783, there were thousands of inhabitants of the various colonies who had openly sympathised and generally fought on the side of the Crown in one or other of the numerous irregular corps raised during the war. The feeling between them and their successful opponents was now so bitter that there was nothing left to the loyalist but exile. The vindictive attitude towards their defeated brethren whose motives of action, though often mixed like their rivals', were quite as worthy of respect, is admitted now by American historians to have been, if not a crime, at least a most egregious political blunder.

No terms worth the paper they were written on were secured to them by Great Britain at the peace. Their property was confiscated and their persons insulted.

The Sad Cry of the Colonist

Some remained and endeavoured to live it down, but without success. England is not seldom an ungrateful mother to her colonial children who risk their lives and fortunes for her flag. The cry of the colonist that it does not pay to be loyal is as old as the eighteenth century, and, unfortunately, only too true—the result largely, one need hardly remark, of the system of party government. In this case the Crown voted a sum of money, which after long years some of the survivors in part received. Of private sympathy and generosity to the numbers who had no refuge but England little was shown.

Their correspondence is significant and melancholy reading, for they found themselves too often treated with supercilious neglect even by those who should have befriended them. Their elemental principles, too, were further shocked by discovering a country one-half of whose people rejoiced openly or secretly at the defeat of its own armies. It is a sad and little-known tale, but the brighter side of it, full of hardship and suffering though it was, need only be told here. Fortunately for all concerned, the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick then carved out of it, and the fertile Prince Edward Island, were still British, still practically undeveloped and eminently suited for settlement. Free grants of land were now offered in these provinces to any loyalist refugees who should apply for them, and ships were provided to convey them there, as well as sufficient supplies and farm implements to tide over the first necessarily unproductive year.

New Homes for the Loyalists

This would have been a comparatively advantageous start for companies of English peasants. But these people had lost in hundreds of cases valuable estates, in most instances comfortable farms or homes. They came from every colony, where many had been social and political leaders, and several thousands were already, in 1782, within the British lines at New York, where Carleton, now commander-in-chief and charged with the military evacuation of the country, refused to move till he had safely embarked the last one of them.

By way of this and other ports, over 30,000 men, women and children were landed in their new homes in these maritime provinces alone. Scarcely any had much more than their wearing apparel in the way of property. The reputation of Nova Scotia and the adjoining mainland, all till then called Acadia, stood low as a place of agricultural settlement. In this particular, however, the newcomers were pleasantly surprised; but they had long years of toil, want and suffering to endure before they had carved themselves out new homes in the woods and entered into

Nova Scotia the New Name for Acadia

comfortable possession of the great provinces, the bulk of whose people to-day are proud to call themselves descendants of the "united empire loyalists."

Of this same exodus another ten or fifteen thousand went to Canada proper, mainly to what is now the province of Ontario. The principal settlements here were at old Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, and away to the west on the Niagara peninsula. In this case to the rigours of backwoods settlement were usually added the hardships of many weeks of weary march thither by batteau and canoe and Indian trails through the forest. Acadia had, of course, been well known, though still sparsely settled. Halifax was already a small British town and port. But the northern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie had been regarded by the American colonists as a forbidding wilderness of indifferent soil, held in the grip of winter for most of the year. French Canadian settlement had reached no further than Montreal. All beyond was part of that vast, shaggy, boundless hinterland which suggested nothing present or future to contemporary man but beaver skins.

Opening up the Province of Ontario

There had, in fact, been no incentive to test this country. The French land system held the people to their own seigniories, of which not a tenth part were cleared. Now, however, reports came to the American refugees of another character altogether regarding this wild western country. Experts went to report on it, and reported favourably, and the immigration thither began. As in the maritime provinces, so here the remnant of loyalist regiments settled in many instances together.

Nor were these all English. Germans who had served the king removed here wholesale in their military companies, from choice in their case and a sentiment of gratitude for the treatment they had uniformly received from the Crown, while there were, of course, numbers of New York Dutch loyalists who had lost their all, as well as Scottish highlanders, recent settlers in the Carolinas, whose natural instincts had kept them on the loyalists' side. In short, English Canada, in its origin, may be almost regarded as a military colony. To these original bands large additions were quickly made. Numbers of people, flinching from exile, clung, in spite of all, to the land of their birth till the unrelenting persecution of their republican neighbours made their lives unendurable. And it is only fair to add that the contest between the two factions during the many years of war had been conducted on both sides with singular ferocity. The conditions of the war, too, and of the country, had been such that it was almost everywhere safer at the moment, whatever the remote disadvantage might be, to take the popular side when not actually under the British guns.

How Canada Became Populated

The majority of the colonial manhood did not personally carry a musket, and it was generally safer for those who "sat on the fence" to shout, at any rate, for the patriot side. It followed, therefore, that the bulk of the exiles were men of force, character and independence; men, too, who in most cases had themselves disapproved of the British policy, while at the same time deprecating an appeal to arms. When the rupture came, however, they had shown the courage of their convictions, and their sad case proved that they had resisted the frequent opportunities to retract and change sides which offered themselves during the struggle. Thus it happened that the intolerance of the Americans, sometimes stimulated by private commercial indebtedness, an intolerance endorsed by their government in cold blood, proved to them the curse that it well deserved to be.

Canadian Hatred of America

That they hoped to possess the vast country now known as Canada was undoubted and reasonable. But they had inadvertently placed upon it a picked garrison who hated them with a hatred inconceivable to the ordinary Englishman or Frenchman of modern times, and proved the means of permanently alienating Canada; a hatred, too, which in a modified degree endured to their children's children. Nay, its echoes are there yet, and are a constant source of surprise to the travelling Briton who is unfamiliar with the history of Canada, and hears these sentiments from persons in themselves more like Americans than Englishmen.

To be a united empire loyalist, as immigration from Europe swelled the population, came to be a badge of honour. It was seriously proposed that the significant letters "U.E.L." should be granted by patent, and retained as an hereditary affix to the names of individuals and their descendants who are now legion. Both

in the maritime provinces and Ontario it is at this day accounted a matter of pride to be of "U.E.L. stock." In the seaboard British provinces this large influx presented no race problems. Nova Scotia had already a British majority when its population was trebled in a couple of years by the British loyalist influx.

The pleasant fertile island of Prince Edward was practically virgin ground. But in Canada proper the whole conditions were altered. The British element, from a handful of merchants, had been suddenly increased by 20,000 energetic and able people. For, in addition to large settlements in the upper country, numbers were demanding land in Quebec, notably in the eastern townships. What is more, the climate had been proved as bearable, and the soil much better than that of populous New England. Many Americans of the humbler sort, misdoubting the unsettled state of their own country, disliking the new taxation, or merely attracted by good and cheap land, crossed the border. Nor was it merely the phase of the moment, for it was quite evident that Canada was going to be a British as well as a French colony, and the whole machinery would require reconstruction. Carleton, now created Lord Dorchester, had been sent again as governor in 1786 to face these difficulties. He was assisted by many competent lawyers, though they did not all agree.

Canada Divided into Provinces

It was obvious that the large and increasing English community from self-governing colonies would not long tolerate the autocratic government which had really suited the French. To create an assembly with a small minority of skilled parliamentarians sitting among a majority of another race and creed, and quite unused to public affairs, would be to invite friction and deadlock. The result of much agitation and many conflicting opinions was the "Canada Act," dividing the country into the provinces of Lower Canada (Quebec), and Upper Canada (now Ontario), thus separating to a great extent the French and English.

Each province was allotted a governor with a nominated council, from which the executive was selected, and an elective assembly. The principal opposition naturally arose from the English in the old province of Quebec, who, though greatly increased, were still but a trifling minority. The Act was passed, however, in 1791, after considerable discussion in the British Parliament, and Simcoe, an English officer who had commanded a colonial corps in the American War, was the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. As the legislative assemblies had very limited power of the purse, and as the executive was independent of them, while the council, or upper house, could veto all their Bills at will, this was a faint reflection of the British model of popular government. With really responsible government, and only a nominal power of veto at this early date, there would have been more friction between the races, numerically unequal as they were, and much more danger.

Niagara the Temporary Seat of Government

The only hope of impartiality lay in the governor. Dorchester, for instance, was inclined to favour the French as a pure matter of personal judgment. Imagine an executive responsible to an English or French majority inclined to favour its rivals! The very thought is an absurdity. In Lower Canada there were, of course, both grievances and difficulties. The latter were caused mainly by the dual code of laws and disagreements between the English influence and the always ultramontane Church in efforts for a wider education. The former were experienced by the French later on in their exclusion from the principal offices of state. In Upper Canada the seat of government was temporarily at Niagara, but in due course, and after not inconsiderable discussion, was removed to York, the nucleus of the present city of Toronto.

The years between 1791 and the war of 1812 would represent a distinct epoch in Canada if only for the fact that its establishment for all time as an English as well as a French colony was then in progress. The destitution of some of the earlier immigrants had been relieved by the half-pay granted to those who had held commissions through the American War, while the offices necessary to carry on the provincial government were mainly and capably filled by the refugees. Indeed, the earlier united empire settlers in Ontario, combining among them most of the talents, developed a virtual oligarchy, and acquired such a grip of the provincial government that for half a century it made a pliant tool of most lieutenant-governors, and held the growing democracy at arm's length till, in 1837, as we shall

Ontario Governed by Settlers

see, its arrogance provoked a rebellion. The bitter anti-American feelings of the refugees who founded Upper Canada stimulated a proportionate enthusiasm for the British connection.

It was a curious situation. Men whose families for generations had lived in Massachusetts or Virginia, who had themselves grown up and taken part in one or other of the democratic self-governing colonies, and on whom the Western Continent, in appearance and speech, had set its unmistakable mark, displayed a fervour of loyalty that extended itself to every external sign and symbol of British rule, and encouraged the quasi-aristocratic atmosphere that for so long influenced the province. The earlier loyalists again professed distrust of these later waves of immigration from the United States, and regarding themselves alone as founders of the country, succeeded to a large extent in retaining much of the power.

Evolution of the Warlike Iroquois

These tendencies, however, served a useful purpose in their day, being favourable to the martial virtues, and indeed they saved Canada in 1812, though subsequently they proved wholly obstructive to its healthy growth. Hither, too, had retired the remnant of the Iroquois, who, true to their ancient traditions and the leadership of the Johnsons, had fought for the Crown under their great chief Brant. And here to-day, near the town of Brantford, to which he gave its name, may be seen the descendants of his race, who so long were the terror of North America, now seated on the banks of the Grand River, and cultivating the arts of peace in the guise of farmers.

While in Upper Canada, steadily recruited by all sorts and conditions of settlers—mostly English and Germans—from the United States, men of various creeds and impelled by various motives, were busy hewing out their own homesteads, the external affairs of Canada, more particularly as affecting the French province, were again extremely critical. The French Revolution had shaken the world, and England was once more at war with France. One party in the new American republic, led by Jefferson, was enthusiastically pro-French, clamouring for war with England, and was held with difficulty in check by the more cool-headed northern states, supported by Washington and Hamilton. A combination of France and America must inevitably have overwhelmed Canada. Hateful as the principles of the Revolution were to the clerics and seigniors, the French-Canadian people would almost certainly not have fought against their old compatriots. The martial habit, too, was lost; a new generation had arisen unaccustomed to war, and unwilling to fight at all. It was fortunate that the cool, experienced veteran Dorchester was at the helm, for between 1790 and 1793 the two countries were more than once on the verge of war.

Pro-French Party in America

There were several causes of irritation, one of them being that some of the far western forts in American territory were still held by England on the plea of certain unfulfilled treaty conditions. An American and Indian war was raging around these remote outposts of British regulars, and the situation in the west was a highly inflammable one. One-half of the American people had abandoned themselves to an orgie of enthusiasm for the emancipated French, while the latter had agents in every state, as well as in Canada, who worked upon the credulous habitant with all the more success that the emissaries this time were Frenchmen. The militia in great part refused point-blank to attend their musters, despite priests and seigniors, and after all, as Lord Dorchester pithily informed his government, it was not wholly surprising that peaceful, ignorant peasants no longer used to handling a gun should object to being called from their farms to help Englishmen and heretics shoot one another.

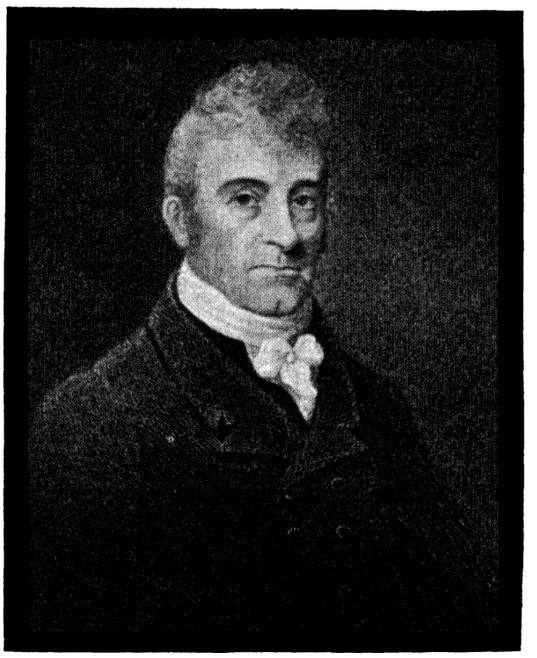
American Settlers in the New Colony

A further cause of anxiety was the great number of Americans that of late years had settled in the colony, particularly in that fertile and beautiful district of Quebec, on the Vermont frontier, which was set apart for them and, popularly known as the Eastern Townships, is still mainly British. These people were no longer united empire loyalists, and their action in case of war was doubtful, though such very natural uncertainty has never for a moment attached to their descendants. The scantiness of the regular garrison kept in Canada through these precarious years was the despair of its governors. In 1794, however, "Jay's Treaty" between Great Britain and the United States relieved the strain for a few brief years.

Though there were many undoubted causes of friction it has always seemed to the student of that period as if another fight between the Mother Country and her

offspring was imperative before the air could be thoroughly cleared and their relations properly adjusted. The war of 1812 was the work of the same old Jefferson party, represented mainly by the more Southern and agricultural states and now in power under the presidency of Madison, another Virginian statesman. The more enlightened, vulnerable and commercial states of New England now, as before, were strongly opposed to it.

Great Britain was then engaged with Napoleon in a death grapple which was to decide whether the nations of Europe were to be French or free, and she could not always afford to be over-nice in her treatment of neutrals on the high seas. It is impossible to treat fully here of the points at issue. The chief of these were the famous "orders in council" of the British Government, which ultimately proclaimed a blockade of all countries under France, the right to seize neutral ships carrying supplies to enemies and to search them for deserters, and the answering decrees of Napoleon, futile as they were for lack of ships. Various international episodes, mainly by sea, and the increasing irritation of the Americans on shore at the decline of their commerce, at length, in June, 1812, produced the long-looked-for rupture. In anticipation of it soldiers had been sent out to Canada as rulers; Sir George Prevost was governor-general at Quebec, and Sir Isaac Brock temporary lieutenant-governor of Ontario. The former was popular in his province, which had increased in population to 220,000. The latter was an able soldier, had been for ten years in the country and was idolised in Upper Canada, where there were now nearly 80,000 souls. The brunt of the strife fell on the Upper Province. The population of the Canadas was now about 300,000, of which some two-thirds were French. The maritime provinces, whose story throughout this quarter of a century had been an uneventful one of steady development, remained outside the sphere of war save in their sea-borne commerce. The Americans were unquestionably weakened by the persistent protests against war made by the New England states and their virtual abstention from any share in it. Still the most martial and best organised of the old colonial groups, they had been the backbone of Washington's armies, but were utterly averse to the Napoleonic conception of the welfare of the world, and as a sea-going people could make more allowance for the seemingly high-handed measures into which England in her desperate struggle against such great odds was forced. It was a good thing for Canada that New England took up this attitude. As it was, the Americans came surging against her in three separate divisions composed of troops mainly from the Middle and Southern states, all obsessed with the notion that the Upper Province was seething with discontent, that a majority of its people would welcome them, and, in short, that the enterprise would be a promenade terminating in rewards of land and loot. They came on under Napoleonic designations and with Napoleonic thunder. The "army of the West" made for Niagara, that of the "North" by the Albany and Oswego route for Kingston. There is almost a comic opera flavour about the opening scenes of this really critical struggle. But for the Canadians at the moment there was certainly nothing of comedy in the matter, particularly the Canadians of the Upper Province, who were the sole objects of attack.



STEPHEN VAN RANSSELAER
In the war of 1812, Van Ransselaer, commanding the northern frontier, captured Queenstown heights, but because of his militia refusing to cross the Niagara the place was retaken by the British, and Ransselaer resigned in disgust.

Britain and America Again at War

American Attacks on Canada

There were 1,400 regular troops in the colony and about 2,000 enrolled militia to defend a frontier hundreds of miles in length against a nation with already nearly half the population of Great Britain. It may be doubted if any country has ever been confronted with such apparently hopeless odds as was Upper Canada. "On to Canada!" was the war-cry of the American armies, who, most fortunately,

were both ill-disciplined and ill-led. General Hull with 2,500 men occupied Detroit on the American side of the river, which then formed the international boundary, and issued a proclamation that for exuberance of bombast is among the curiosities of military literature. The Americans had either assumed or been misled into the extraordinary notion that a majority of Canadians were eagerly awaiting them as deliverers from a tyrant's yoke. They were soon undeceived. The first blow was struck by the British far away in the north-west, where they captured the important post of Michillimackinac, with its garrison and stores. Brock, in the meantime, who had been detained by a meeting of the legislature at York, now hastened against Hull with 330 regulars and 400 militia.

Ignominious American Surrender

Tecumseh, the famous chief, with 600 Indians, captured Hull's convoys and cut his connections. Brock crossed the river to Detroit and with not misplaced audacity summoned his opponent to surrender; which he did with his entire force, guns and stores and very little demur. So vanished this Napoleonic meteor and his corps d'armée from the scene of war in the middle of August. An armistice proposed by the two governments for the interchange of negotiations which proved futile had somewhat checked Brock's movements, but in October he confronted the American force under General Van Ransselaer at Niagara and fought the ever memorable Battle of Queenstown heights, where he lost his life in the supreme hour of victory.

Queenstown heights is a lofty ridge over the Niagara River, between the Falls and Lake Ontario. General Van Ransselaer was on the American side with 6,000 men and headquarters at Lewiston. Brock was on the opposite shore, with about 1,200 regulars and militia somewhat scattered from an uncertainty as to the point at which a crossing might be attempted. Before daybreak on October 13th, 1,300 Americans effected a landing at Queenstown after some skirmishing with a few hundred British posted there and a good deal of artillery fire from both sides of the river. Before Brock could reach the scene some of the enemy had gained the crest of Queenstown heights, and the brave general at once led 200 men up the slope against them, but fell dead in the attempt with a ball in his breast. Brock was not only a splendid soldier of considerable European experience, but one of those rare Englishmen who succeeded in winning the devotion of the colonists both in peace and war. His loss in the struggle just begun was simply irreparable.

Brock's Death in the Hour of Victory

A lofty obelisk on Queenstown heights keeps his memory green, and two biographers have told the tale of a noble life. Colonel Sheaffe had now arrived on the spot with reinforcements, and, gathering others of the British already in action, scaled the heights to the west of the Americans with about 1,000 men, half regulars and half militia, and a few Indians. Van Ransselaer hurried across the river for reinforcements, but the New York militia exhibited the most unblushing poltroonery, and protested that they had only been enlisted to serve in their own country. The American regulars and militia already on the heights were now charged in front by a judicious combination of volleys and bayonets, while behind them was a precipice with only one place of escape. Numbers threw themselves over it, more were shot and bayonetted, others drowned in the river, and the loss altogether was about 400. The remaining 900 surrendered as prisoners of war, while the British loss was about 70 killed and wounded. General Smythe now took command of the Americans, and after issuing a proclamation to the men of New York, which began with indecorous diatribes against his two predecessors, and continued in bombastic flights of rhetoric that even poor Hull had not reached, started to put his scheme of occupying and regenerating Canada into operation.

Fate of a Bombastic General

All his attacks, however, were repulsed, and when his army retired into winter quarters the eloquent general was consigned by his government to private life and oblivion. It must be remembered, however, that the Americans were engaged in a war of invasion, always difficult for raw troops, for even their regulars had no serious experience. The militia were badly officered, and all were miserably led. Their inspiring motives, again, were not elevated, while numbers, doubtless, were half-hearted. The Canadians, on the other hand, were fighting for their homes and against an enemy whom they had reason to regard with especial resentment, while the

few regulars who aided them were of fine quality, belonging mainly to the 41st Regiment. With the next year, the Americans, smarting under ignominious defeat, braced themselves for greater efforts, got rid of their political generals, and discovered more efficient officers. Michigan was now in the hands of the British.

Proctor, at Detroit with 1,000 men, and the valuable but somewhat intermittent help of Tecumseh and his Indians, was opposed to General Harrison with an army of 7,000, having defeated his colleague, General Winchester, with a loss of nearly 1,000 men, including prisoners. A campaign of varying fortune was conducted on the Michigan side, till a defeat of the British by the American fleet on Lake Erie left Detroit isolated and forced Proctor into Canada and a retreat up the River Thames. He had with him 800 regulars and militia, and 500 Indians. Harrison followed with 3,500 men, including 1,500 mounted riflemen from Kentucky. When Proctor was compelled to make a stand his force was reduced to about 440 regulars and about fifty local dragoons and Tecumseh's Indians. It is enough to say that he was overwhelmed. The gallant soldiers of the 41st, who had borne the brunt of two arduous campaigns and accounted for at least four times their number in Americans killed, wounded and prisoners, were wearied, ill fed, and overstrained.

General Harrison's Boast

They were at last ridden down by a charge of 1,200 horse, supported by over 2,000 infantry, as shown by the official figures of General Harrison, who, in the same breath and in the amazing phraseology of his generation, ascribed the victory over this poor remnant to "superior valour." Tecumseh, whose Indians offered a longer resistance, was slain. Proctor escaped, and was sent into retirement after a court-martial which, though not forgetful of his former merits, censured him for blunders, chiefly of delay. Harrison after his victory evacuated Canada.

Sir George Prevost, who had the general supervision of operations, proved extremely inefficient, and added greatly to the difficulties of his subordinates in their struggle against great odds; while when he himself led in action it was only to failure. Operations on the Niagara frontier were carried on briskly throughout the second summer, the enemy making much better use of their superior numbers. They burned York, the little capital of Upper Canada, in contravention of the terms of its surrender, which cost them their more valuable capital at Washington, destroyed by the British in retaliation. Generals Sheaffe and Vincent commanded on the British shore with about a third of the number of troops opposed to them, for the Canadian militia were mostly farmers, and had to save their crops as well as fight, while the regulars could be but feebly reinforced, as the strain on Great Britain in 1813 left few to spare. The Battle of Stoney Creek was the most notable engagement this year, and was fought in the Niagara district when Colonel Harvey, with a small force, made a night attack, and routed the American army of 2,500 men near the site of the modern city of Hamilton.

Rout of the American Army

Lake Ontario, too, had been the scene of many engagements between the small fleets which struggled for mastery on a sea which meant so much to either. By land and lake, however, the year closed without definite results, nor had anything been accomplished by the American general, Wilkinson, with the 8,000 men that constituted his "Army of the North." Its object in 1814 had been the capture of Kingston, at the east end of Lake Ontario, with a view to descending the river upon Montreal. Another division of 4,000 strong under the South Carolinian generals, Wade, Hampton and Izard, suffered the remarkable defeat of Chateauguay, fought on the river of that name just south of the St. Lawrence.

The heroes of this engagement were 380 French-Canadians under Colonel de Salabery, an officer of that nationality holding a commission in the 60th Regiment, who checked the advance of the enemy on Montreal. It is famous in Canadian annals, and was won partly by skilful shooting from cover and partly by a ruse of bugle-blowing which suggested the advance of a large force and created a panic. It was a saying long afterwards in the American Army that no officer who valued his reputation would admit to having been there at all.

A Famous Canadian Victory

Simultaneously with Chateauguay, Wilkinson descended the St. Lawrence with his 8,000 men and designs upon Montreal. Colonel Morrison, however, followed him from Kingston with as many hundred, and

fought the victorious rearguard action of Chrystler's Farm. This, with the news of Hampton's check at Chateauguay, averted all further thoughts of an attack on Montreal, and sent both these incompetent generals into winter quarters. After two years of fighting the Americans did not hold a foot of Canadian ground. In 1814, however, there were about 8,000 British regulars and 4,000 militia, French and English, in arms in Canada. Wilkinson, with 5,000 men, now made another unsuccessful attempt on the Lower Province. The British now held the naval supremacy of Lake Ontario and captured Oswego. There was some heavy fighting, too, on the Niagara frontier, and the American troops by experience had now become much more formidable. The Battle of Lundy's Lane was the most severe of the war, 3,000 British being engaged against 5,000 Americans without any result but a loss of 800 men to either side.

Fighting on the Niagara Border

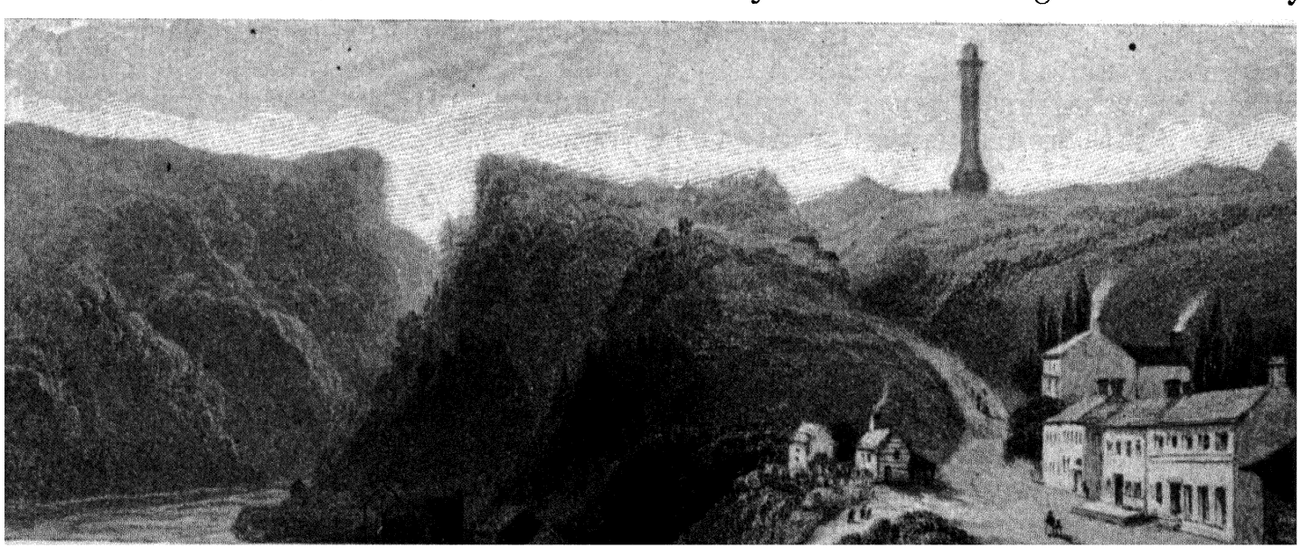
Michillimackinac had been successfully held against a formidable attack and the war, of which both sides were thoroughly weary, for only the principal engagements have been enumerated here, was terminated in December. The Americans by their success in naval duels on the ocean somewhat redeemed their lack of it on the Canadian frontier. But with these, the British attacks on the American seaboard, their capture of Washington, and their repulse by General Jackson at New Orleans, which was the closing scene, we have nothing to do here. The Canadas, at any rate, emerged triumphant. Even the maritime provinces, though not themselves invaded, had contributed their modest quota of troops to the common cause; while the faint boom of contending arms off their stern and foggy coasts was for two years a quite familiar note in their seaport towns, and the pursuit of its quarry by the privateer a frequent and exciting episode.

The End of a Bitter Struggle

As regard the issues upon which the war was fought, they remained precisely as they were when it began. But Napoleon was in Elba, peace at length reigned, and the original causes of offence were automatically in abeyance. American commerce had suffered frightfully, but it is often said that the war, in spite of the malcontent states who had at one time threatened secession and a separate peace, had given a certain confidence and patriotism to the new republic. That the Canadas had gained enormously in these qualities is beyond dispute. Indeed, the war of 1812 may in a sense be called the making of Canada. Both races and all classes had fought side by side. No fight for existence that ever was made by a weak against a powerful foe left more cause for pride and satisfaction.

Canada's Gains in the War

There were many domestic troubles in store, but that is another thing and the lot of all communities. If there had been any doubt before as to the destiny of Canada, she had now spoken with a voice that no one could misunderstand, and sealed her decision with her blood. In more senses than one the war of 1812—which was declared by the United States just after the ordinances, which were her principal grievances, had been repealed, and was stimulated by the expectation of an easy conquest of Canada—proved in very truth the making of that country.



QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS, SHOWING MEMORIAL TO GENERAL BROCK

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the four walls of forest receding slowly over a gradually increasing area, bristling with stumps two or three feet high, which for long years defied decay, obstructed his ox-drawn plough, or harrow, and defaced his limited domain even to his untutored eyes. The forest had some romance for the *coureur de bois*. The more open woodlands of the Alleghanies again held the mute affection of the pioneer settler, hunter and Indian fighter. But the pitiless Canadian forest had no romance at all for the men who so laboriously cleared it from the flat or undulating surface of Ontario. It was their life-long foe.

Clearing the Pitiless Forests

Through the long isolated winter, and for every spare day in summer, they carried on in some form or other, with axe, fire and handspike, their everlasting onslaught, sometimes alone, happier by far in a family of sons. There were consolations, to be sure, in the slowly opening clearing, with the wheat, oats, or maize crop hiding the stumps; for the land was mostly rich, and carried a certain assurance for the future, however hard might be the present. But for long there were no roads but trails through the forests, and in the richer parts of the province none of the innumerable lakes and few of the navigable rivers that in the vast wilderness to the north of it carried the canoe of the light-hearted voyageur for almost unlimited distances in all directions.

The united empire loyalists of a generation earlier had suffered much, but they were at least North American bred, and settled in more gregarious fashion along the Great Lakes. Their troubles were now over, but these later waves of immigration from over-seas went for the most part deep into the country, and to the average pioneer the "freedom of the woods" meant something like imprisonment in the woods for a long term of years. The days of the well-horsed waggon, the church, the store, the post-office, the newspaper, the schoolhouse, the market and the doctor were not yet. In the new settlements the fierce Canadian winter smote heavily the tender, the weak and the old, often ill-equipped to face it. Wolves prowled round their rude shanties, and in the hot summers the mosquito and the still worse black fly, battened on their rich English blood. This is no overdrawn picture. To those of us who have known these same woods in later days and under happier auspices, and have some acquaintance with the drift of these earlier nineteenth century waves of settlement, and the conditions of that period, it is easy enough to picture.

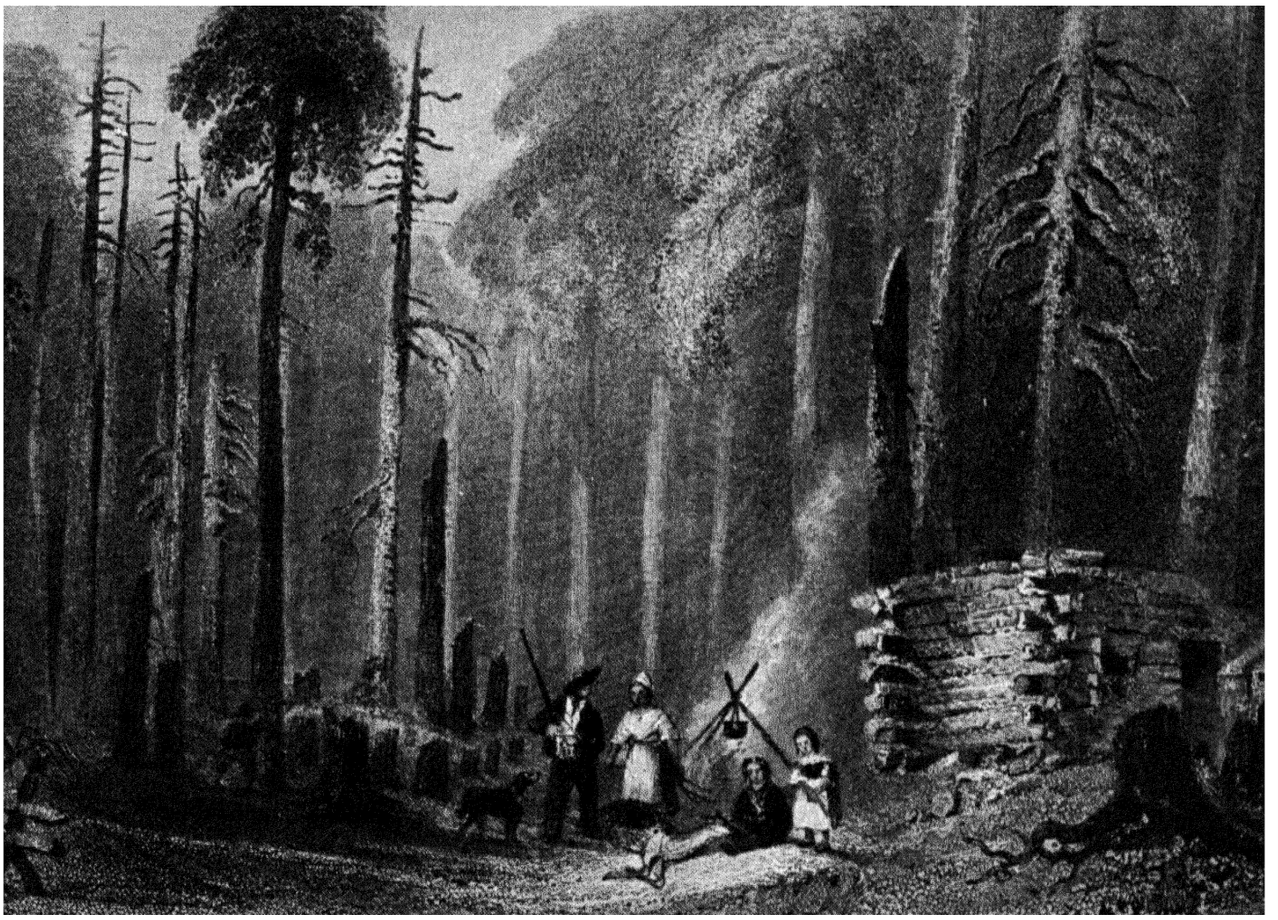
The Hard Lot of the Pioneers

Better evidence than this abounds within easy memory from the lips of those who could recall a youth spent among it, and, better still, in the many printed records of those who endured and ultimately conquered, or, as many did, went under. To the masses of humble extraction who cleared the first timber from regions that for long have presented the appearance, save for mere technical differences, of Hampshire or Kent, the early struggles, though arduous, were not so severe, while the reward was relatively greater than in the case of hundreds of gently nurtured people of education, who went out dreaming of broad acres which they got but could not handle, and of the romance of the forest which vanished before its stern realities.

Many of these people, of whom the half-pay officer was a frequent type, drifted ultimately into one or other of the little towns that arose where a small but congenial society of necessarily simple but somewhat exclusive habit of life took a lead in local affairs. Their sons, with a clear start of the millions who were cutting their slow way to comfort and competence in the woods, not only in time, but in education and interest, became the bankers, officials, lawyers, doctors and merchants of the colony. Every colony of Great Britain, including the old states of the Union, however democratic, developed an aristocracy, displaced within easy memory by a plutocracy. Upper Canada developed one which, in the anti-republican fervour natural to its origin and experience, became almost a caste. For half a century it was all powerful, and its rise came about somewhat in this way.

Aristocrats in Democratic Colonies

Among the U. E. loyalists who founded the colony, those who had belonged to the governing classes of their old provinces by training and education took a natural lead in their new life. The Canadian wilderness had shown itself unsuited to the life of a gentleman farmer or country gentleman, which was not the case in most of the old American states. The French Canadian seignior was an exotic creation in a colony run on mediæval lines, and economically a complete failure. The Upper



AN EARLY SETTLEMENT AMID THE HARDSHIPS OF THE BACKWOODS

THE LABORIOUS METHOD OF WORKING A CANOE UP A RAPID

SCENES IN CANADIAN PIONEER LIFE SEVENTY YEARS AGO

Canadian aristocracy—using the term in a qualified sense for convenience—gathered wholly in towns, were in touch with one another, the government and with England, and therefore monopolised the professions and the offices. The mass of the people, now some 200,000 in number, were leading the laborious isolated lives already described, and were in no condition to unite against a powerful oligarchy, securely intrenched in such centres of civilisation as they were. The government at York, rechristened Toronto, consisted of a royal lieutenant-governor, an advisory council, including an executive and an elective house of assembly. But the executive practically held the power of the purse, which was now well replenished. The Canadian Company alone paid the government a quarter of a million sterling for the block of country settled by their immigrants, and now represented by the flourishing districts around Guelph, Galt and Goderich. Nor was the executive responsible to its parliament. It could veto bills with impunity, and, moreover, elections in Canada, as at that time in England, were easily influenced by powerful people.

Rise of the Family Compact

So it came about that there arose what is known in Canadian history, not only on account of its power and existence, but for the era it marked, roughly the first half of the nineteenth century, as the Family Compact, a group of U. E. loyalist families—that is to say, practically captured the government of Upper Canada in its infancy, and held it. They were mainly, of course, of North American birth and descent, but assumed in miniature something of the airs of an English aristocracy to whom power, offices and pensions of right belonged. Their claim, however, was by no means based wholly on social position, but on the more reasonable one of having done most to found the colony, and so borne the burden and heat of the day. Within limits, this was equitable; but the Compact came in course of time to exceed all bounds. The not very capable governors who came to Toronto fell naturally under the influence at once of the most agreeable and most accessible society of the province, and adopted their views of men and things. The able and resolute leaders of the oligarchy ruled Upper Canada in their own interests, while its governors became their puppets. The Compact was not literally confined to a group of families, but extended its friendship and patronage to newcomers and others whose social and political affinities met their approval, and to others who worked or voted in their interests.

Rulers of Upper Canada

It was altogether a curious situation in a colony nominally democratic and just struggling out of poverty by hard toil. But having regard to the cheapness of necessaries, and the absence of all ostentation, the salaries of a somewhat superfluous number of offices were liberal, and patronage remained rigidly in the hands of the Family Compact. For a time their exclusiveness protested against the appointment to a salaried position of any of the later emigration, whatever their ranks or qualifications, and held to the view that all power and privilege were the just inheritance of the U. E. loyalist of their particular class.

The grievances which most rankled in the mind of the powerless and scattered populace were those connected with religion and land. The ruling caste were strongly Church of England, the mass of the people were Presbyterians, Catholics, Nonconformists, or German Lutherans. One-seventh of the wild land of the province had been set apart for the support of a Protestant clergy. The party in power interpreted that to mean an Episcopal clergy; the people, represented by a minority, and later on by an almost equally powerless majority in the house of assembly, contended that the act implied all Protestant ministers. As a matter of fact, for technical reasons, irrelevant here, it could be read either way. What it did do, however, was to leave blocks of uncleared, unoccupied land in the middle of settlements, causing great inconvenience and hardship.

Church of England Dominant

The inarticulate masses, represented by the reform, or radical, members in the house of assembly, demanded that these lands should be sold and the proceeds applied to education. This became a chronic and burning political question, and was not finally settled till 1857. But much worse than this was the scandalous jobbery that went on in government lands. These were in the power of the ruling party, and were granted wholesale and in great blocks to their friends and relations, carrying no conditions of residence or improvement, which

were, of course, never contemplated by the grantee. These forest tracts were simply held for sale when the work of others should have made them of value, and greatly retarded the development of the country, cutting off settlers from market and one another, necessitating miles of useless road and the harbouring of destructive animals.

A few men of good education or social position championed the cause of the people; newspapers opposed to the Compact were started for that minority of the population which was reached by a mail delivery. When their editors got too abusive, the Crown prosecutors and judges made short work of them by fine or banishment. When in time the assembly held a majority of reformers numbering among them many able men, and remained still powerless before an irresponsible and contemptuous executive, the exasperation of the popular party broke out in the insurrection of 1837, which coincided with the rising of Papineau in Lower Canada for somewhat similar reasons. The strongest influence in the Compact was a clever Scotch divine and schoolmaster who became the first Bishop of Toronto. At his private school many of the sons of the ruling clique attended, and afterwards became its leaders. Robinsons, Boultons, Cartrights, Jessups, Bethunes and others, were his devoted pupils, and found in the astute politician and capable man of affairs the counsel and support which they had found in the schoolmaster.

The First Bishop of Toronto

Bishop Strachan was the incarnation of the Family Compact principles, which may be summed up in a detestation of the methods obtaining to the south of the Lakes, coupled with the pre-eminence of the Church of England. These stout Tories who ruled Canada with such self-satisfied absolutism must not be judged too hardly. They had behaved like heroes in the war of 1812. They dreaded a popular licence which, to be candid, did not present in the United States of that period a very favourable picture.

The senseless abuse of England in some states, the threatened secession of New England, the slavish adulation of the French Revolution and its excesses by southern slave-owners, had not contributed to inspire respect. Canada, too, was filling up with a mixed population other than English and Scotch—Irish Catholics, doubtful Americans, besides Mennonites and Quakers. In four years the enormous total of 160,000 souls landed at Quebec, bound for the two provinces, but chiefly for the upper one. Governors had come and gone and proved as wax in the hands of the Compact. One of them, Sir Francis Head, was a quite humorous appointment, and so utterly lacked every antecedent qualification that it is supposed he was nominated in mistake for another person of the same name. Plenty of petitions, and even petitions against Compact absolutism, reached England and provoked commissions of inquiry, but the oligarchy was always too much for them. Once or twice appointments to important offices in Upper Canada were made by the English Government and ignored by the Compact. It should be remembered, too, that these people, in spite of certain phases of corruption which were no worse than those obtaining in English political life, had a conviction that they were the safeguards of the country as genuine as their patriotism, which was beyond suspicion.

The Compact as the Country's Safeguards

Though the Upper Canadians had been too much occupied in making life tolerable to bring their full strength against their absolute government, the Quebec house of assembly, being largely French, was under no such disadvantage, and their energies were mainly directed to a futile struggle with the executive, which was chiefly English and composed of the governor's nominees. The constitution of 1791 was, in fact, worse than the straightforward bureaucratic system of the Quebec Act of 1774, for it was illusory in that it created a parliament with power to vote laws and none to create them.

In 1818 the Quebec assembly were given power of supply in the civil list, but when they attempted to coerce the governor by this means he helped himself out of the military fund and went on as before. The bureaucracy, though differing in detail from the Compact of the other province, was of somewhat the same type and followed the same exclusive methods, in this case directed more particularly against the French. The latter had secured their laws, religion and liberty, but were made to feel an inferiority, both political and even social, which rankled deeply and was lashed into rage by that eloquent radical and ultimate rebel Papineau. Outside the small group of old noblesse, and merging

How the French were Regarded

with it, a quite considerable educated class had now sprung from the peasantry. Joseph Papineau was the son of one of them, a notary who had succeeded in purchasing a seigniory on the Ottawa.

Papineau the Leader of Revolt

The son Joseph was a leading figure in the assembly and the political life of the province from the war of 1812 to the rebellion of 1837, which he rashly provoked and took a rather inglorious part in. A brilliant scholar, he became a brilliant orator and the successful leader of the "patriot" party in the province to which a few of the English minority, now numbering about a sixth of the population, belonged. Under various governors, Craig, Lord Aylmer and Lord Dalhousie, the struggle for power waged unceasingly in Press and parliament.

The deadlocks which ensued goaded the British Government into a scheme for uniting the two provinces, which was met by such frantic protests from the French, who saw in it the certain loss of their numerical majority, that it was for the time abandoned. The leader of the small band of English reformers was a physician of character and fortune, Dr. Nelson, who had a good service record in the war of 1812. So, indeed, had Papineau, who had commanded a French company; but with all his oratorical brilliancy and many lovable qualities he was somewhat vain, arrogant and ill-balanced. He became the idol of the French Canadians, and his powers are best shown by the way in which he stirred up the apathetic habitants, who led happy, untaxed lives and neither cared for nor understood the niceties of popular government.

Outbreak of the Rebellion

The townspeople and better class felt the grievances keenly enough and required no particular stimulus to agitation. They entered into covenants not to wear English goods, and appeared on the streets and in parliament arrayed in wondrous homespuns of flamboyant patterns. But for Papineau, however, they would never have gone the length of open rebellion. Incendiary harangues, civic broils, and much drilling of men, in spite of the thunders of the Catholic Church, brought Sir John Colborne and all the troops down from Upper Canada to the assistance of Lord Gosport, their governor-general. In November the rebellion broke out at St. Denis, to the south of Montreal. The insurgents under Dr. Nelson repulsed an attack of the troops. At St. Charles, however, in the same district and at the same time, 1,300 insurgents with some guns were utterly routed with a loss of 150 killed and 300 wounded, which practically ended the business, though there was a little more skirmishing. Papineau injudiciously yielded to Nelson's advice to leave St. Denis on the eve of the skirmish, and thereby somewhat tarnished his reputation. He got away to the States himself, but Nelson was captured; while, as a last word on this ill-judged insurrection in Lower Canada, it must, at any rate, be said that a majority of the people, whatever their grievances, strongly disapproved of so rash a resort to arms.

Among several incentives to rebellion in Upper Canada was the removal of most of the troops to assist Sir John Colborne in the French province; another was the incapacity of Governor Head. The chief of all, however, was William Lyon Mackenzie, the ill-balanced firebrand who expounded the just grievances of the people in outrageous and incendiary language, and finally induced a poor handful of rustics to follow an extremely incapable and quite unprincipled leader. Mackenzie enjoys a spurious and ill-deserved fame. He had much more than the vanity, impudence and arrogance of Joseph Papineau, and few of his compensating qualities; while of political pluck he had an abounding store.

Mackenzie the Firebrand Agitator

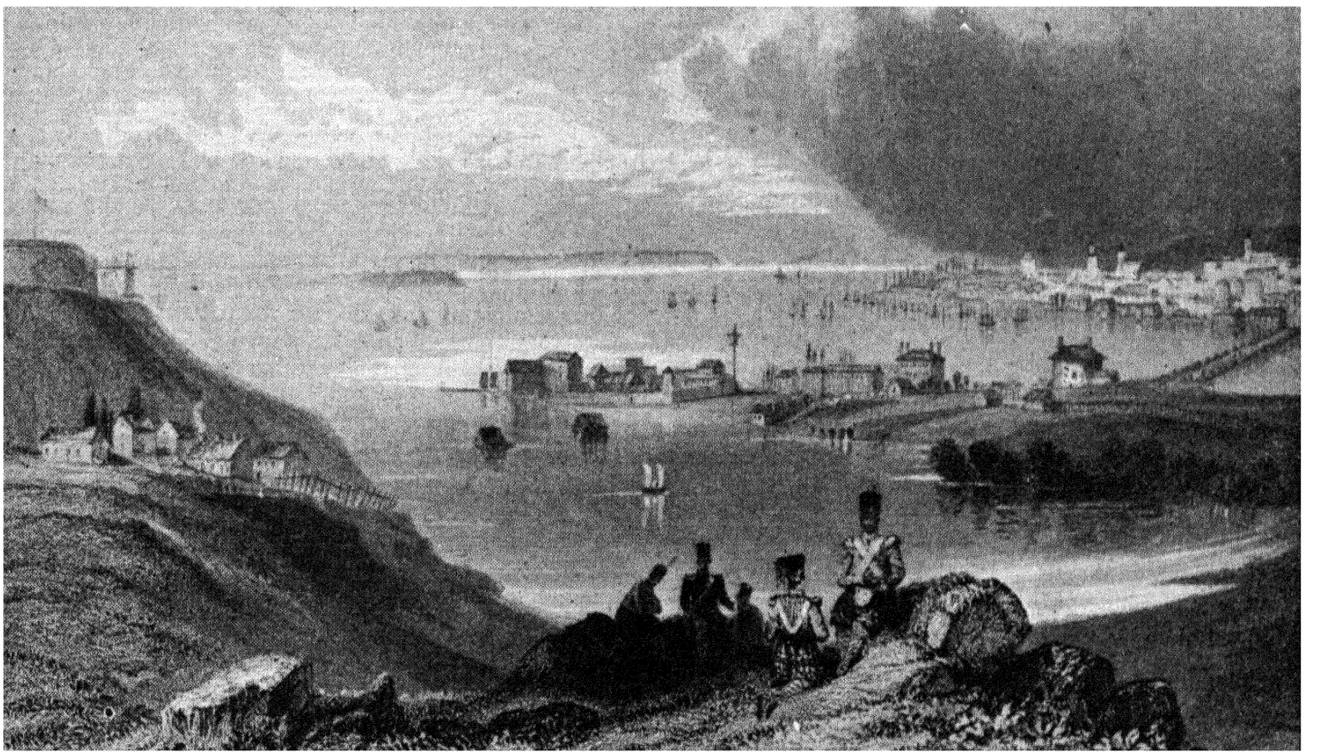
Of humble Scottish origin, diminutive and ungracious physique, without means or connection, but with an insatiable thirst for learning, he arrived in Upper Canada in 1820 at the age of twenty-five, and almost immediately began to constitute himself the mouthpiece of Canadian grievances. Settling at York under the nose of the government, he became, through the agency of the newspaper he published, a very thorn in the sides of the Compact. For twelve years, with tireless energy as a writer and agitator, and with an unbridled and virulent pen, he championed the cause of reform. He was regarded by the Tories almost as a wild beast, and his office and plant were wrecked on one occasion by a gang of well-born youths.

Elected again and again to the assembly by a radical constituency, he was refused admission on various pleas, though he

went to London and got a verdict in his favour from the British Government. But even when backed by this and a great mob, he was still rejected. He was elected the first mayor of Toronto when York was incorporated as a city under that name, and was the most popular man in Canada, though such a distinction was perhaps more creditable to his enterprise than to the perception of the democracy who shouted for him. The arrogance of the Family Compact might perhaps justify their opponents in looking more to the end than to the means of withstanding it. Some reactionary measures introduced by the British Government, and a sweeping election victory of the Tories, turned Mackenzie from a violent reformer to an annexationist and to American intrigues. This detached the more substantial and sober of his party, and left him the leader, together with Dr. Nelson, a reputable physician, of only an extreme left wing.

With seven or eight hundred of these, mostly country people, Mackenzie raised the flag of rebellion at Montgomery's tavern, ten miles north of Toronto. The latter had then 12,000 souls, but it was denuded of troops, and the citizens were apathetic. Mackenzie was a wretched leader, and lost his only and faint chance by dallying till a body of militia was collected, who very soon scattered his ill-armed rustics. Half a dozen of them were killed and wounded; the rest fled, together with Mackenzie, who escaped to the States. With culpable folly he had left behind him a full list of all those implicated, which enabled the authorities to lay by the heels as many as they pleased.

Numbers were imprisoned, and several condemned, of whom two were hanged. Mackenzie then raised a force of ruffians and wastrels on the American side, who for some time continued to make plundering raids into the Niagara country with a good deal of bloodshed, to the greater detriment, fortunately in these skirmishes, of the raiders than of their opponents. Mackenzie was at length arrested by the United States authorities, tried at Albany, imprisoned for a time, and then released. He remained in miserable circumstances for some years in the United States, and was ultimately pardoned in 1843 and permitted to return to Canada. His rashness and mismanagement had caused much misery. There was nothing that was noble, heroic or self-sacrificing in his career. As a politician on the side that had most justice, and that any poor man with talent would have taken, he was an indomitable fighter, not particular about his methods, or very loyal to his friends, and of an uncontrollable temper. However that may be, Papineau and Mackenzie at least proved, if at a bloody cost to their supporters, that there were grievances in



KINGSTON, ON LAKE ONTARIO, AS IT WAS ABOUT THE YEAR 1850

Canada of a nature that could not longer be ignored, and in 1840 Lord Durham was sent out as governor-general with unprecedentedly wide powers and instructions to report fully on the state of the country. We must pause here for a moment to make some allusion to the maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Not much indeed can be said of them in so brief a survey of so large a subject as the history of Canada, for the good reason that these provinces were not burdened with the racial and religious rivalry, or the near neighbourhood of an alien Power, and other complications which vexed the two Canadas.

Social Life in the Maritime Provinces

They were comparatively isolated and self-contained, and practically homogeneous. They had nothing to do but increase and multiply and endure their domestic troubles, which were a milder repetition of the disputes in Upper Canada between the people represented by an assembly and an oligarchy supported by royal governors. They also had a Family Compact, but it was less marked and not seriously fought till after the famous Durham report. Though emigration flowed steadily into these provinces, there was nothing like the stream that swept into the more fertile lands of Upper Canada, while there was no serious problem of the great American settlers to disturb these remote countries.

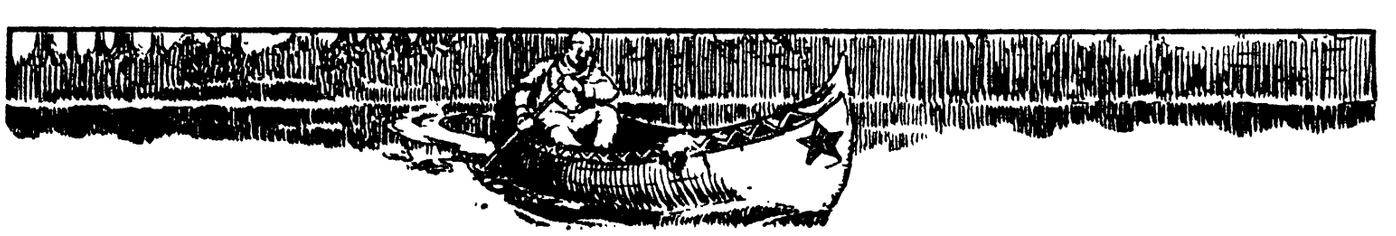
They were partly a maritime people, too, had ready access to the world's markets, and if they moved more slowly than their sister colonies, progressed more comfortably and with somewhat less hardship to the pioneer. Their French population, though increased considerably from the remnant of the Acadians left in 1754, had no aggressive separate qualities or *esprit de corps* like those of Quebec, and gave no trouble. There were simple-minded loyal Highlanders in Cape Breton, whose descendants to this day speak Gaelic, and Germans, who, like those of Upper Canada, made admirable settlers, though sometimes retaining their nationality with mild but harmless persistency. But the united empire loyalists remained a greater proportion of the population, and still do so for the reasons already stated, than even in Ontario. The face of the country resembled that of the Canadas, clad originally with the all-pervading forests, and was slowly cleared and farmed by the same methods and in the same fashion; and to-day it so greatly resembles the landscape of Ontario in its normal and prosperous districts and country towns that only a person familiar with British North America would pick out the technical differences. The inhabitants had their own land troubles, however, as huge grants had been given in early days to favoured persons in England, whose rights made difficulties in a country where freehold settlement were vital to success.

Cape Breton's Loyal Highlanders

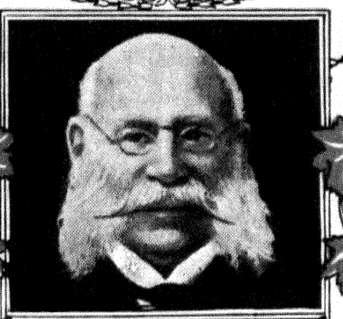
Halifax became a prosperous city and a great naval and military station, and on that account retained, and still retains, a certain flavour of the Old Country in manners and speech less obvious in the Canadas. It was not till 1847 that Nova Scotia shook off an irresponsible executive, and the leader of the Reform party in this case was Joseph Howe, a man far superior in every particular to Papineau or Mackenzie. Howe was the son of a united empire loyalist, and a man of erudition and culture, and, what is more, of surprising eloquence and sound sense.

Howe the Most Eminent Nova Scotian

Nova Scotia, though relatively small, was the most prolific of the British North American colonies in men of intelligence and political ability, and even during the forty years that the dominion of Canada has enjoyed federal government, has contributed more than her share to its political leadership. Howe is the most eminent of Nova Scotians, and in some ways the most distinguished of Canadian—using the term broadly—statesmen. The struggle for reform led by him in Nova Scotia was the chief feature of its provincial life, and, though a long one, it was effected by purely constitutional means, without either disloyalty or annexationist clamour, and calls for no further notice here.



THE MAKERS OF MODERN CANADA

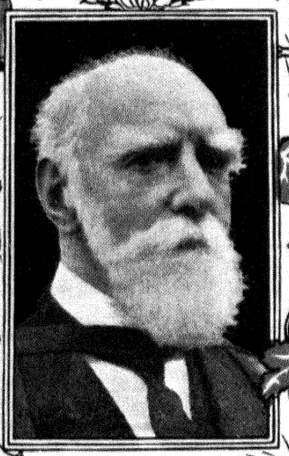


Sir Richard Cartwright,
1835-1912

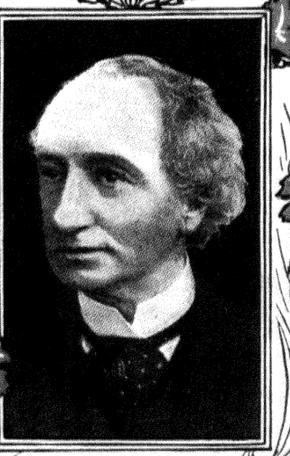
Sir Thomas
Shaughnessy, 1853

Sir Charles Tupper,
1821

Sir Wilfrid Laurier,
1841

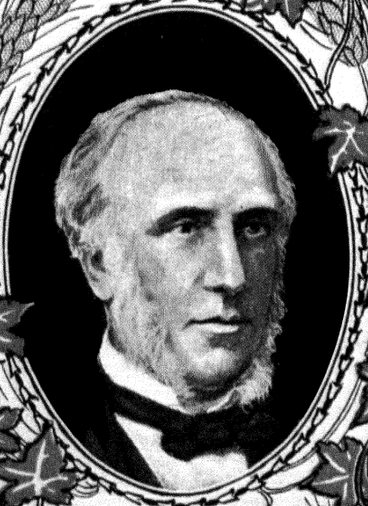


Lord
Strathcona,
1820-1914



Sir John A.
Macdonald,
1815-1891

Hon. Joseph Howe,
1804-1873



Hon. George Brown,
1818-1880

Lord Mountstephen,
1829

Sir George Cartier,
1814-1873

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THE MAKING OF MODERN CANADA

AND EXPANSION OF THE NEW DOMINION

IN May, 1838, Lord Durham arrived in Quebec with great pomp and a large retinue. But behind the glitter of externals was a quality rare enough then among Englishmen, and not too common now. The new governor had an intuitive grasp of colonial feeling. He could see all sides, and some way into the future. He was free from that unreasoning bias against foreigners which was the heritage of most Englishmen then—a human enough failing, at least, if a mischievous one. Nor was he cursed with that unworthy and unnatural animus against his own countrymen of Greater Britain which seems inherent and is the stock-in-trade of some modern British politicians who do not know them. He was only in the country five months.

But to the outside world no name stands out so prominently and so favourably in Canadian history as that of Durham, and even among those of more intimate knowledge it is safe to say that it stands second only to Dorchester. Durham does not live, however, as an administrator or a soldier, but by the single masterly report of the state of the country that he drew up with the assistance of Charles Buller. On his arrival he found eight leaders of the recent rebellion in prison and excluded from the amnesty. These he released and sent into exile in Bermuda, exceeding thereby his powers, and exciting the wrath of the British Government, and a quarrel which provoked his speedy resignation.

Two Nations Warring in a Single State

But he had time, nevertheless, to draw up that famous report which directed British policy in Canada, and by which his name lives. It fills a considerable volume, and is the most lucid account of Canada, so far as it goes, ever written. He found, he declared in a sentence that has become memorable, not, as he expected, a contest between a government and a people, but two nations warring in the bosom of a single state. There were 600,000 people now in Lower Canada, of whom 150,000 were British. The latter, from whom must be deducted many thousand Irish Catholics, controlled the executive, held most of the offices, had an overwhelming preponderance of capital and energy in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and as farmers occupied the exclusively English districts of the eastern townships and a few other regions outside the seigniorial tenures.

The French Supreme in the Assembly

The bitterness between the races in all classes had become so intense that the very dread of what a collision might mean actually kept the peace between them by tacit consent. The French dreaded the English strength in the cities, and the latter feared the overwhelming habitant majority in the country. Trial by jury had become a farce; the verdict went by race, not evidence, and the system of challenging weeded out every juryman of the hostile faction.

The French dominated the assembly and refused money for all public works, canals, and such like, that the energetic English regarded, and justly, as vital to the progress of civilisation. The immense increase of the French peasant farmers had not overflowed into new districts, but had merely subdivided on the old seigniories, and the spectacle of congestion and worn-out lands could be seen almost on the edge of an illimitable and fertile wilderness.

The priests, to whom Lord Durham pays an eloquent tribute, were, from those natural motives of self-interest concerned with fees such as obtain in Ireland to-day, opposed to the shifting of their flocks. The English, in fact, looked upon Canada with the enterprising colonial genius of the race—a land to be settled, civilised and developed, and worthy to rank with the numerous states of the rival nation to the southward. The French had altogether another point of view. Immigration, so far as their nation was concerned, was a word without meaning. They regarded Canada as an old

Canada From Two Points of View

THE CAMP OF A SPORTING PARTY IN NEW BRUNSWICK

LADY EVELYN LAKE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

TYPICAL VIEWS OF CANADA'S BEAUTIFUL WOODS AND LAKES

Photos: Canadian Pacific Railway

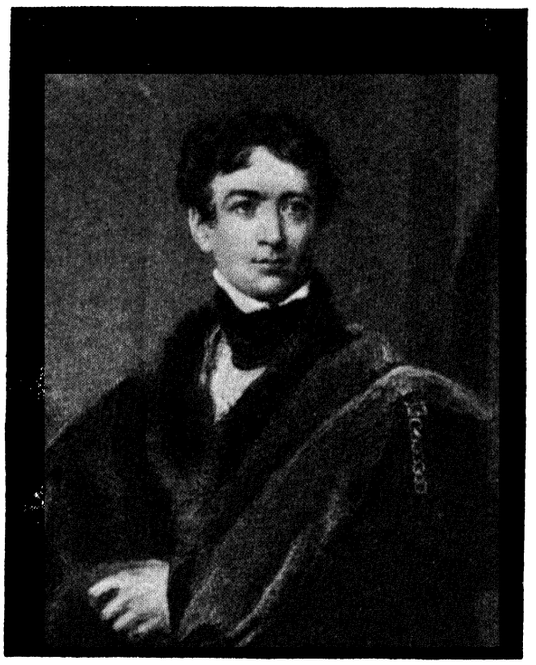
ON KIPAWA LAKE: HUNTERS RETURNING TO CAMP WITH MOOSE HEAD

MOOSE CAMP AT KIPAWA LAKE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

MOOSE-HUNTING IN CANADA: SCENES ON KIPAWA LAKE

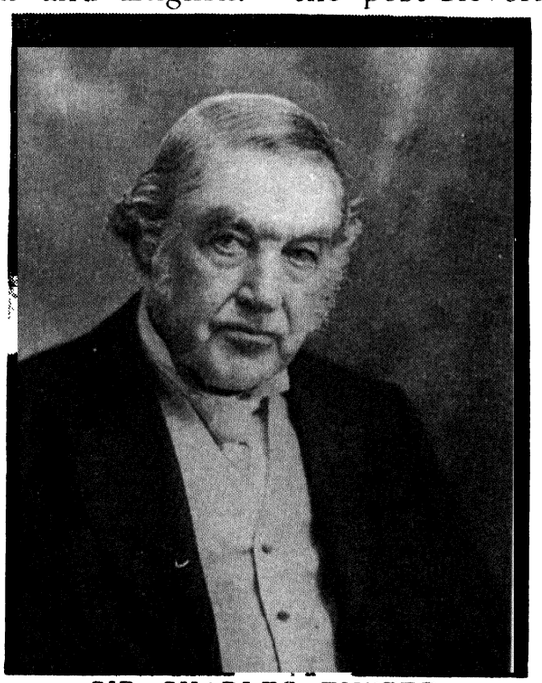
Photos: Canadian Pacific Railway

settled country, and objected to innovation and disturbance. Their farmers were mostly without skill or ambition, and at the same time saw the skilled agriculture of such British settlers as were under their observation with irritation and jealousy. The French of the cities had engaged to a certain extent in trade, but were altogether surpassed by the English with their more abundant capital and greater aptitude for business. The late rebellion had made the English more determined to keep the upper hand. Rather than submit to what they considered the blighting and cramping influence of French domination, they would even carry the province over to the hated republic, which would at least assure to them the sympathetic laws and certain prosperity. Curiously enough, there was no trace of sectarian animosity between French and English. The creeds did not clash. Each took the other for granted. Half the seigniories, too, were now owned by prosperous Englishmen, and their views of improving their properties irritated the French peasantry, who inherited the purely feudal traditions of their tenure. Social intercourse, which, in the upper classes at least, had once been considerable, was dead, likewise intermarriage. Lord Durham found leading Englishmen who had never once in their lives been under a private roof with Frenchmen, though the latter of this class had a little advantage of their rivals in the matter of breeding and culture. But being snubbed politically and socially they took refuge in a proud and sore aloofness. The two races frequented different hotels, they even ran passenger steamers against one another. At agricultural shows they competed for different prizes, and conducted their very ploughing matches in different fields. Mostly they could not speak each other's language or read each other's newspapers. It is needless to say that a French-Canadian nation was dreamed of, but in such a situation, hemmed in by a vast North America, all seething with Anglo-Saxon enterprise and traditions, it was an idle dream. Annexation, again, for the British would only have been a rupture of sentiment. To the French, however, it would have meant the destruction of everything they held dear, as it would be to-day. Any longing the French might then have felt for renewed connection with their mother country was equally vain. France of the post-Revolution period was not the France they had known and come from, and had ruled them with an iron, but never resented, rule. The Church of Canada, powerful and absolute, was staunchly loyal to the Crown, for palpable reasons, however she might sympathise with political grievances, and she had done her utmost to stay the rising of '37. When Durham went home to a somewhat ungrateful government and a premature death, he gave his advice, and it was accepted. His prescient mind had foreseen the federation of all the provinces, but the time for this was not quite ripe; and, in the meanwhile, he urged a legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada. In 1839 a bill to that effect was introduced into parliament by Lord John Russell, and



LORD DURHAM

First earl of Durham, he was appointed governor-general of Canada in 1838, where his brief rule was denounced as high-handed, but his famous Report became the basis for the constitution of the new Canadian Dominion.



SIR CHARLES TUPPER

Canadian statesman, born in Nova Scotia in 1821, Sir Charles Tupper earned for himself considerable distinction as surgeon before adopting politics, becoming in 1864 Premier of Nova Scotia and in 1896 of the Dominion.

Elliot & Fry

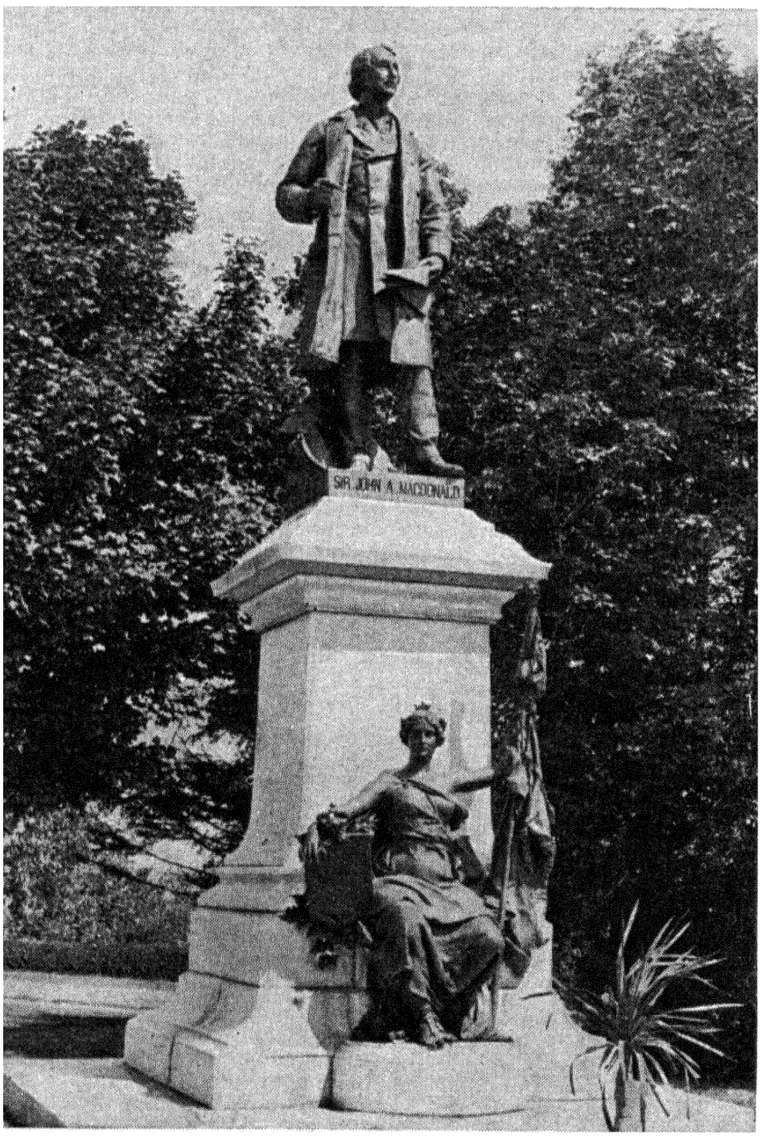
at the same time submitted to the two provinces. The constitution of Quebec had been suspended after the rebellion, or the assembly would have most strenuously opposed a union which annihilated their numerical supremacy, and left them on about even terms with their rivals, though with a certainty of being ultimately outstripped through immigration.

The council, however, naturally enough, accepted it, and the assembly of Upper Canada did the same after much demur. For though they would be at no racial disadvantage, Upper Canada had a considerable element whose loyalty was doubtful, and who might conceivably hold the balance of power. The Bill became law in 1840. It was a makeshift and a compromise. The moderate opponents of the Family Compact were the only section thoroughly pleased with it. The united provinces now, at any rate, secured popular government with only a rather less reluctance than how to use the veto on the part of the governor-general. Mr. Paulet Thompson, who had cleverly conducted all the negotiations to a successful issue, became the first governor, as Lord Sydenham. The new legislature from the combined provinces met at Kingston, Montreal, Toronto and Quebec, successively. There we must leave them, to twenty-seven years of a somewhat ill-assorted union. The affairs of the British province were in a certain sense sacrificed to make political existence possible for the Franco-British province. It was the best that could be done, and the races were at any rate of about equal voting strength, which gave an opportunity for some questions to be settled on other than racial cleavages. The points at issue, though discussed at fever heat, and productive of a great deal of passion between classes as well as between races, are not of vital moment to the reader.

The great fact of the epoch now inaugurated, as of most in Canada, was the continuous stream of immigration and the rapid development of the country. The clergy reserves, which had a flavour of state endowments, were transferred to the government for educational purposes, and the rights of the seigniors, who, both French and English, had in many cases provoked their tenantry by assuming the rôle and exactions of mere landlords, were bought out for half a million sterling. Canada was not, however, without external alarms and interests during this epoch. The Ashburton Treaty, in 1842, created that preposterous wedge of the state of Maine into Lower Canada and New Brunswick, the very look of which upon the map is a standing reminder of a careless surrender of Canadian territory by the British Government to the United States. In 1857-1858 the discovery of gold in British Columbia, and the emigration consequent upon it, laid the foundations of that province; and in 1861, the American Civil War, though far removed from the Canadian frontier, gave for four years a great stimulus both to immigration and trade in the British provinces, and on the famous occasion of the Trent affair so nearly embroiled Great Britain and Canada that the Guards were sent out in the dead of winter to Halifax, and marched for hundreds of miles through the snowy wilderness to Quebec. Lastly, in 1866, at the close of the war, two bands of Fenians, mostly old soldiers, made a futile attack on Canada, and were repulsed with slight loss on either side. In spite of

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA
The centre of the shield, five inches in diameter, represents Queen Victoria seated under a Gothic canopy, holding the sceptre and orb, and wearing the robe and collar of the Garter. Underneath are the arms of Great Britain, and on the sides are shields bearing the coats-of-arms of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

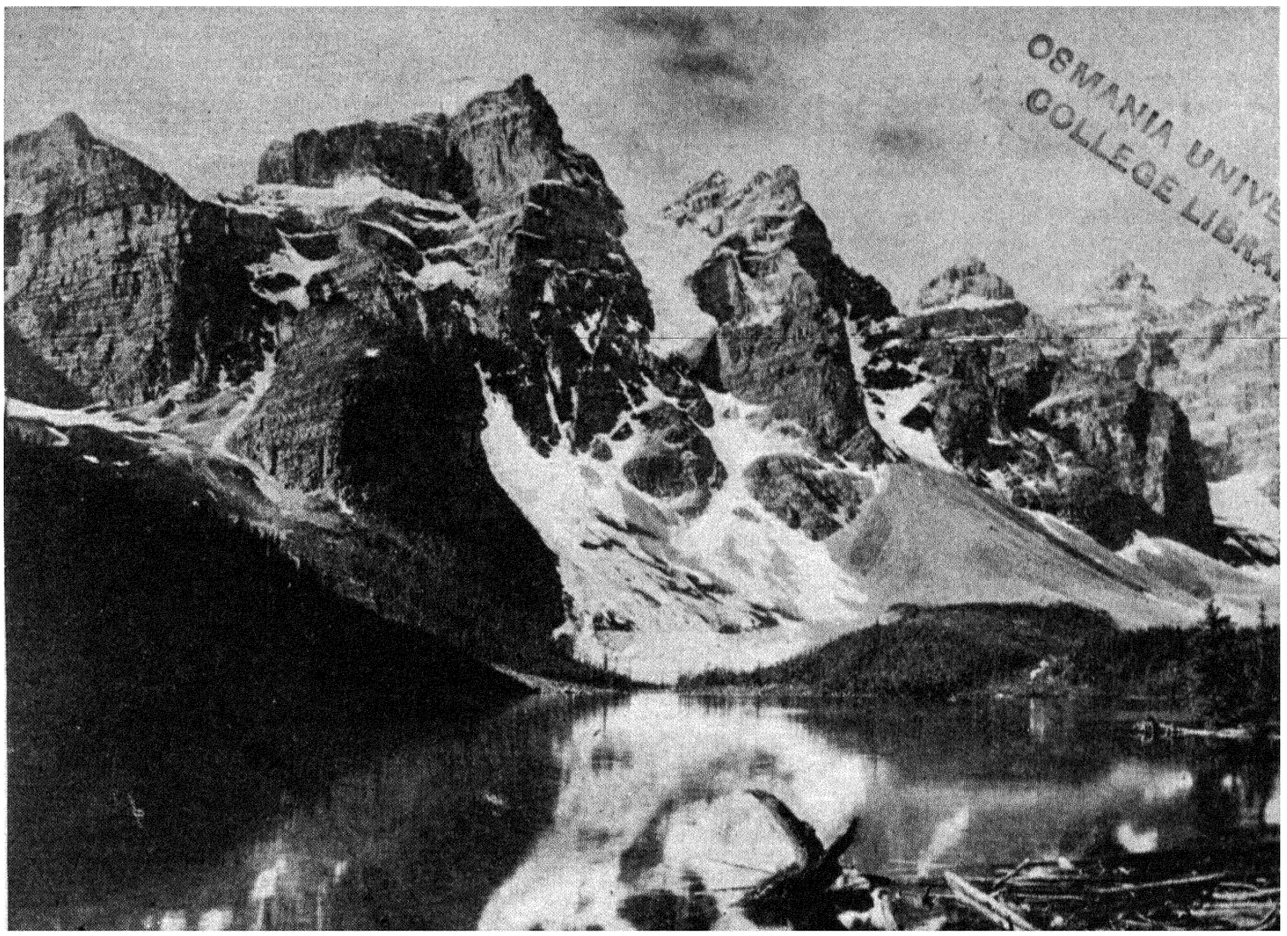
the great numbers of Catholic Irish settled in Canada, there has been little of that spirit among them, and they have been most loyal citizens, engaging in nothing worse than those local faction fights with their Orange neighbours which distinguished some districts even within the memory of middle-aged people, and might almost be classed under the head of diversions. The upper province grew in time to twice the population of the other, and aroused cries for a re-adjusted representation, which threatened the French with a hopeless minority in Parliament, and the country with another impasse. The federation of all the provinces under something like the American system was the only solution; and with, for the most part, the cordial co-operation of the maritime provinces, the great scheme was carried through, and the new dominion launched in 1867. Each province retained its local autonomy and separate legislature under a lieutenant-governor, always a Canadian, nominated by the federal executive. To the latter was reserved all great affairs, such as defence, customs, Crown lands, Indians, and the organisation of the vast western territories now just beginning to open up.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

For many years a conspicuous figure in Canadian politics, Sir John Macdonald, then a practising barrister, was elected to the Canadian Parliament in 1844, becoming in 1847 a Cabinet Minister, and in 1857, Premier. Upon the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, he was appointed the first Prime Minister of the Dominion. Above is the statue erected to him outside the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

The famous Sir John Macdonald, the most illustrious of Canadian statesmen, was prominent in the federal movement, as also was Sir Charles Tupper. A final meeting was held in London, and early in 1867 the British North America Act was passed through the Imperial Parliament. The new capital was fixed at Bytown, a small town up the Ottawa well removed from the frontier, fairly central to all the provinces, and felicitously rechristened Ottawa. Here were erected the stately houses of parliament for senate, commons, and the entire government staff, familiar to all travellers, and there, too, the governor-general of all British North America took up his residence, Lord Monck being the first to hold this high office, and Sir John Macdonald the first premier. It only remains to say that Prince Edward Island, British Columbia and Manitoba—not then organised—came into the federation shortly afterwards. And in the meantime, the great north-west was awakening. The term "west," to the agriculturist of that day, suggested nothing in Canada beyond the fertile peninsula washed by the waters of Lake Huron, which, by 1870, was practically settled up. All beyond, as far as the Rocky Mountains some 1,500 miles distant, was sacred to the trapper or the Indian, and the monopoly of its trade was enjoyed with some jealousy by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose lonely posts at intervals broke the waste. Part of this territory was operated by the North-west Company. After the war of 1812, Lord Selkirk, an influential director of the Hudson's Bay Company, with a taste for



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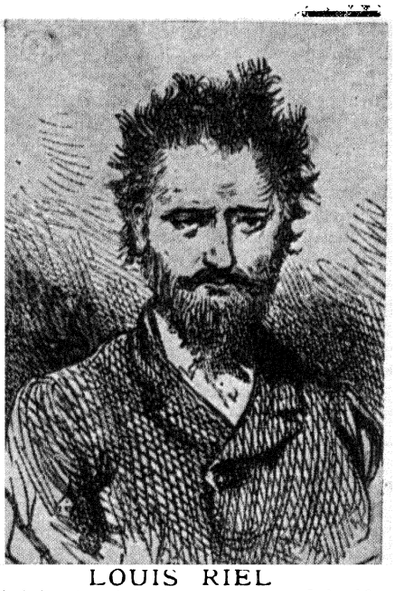
MORAINE LAKE, IN THE VALLEY OF THE TEN PEAKS, NEAR LAGGAN

WIND MOUNTAIN, IN THE CANADIAN ROCKIES, NEAR BANFF, ALBERTA

PICTURESQUE LAKE AND MOUNTAIN SCENERY IN CANADA

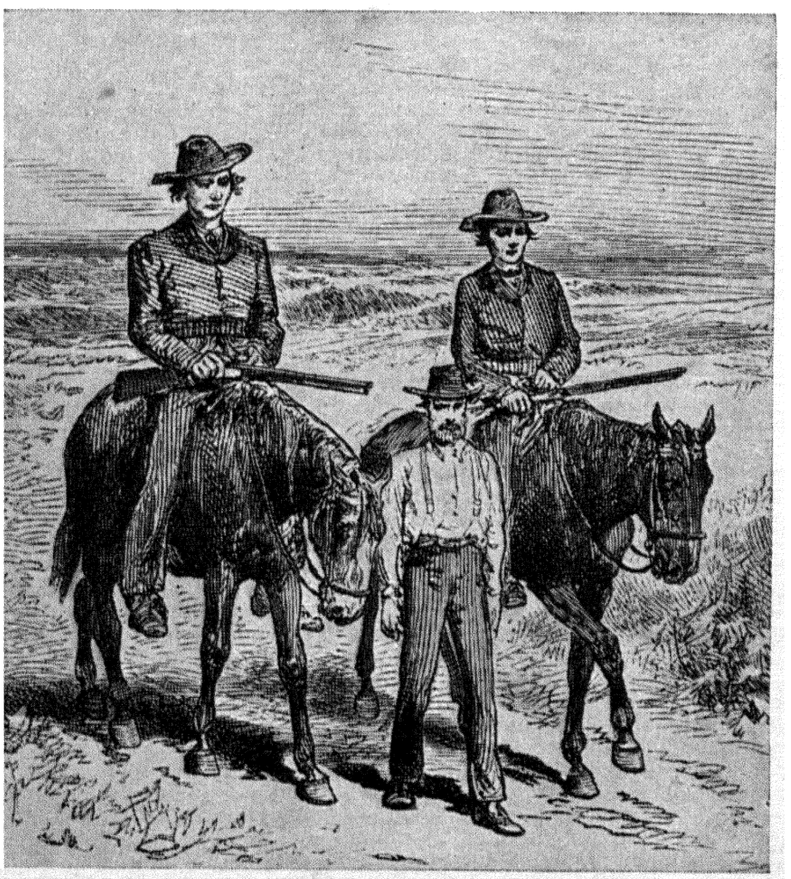
Photos: Canadian Pacific Railway

colonisation, settled a small group of Highland and Irish farmers near Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, and these were the first people to test the famous wheat lands of the north-west. The fur-traders of the North-west Company were hostile, on one occasion even to bloodshed; there was no market, of course, for grain in those days, but there was no difficulty in self-support, and the little colony became a permanent element among the employes of the two fur companies—Scots, French, half-breeds and Indians. It was sixty years, however, before Manitoba became a province and the north-west was seriously open for agricultural settlement. It was to the obvious interest of the Hudson's Bay Company to discourage the settler, and encourage the superstition that the country was unfit for farming, the climate too severe for serious settlement, and the land never free from frost; when at length, by efforts of certain individuals, the eyes of the Federal Government were opened, though only in part, to what we see now as one of the world's great facts and factors. The Hudson Bay monopoly was broken by purchase and arrangement. In surveying the country for settlement in 1869, the government officials were injudicious and unconciliatory, and alarmed the French, mostly half-breeds, who formed a majority of its 7,000 people. An ignorant, isolated, lawless community, they rose under the celebrated half-breed leader Louis Riel, seized Fort Garry, and judicially murdered one of the leaders of the small British settlement there. This caused immense excitement in Canada, and brought about the well-known Red River expedition under Lord Wolseley, then but a rising colonel. The long march of regulars and volunteers through the wilderness, and the prompt collapse of the rebellion, was long remembered in Canada, and virtually marked the founding of Winnipeg and the great north-west. The old Rupert's Land became Manitoba, a federal province with the adjoining and more western territories of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta, reaching to the Rocky Mountains, and since admitted to provincial rank. This vast fertile grain and stock country was even then but faintly appreciated. The writer can well remember the heated arguments for and against it that were heard all over Canada. For a whole decade it was still so remote that immigration was limited, and markets yet in the future. That stupendous work, the Canadian Pacific Railway, now came on the political arena. The dominion of Canada, though numbering in 1870 nearly four million souls, and containing a high average of individual well-being, was still and for long afterwards remained in effect a poor country. It was, moreover, an attenuated strip reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the United States threatened it commercially all along the line. Parallel railways of prodigious length, running through whole territories of



LOUIS RIEL

Riel in 1884 led a party of half-breeds against the Dominion Government, was captured, tried and convicted for treason, and was executed on November 16th, 1885.



HALF-BREED SCOUTS BRINGING RIEL AS PRISONER

LOOKING UP THE BOW RIVER AT BANFF, ALBERTA

NATIONAL PARK, WITH AN AREA OF 5,400 SQUARE MILES, AT BANFF

THE ALPINE BEAUTIES OF CANADIAN SCENERY

Photos Canadian Pacific Railway

unproductive wastes to the sea-board, seemed vital to its industrial independence unless it were to become commercially tributary to the more flourishing nation to the south of it, and railways now became the leading political question that agitated the country and divided parties. The Grand Trunk from Quebec to Toronto, with various off-shoots, had already done good internal service, though with small profit to its shareholders. The government, with imperial guarantee, now ran the inter-colonial road for nearly 900 miles from Quebec to Halifax.

A Factor in Canada's Prosperity

Its profits were dubious when the Conservative party conceived the audacious scheme of running a road through some 700 miles of wooded, rocky barrens to Winnipeg, across the 1,000 miles of prairie beyond, of climbing the Rockies, and thence dropping down to the Pacific. Everyone now knows what a work this is, and that it made the north-west, and lifted Canada into its present stage of prosperity. Its promoters were called madmen; they are now called patriots.

Their stockholders were regarded as dupes; they have long been in the receipt of dividends. Governments went in and out on the great question; passing strangers declared jestingly that Canadian politics consisted of railroads, as indeed they mostly did. But railroads in a new country mean more than the inhabitants of old ones can well realise. This one was not only to open a greater and more fertile Canada, but to bind the Atlantic to the Pacific by an "all-British" railroad that would be valuable both in peace and war as an Imperial highway between Europe and Asia. Both in an engineering and financial sense it was the greatest undertaking yet achieved by man, and the first through train reached the Pacific Ocean in 1886. But some years prior to this, when the railroad first reached Winnipeg and the prairie country, the rush to the north-west began. Though a due proportion of Europeans were among the newcomers, the backbone of the movement were farmers and farmers' sons from Ontario and the maritime provinces, hardy men, accustomed to laborious days, sons and grandsons of those who had turned the dense and formidable wilderness of Upper Canada into a smiling country equal to the best provinces of older America. They had come out of the struggle with its mark strong upon them in the shape of a grim devotion to hard practical work, of a certain dourness, partly due to much Scottish blood, and an austerity of life that regarded work as the Puritan regards religion, incompatible with most of those accessories that brighten existence.

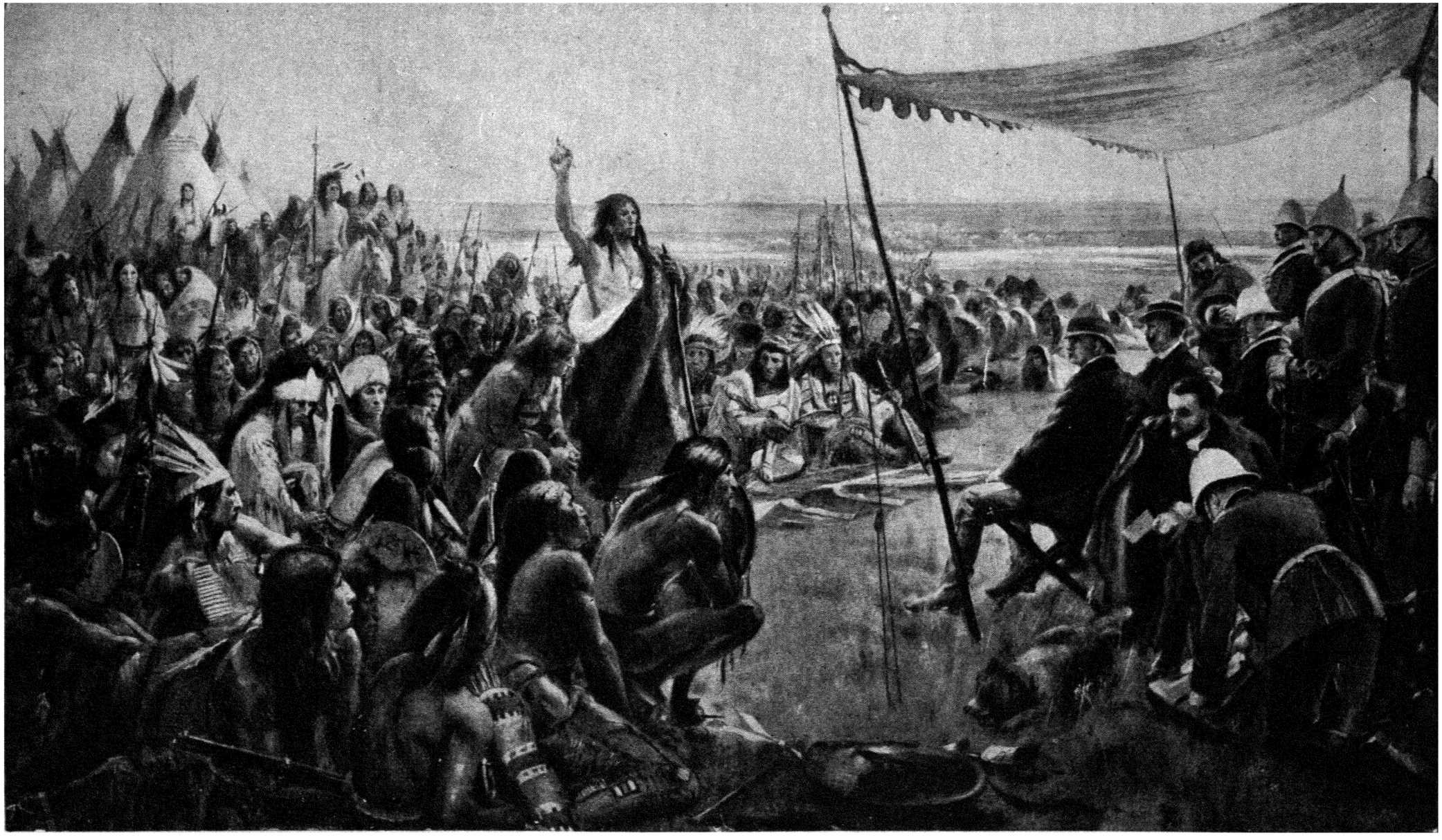
The Rush to the North-west

These and their type were the men who founded the prairie provinces, though recruited by all sorts and conditions of men. There was a "boom" of a more than usually inflated kind, and a great influx of British emigrants, not generally of a very suitable kind, and not usually successful. Indeed, there were hard times yet to be faced, a fiercer climate than even Canadians were accustomed to, plagues of grasshoppers, of hail, of early frosts, and untried conditions, above all of continuous low prices.

There was for long a half-conscious and sometimes openly expressed feeling that the north-west was still an experiment. Winnipeg grew to 30,000, and then nearly stood still. Small towns of 3,000 to 5,000 population were scattered along the solitary railroad to the Rocky Mountains. Grain growers spread for considerable areas round them, and grew good crops, though often damaged; but there was a good deal against these pioneers of the 'seventies and 'eighties which hardly concerns an historical survey. The stockmen, too, of the ranching countries lost heavily from a lack of understanding of the climate. Men of good judgment protested their stout faith in the great future of the country; others, whose opinion seemed equally entitled to respect, held grave doubts. We know now which were right. But for nearly twenty years the north-west, considering its extreme fertility and easily worked soils, progressed comparatively slowly, and, indeed, had not a very good name in European emigration circles or even in Old Canada, whose sons had done better there than any other.

A Period of Slow Progress

It had caused, however, no little drain on the rural districts of Ontario and the maritime provinces, all of whose better-class lands at the opening of the north-west had been long occupied, fenced, and built upon. The Eastern Canadian had nothing left near home to pioneer in but third-rate lands, covered with heavy and then almost valueless timber, for the timber merchants, then perhaps the wealthiest and most successful class in Canada, had eliminated the marketable trees far back into the



LAST GREAT COUNCIL OF THE WEST: THE MARQUESS OF LORNE PRESIDING AT A CONFERENCE WITH HOSTILE INDIANS
In 1881 a great council was held between the governor-general of Canada, then the Marquess of Lorne, and the hostile Indians, who for several years had been in a state of open rebellion, which had partly culminated in the terrible Custer massacre of 1876. With a view to pacification, and for the purpose of hearing their grievances, the governor-general invited the Indian chiefs to a conference, which proved to be the last great council of the west. The ceremony began with weird dances, then young Indians would boast of their prowess in war, and finally the orators of the tribes told, in flowery and flamboyant language, of the injustices their people had suffered at the hands of the white man.
From the painting by Sidney P. Hall, by permission of C. E. Cufford & Co.

interior. In the prairies was the richest soil in the world, into which he could immediately thrust his plough. The backwoods of Old Canada altogether ceased to attract. The improved farms, partly for the same reasons that depressed English agriculture, and partly from the drain to the west, went down in value. There was no more emigration from Europe worth mentioning to Ontario, New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, while all those provinces sent out emigrants themselves. Nor was the drain from Old Canada confined to that of her farming class to the north-west; but there was a much more serious exodus of the flower of her youth to the United States, where every form of industry then offered better openings. For a long time Canada scarcely maintained the normal birth-rate increase of an old country. She lost more by emigration than she gained by immigration.

Vain Hope of French Canadians

In 1886, Louis Riel, the half-breed leader of the Red River affair, went on the warpath again at the head of an Indian and half-breed force on the Saskatchewan. The volunteers, both local and from Old Canada, were called out. Some brief but sharp fighting took place, to the complete discomfiture of the rebels and the capture of Riel, who this time met death, the fate that he deserved. A curious feature of its earlier development was the vain but ardent hope of the French-Canadians, particularly of their Church, to acquire supremacy there, and form a kind of second French-Canadian nation. Outnumbered in the east, they dreamed of finding compensation in the virgin west.

It was a short-lived and pathetic dream, and one may well wonder now how shrewd and able men could have brought themselves to indulge in it, but they did. Its echoes remained in the furious strife over sectarian education in the north-west that agitated the whole of Canada, known as the Manitoba school question. It was not till the closing years of the last century that the Canadian north-west really "found itself," and began that prodigious advance in development and prosperity which has transformed it from the Cinderella of British colonies to the most envied and most talked about of all.

Wonderful Prosperity of North-west

Immigration at the rate of from one to over two hundred thousand a year has passed in there, something like a third of which has consisted of American farmers, bringing not only experience but capital. Whatever political effect such a movement may have in the future, its practical effect on stimulating development has been greater in proportion than the corresponding influx of less trained and unacclimatised Europeans. These things belong, perhaps, rather to the concerns of to-day than to history. It will be enough to say that Winnipeg, with its nearly 150,000 inhabitants, bids fair to fulfil her early ambition, not always treated respectfully in the long lean years of the 'eighties and 'nineties, of becoming another Chicago. The 800 miles of tributary prairie to the Rockies is filling rapidly and expanding to a broader belt.

The small towns along it that for nearly two decades held out bravely and hopefully, but from a western standpoint unprogressively, have leaped forward. The aggregate output of the finest wheat lands in the world has quadrupled. The grain itself is not only in the greatest demand by millers, but commands the highest price. Experience, too, has immensely modified the climatic drawbacks once felt so keenly both by crops and men. The fierce winters that pierced the ill-built wooden houses and makeshift stabling of the earlier settlers, and caused many of them to think and tell the world that life there was not worth living, now beat harmlessly upon good brick houses warmed under the latest principles and barns as imposing and snug as those of Ontario.

Linking Old Canada to the Pacific Coast

The winters are no longer seasons of dread and weariness to the majority. Farming is more scientific and more mixed. The cattle on the ranches under the Rocky Mountains no longer die by the thousands in a hard winter, but are so handled and fed that the life of a north-western steer is almost as assured as if it were in an Ontario barnyard. New conditions have assured the land a new life. New territories to the northward, quite recently regarded as Arctic and uninhabitable, on a nearer acquaintance are showing themselves in an altogether different light. One great railroad with its branches that only a generation ago a whole Canadian political party and thousands more clear-headed men thought could never pay its way is now utterly insufficient; and in a few more years two more will link Old Canada to the Pacific coast.

A. G. BRADLEY

WINNIPEG COL.

SCENES of AGRICULTURAL LIFE IN CANADA

A TYPICAL PLOUGHING SCENE IN THE WEST OF CANADA

WHEAT-REAPING IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

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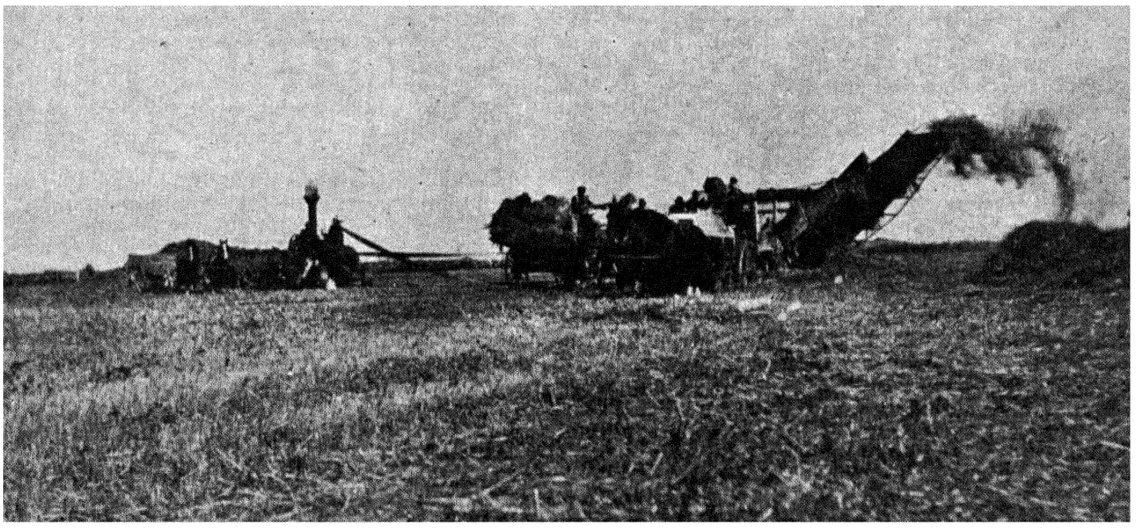
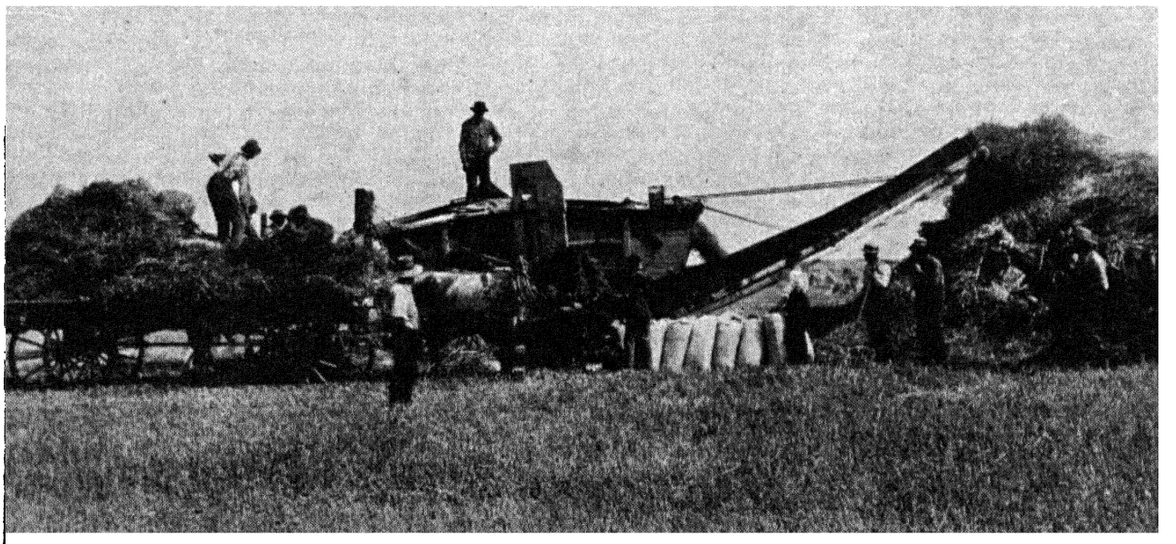
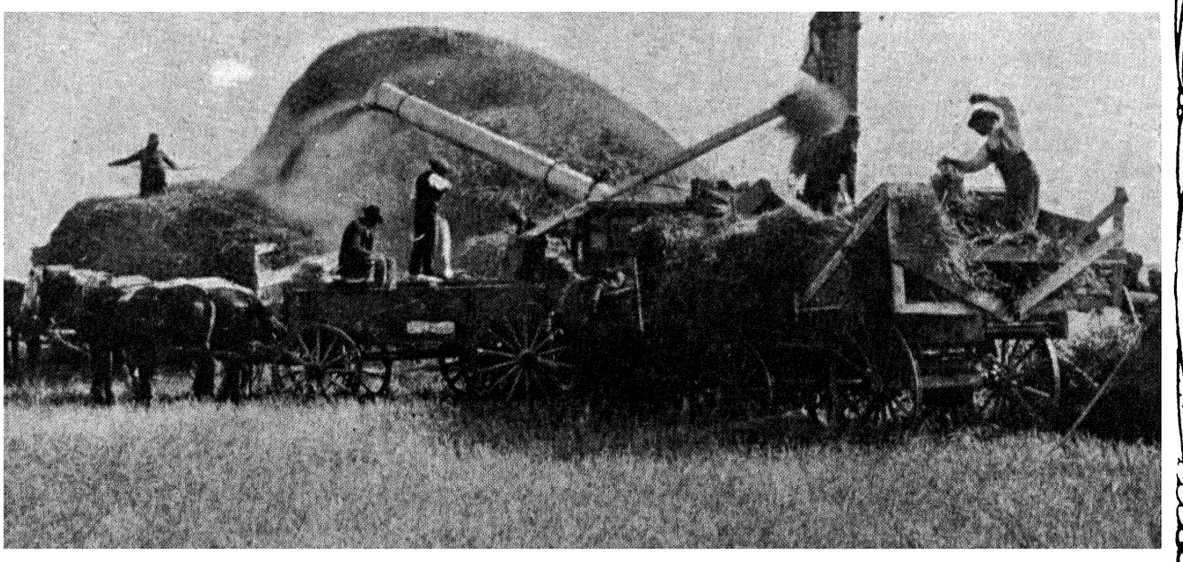


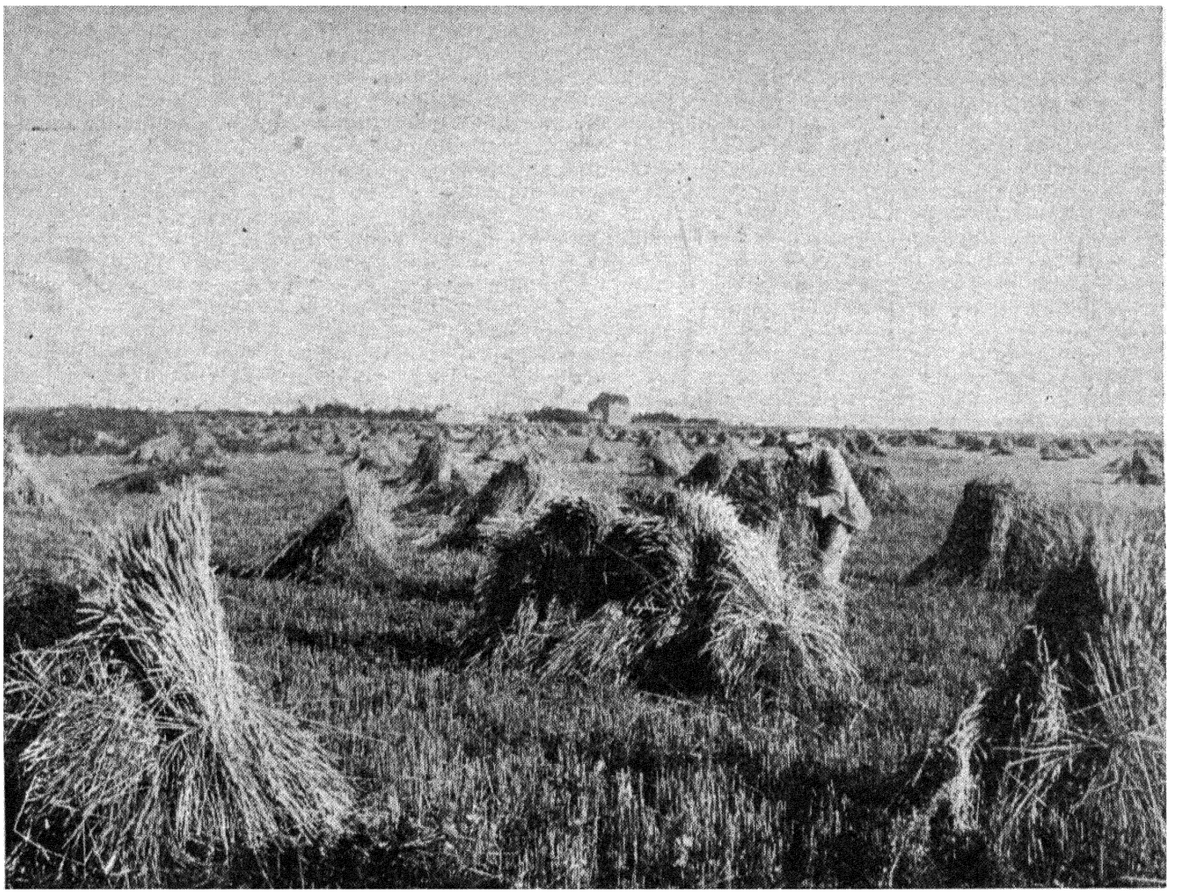
THRESHING GRAIN IN WESTERN CANADA: FIRST STAGE



THRESHING GRAIN: SECOND STAGE—FILLING THE BAGS

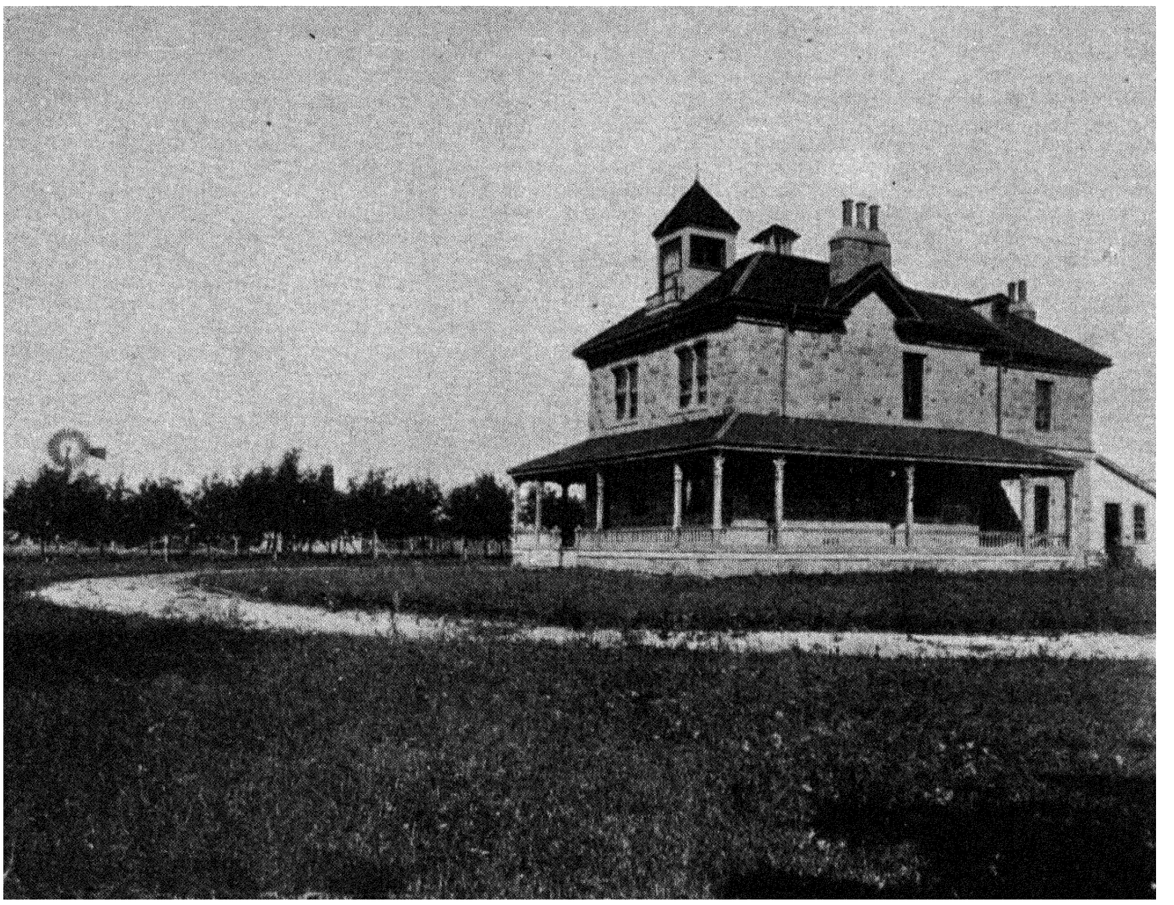


THRESHING GRAIN: THIRD STAGE—LOADING UP



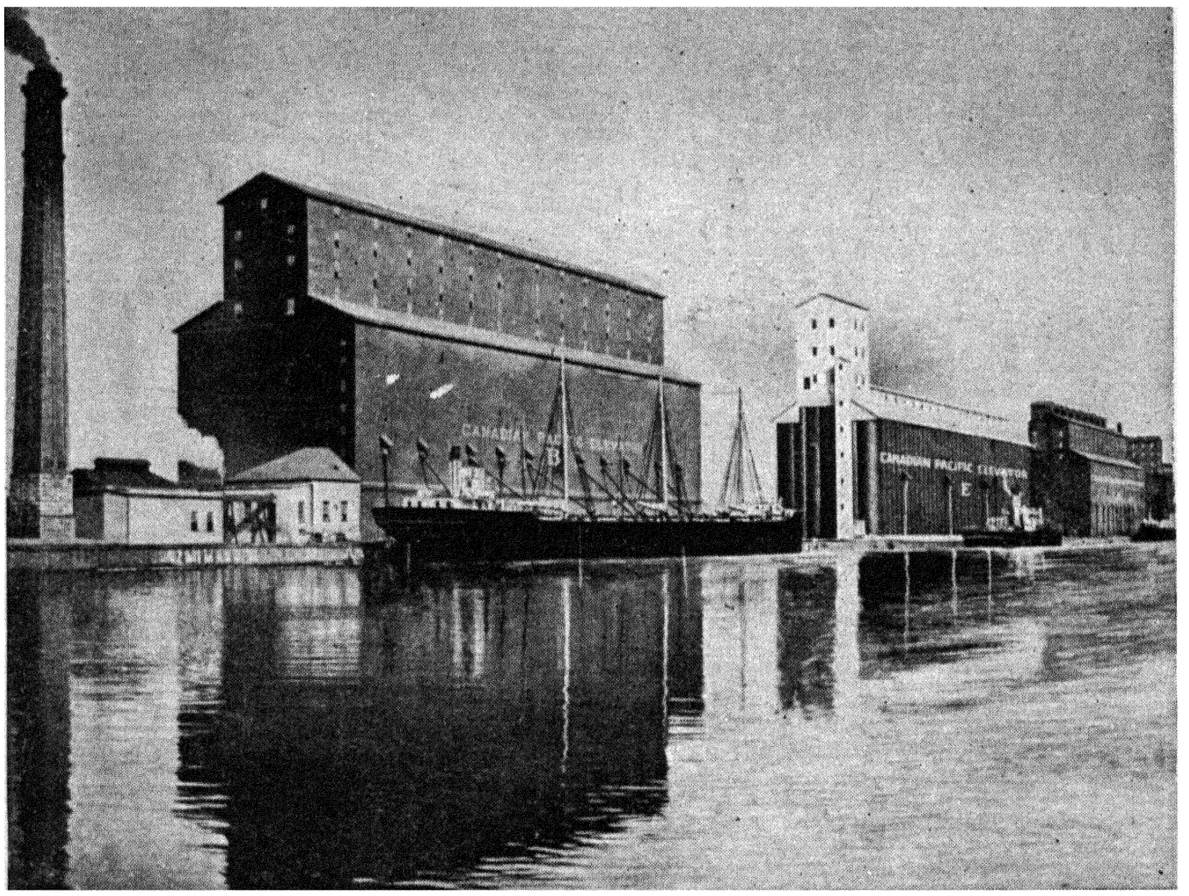
AN ABUNDANT CROP OF THE GOLDEN GRAIN IN MANITOBA

STACKING WHEAT IN WESTERN CANADA

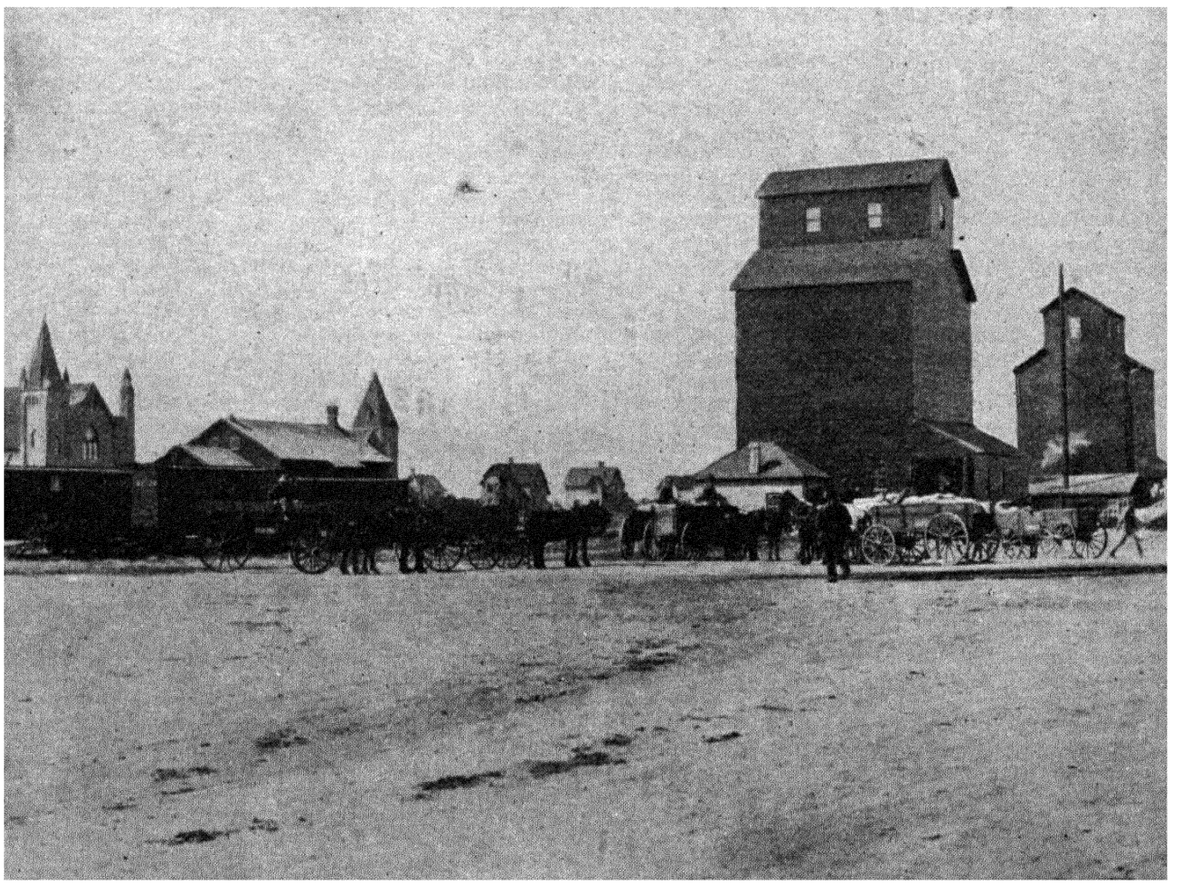


TYPICAL HOME OF THE PROSPEROUS CANADIAN FARMER

FARM BUILDINGS IN THE FAR WEST

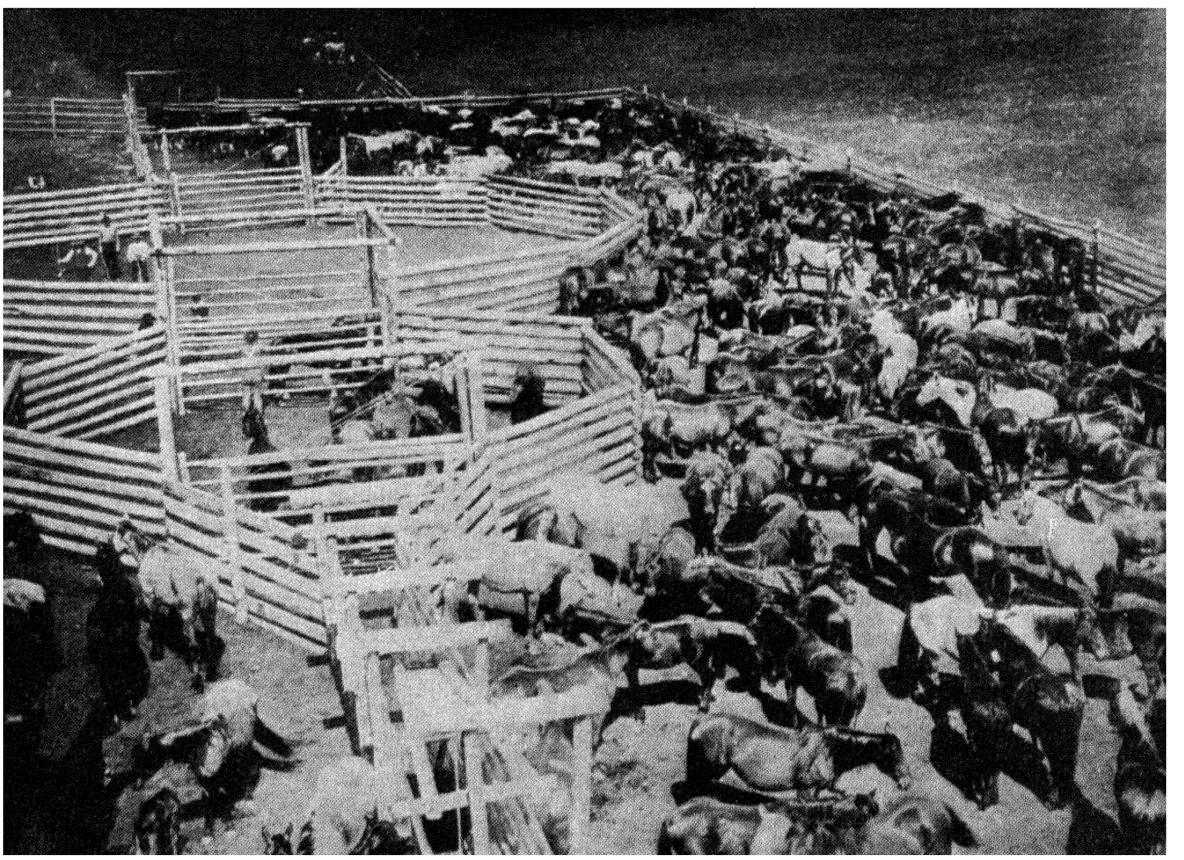


GRAIN ELEVATOR AT PORT WILLIAM, ONTARIO

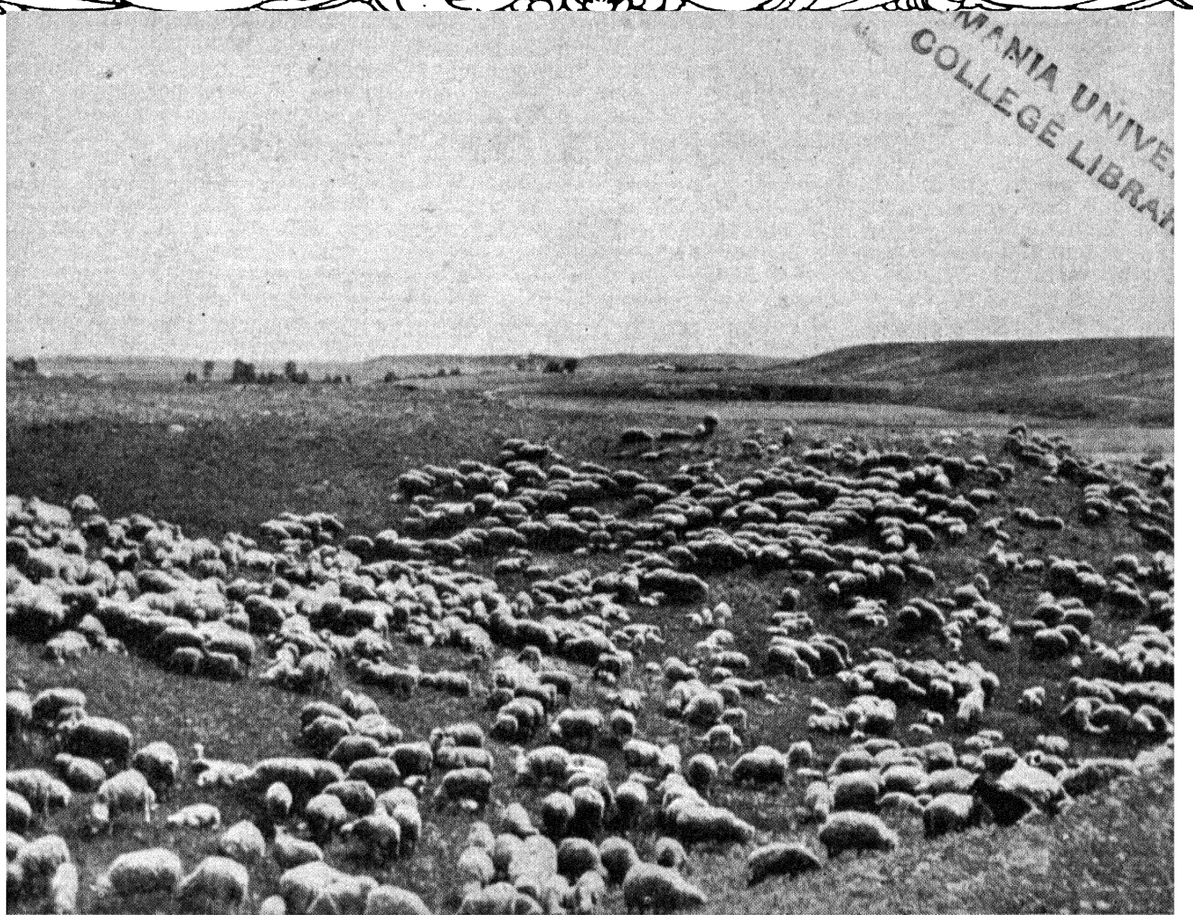


ARRIVAL OF GRAIN AT AN ELEVATOR IN WESTERN CANADA

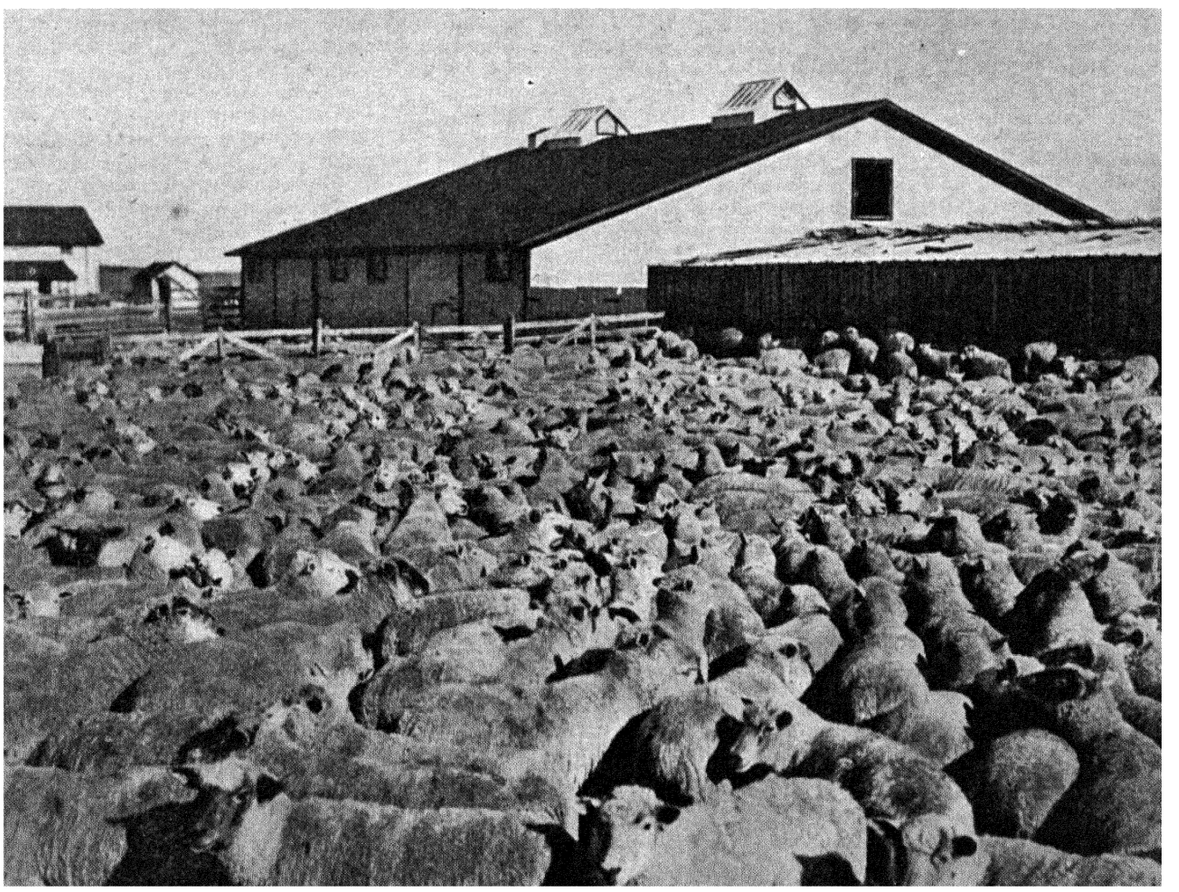
HERD OF CATTLE BY GULL LAKE, SASKATCHEWAN



"ROUND-UP" OF BROOD MARES, AT CALGARY, ALBERTA



SHEEP GRAZING ON A CANADIAN PRAIRIE FARM



READY FOR THE SHEARER: THE WEALTH OF A CANADIAN FARMER

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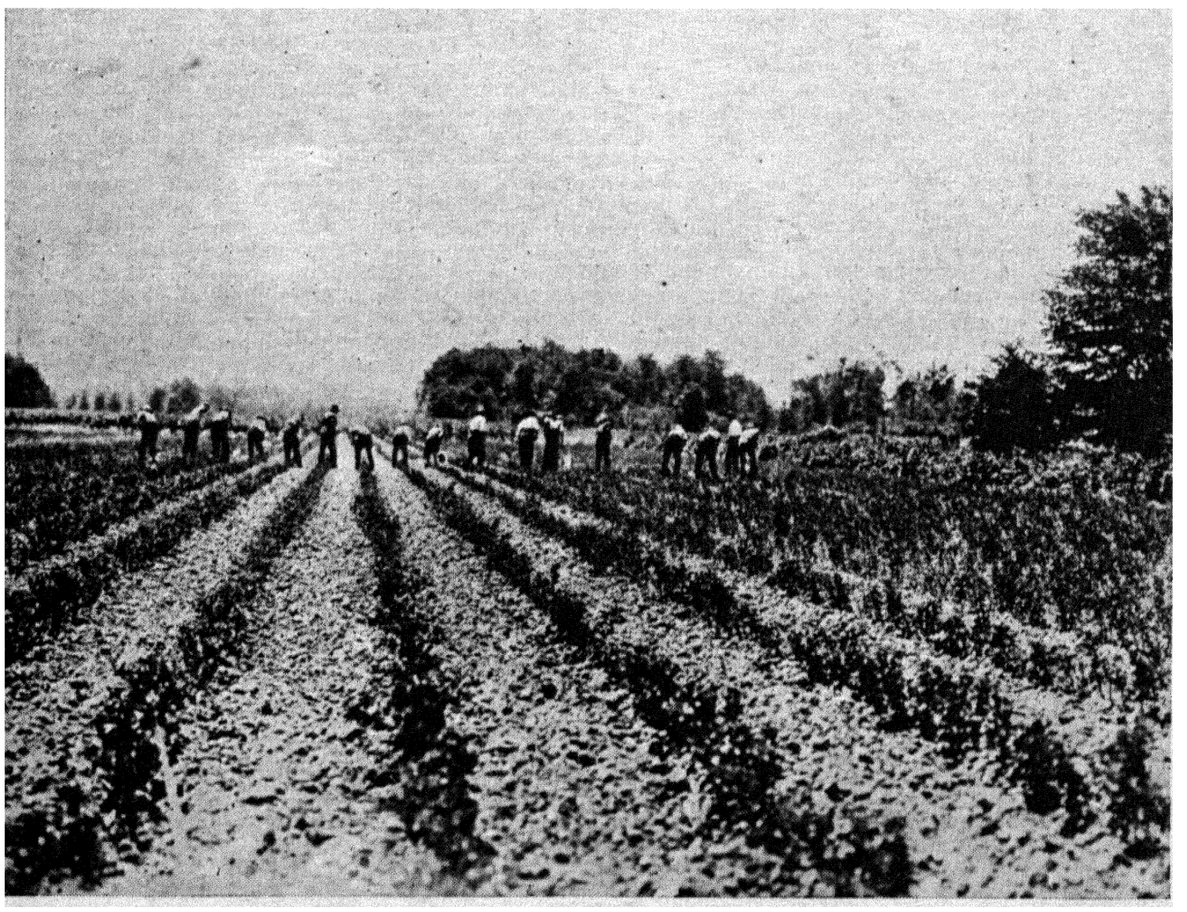
A WELL-ESTABLISHED APPLE ORCHARD IN ONTARIO, FORTY YEARS OLD



HOEING GOOSEBERRY PLANTS, FONTHILL, ONTARIO

AMERICA

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA VIII

CANADA IN OUR OWN TIME

A VAST LAND OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

By A. G. Bradley

ACROSS the huge range of the Rockies the province of British Columbia lies on the Pacific Coast save for a few interludes of high-lying park-like prairie, a rugged, mountainous, densely wooded country. It includes the large adjacent island of Vancouver also wooded mountainous and wild save for a corner of settled country, on which Victoria the capital of the province, is somewhat inconveniently placed, while facing it on the mainland is the more progressive city of Vancouver, the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The minerals, as already indicated, gave her an earlier start than the prairie prov[illegible] at it was a start on a small scale [illegible] mining population about the mouth of the Fraser River and on the opposite island of Vancouver, just large enough to require a government. These early fathers of the province, half a century ago, had not for the most part, come through from Canada for there was no way and they had nothing in common with her [illegible]me from Great Britain and else[illegible] haphazard, by way of the Pacific. Strong traces of this remain, particularly in speech and accent, but are only of academic interest. British Columbia is now a typical province of the federation, filling up these many years from the eastward, though, unlike her neighbour, subject to a large influx of Orientals which the scarcity of white labour has encouraged and raised a somewhat difficult race problem.

British Columbia's Mission

British Columbia has a distinct mission. Her rivers abound in salmon. She is almost stifled under heavy pine, cedar and hemlock timber [illegible] of which the great prairie prov[illegible]pire it in every phase of the [illegible] practically none. The l[illegible] severe climate of her upland valleys and the Devonian climate of her sea coast are eminently suited to the culture of fruit, which is one product of the temperate zone that the prairie provinces with their coming millions cannot cultivate successfully. Lumber, fruit, minerals and fish are the basis of British Columbian prosperity, as are grain and stock of the prairie provinces. Each will be necessary to the other, apart from their respective sea-borne trade. One more service, too, the Pacific province can render to the interior to its own advantage. There will always be a certain proportion of people, constitutionally averse to a cold climate. Some of these will at once cross the Rockies and settle for this reason in British Columbia. Many more, when they have made a competence in Manitoba, Assiniboia or Alberta, will seek the mild climate of the transmontane province to enjoy it and spend the evening of their days. Thus it will be seen that this vast British territory, stretching from Winnipeg and the Red River to the Pacific Ocean, contains every element of human happiness and virtually every product necessary to man.

Attractions of British Columbia

Politics in these lusty young provinces are of but small account. In the old story of Canada, soldiers and statesmen have played the leading part laying seeds of future greatness. Some day statesmen will be required in the North-west. In the meantime the latent talent and brains of the country find what is now the nobler outlet. The politician, with rare exceptions, remains comparatively obscure, his work can be done by men of second-rate ability, who do not lead but may be called rather the professional delegates of contending interests and whose rewards when honestly adhered to are small compared to those of other [illegible] and do not include the prestig[illegible] taches to political life in older co[illegible]s. And, in the meantime, Ontario and Quebec handle all

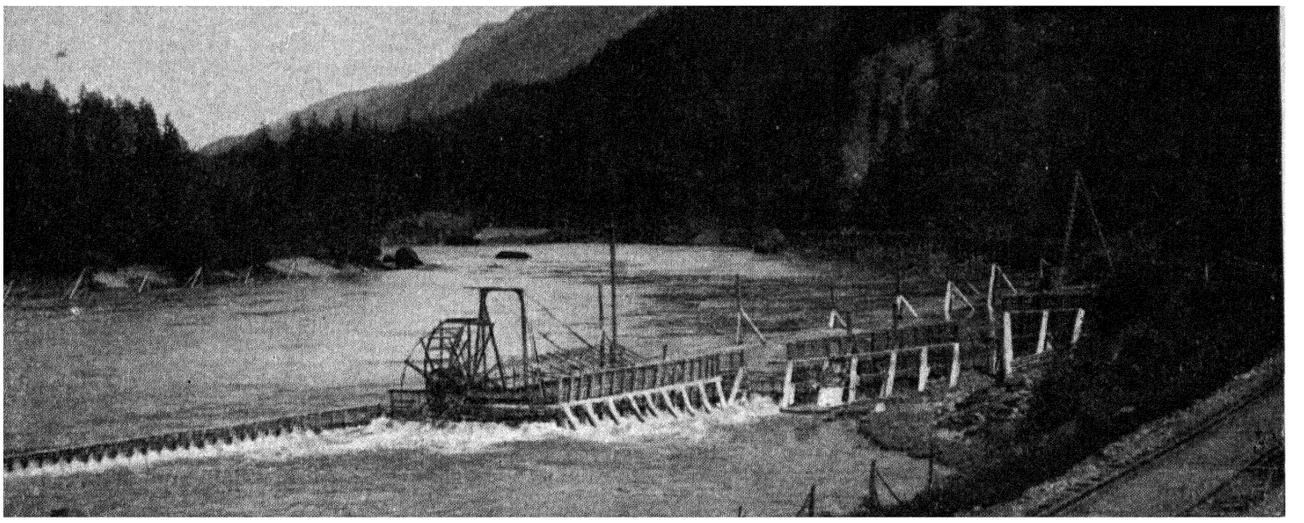
The Career of Politics in Canada

its eastern-going trade and supply the west with those articles which it is yet a long way from being able to produce. Both these provinces abound in water-power produced by innumerable lakes and streams which from their wild northern back-country flow down to the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. Ontario is incomparably the foremost in such industries. Such advance as Quebec has made is mainly due to alien enterprise, the genius of the French-Canadian having no strong bent in that direction.

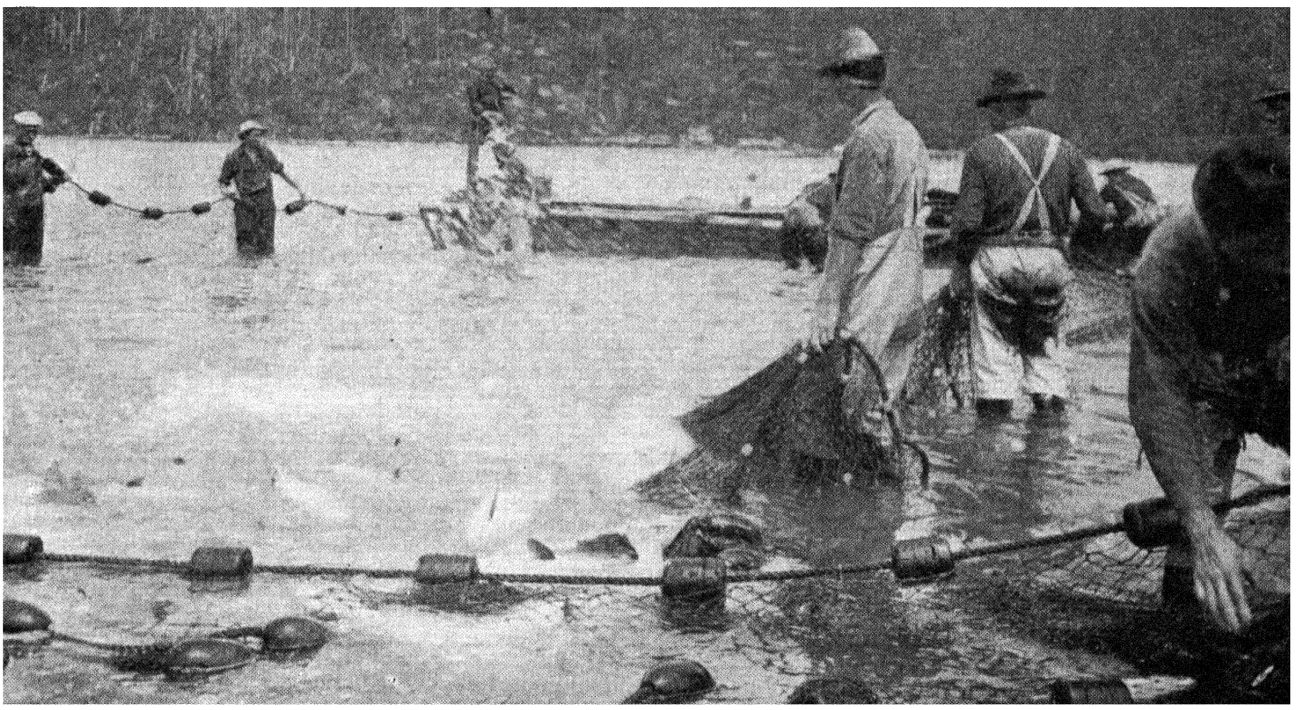
But though Montreal, the greatest and wealthiest Canadian city, is a short way within the French province, the heart and life of the dominion beats in the province of Ontario, now containing 2,000,000 souls that show an individual average of well-being, intelligence, industry, sanity of conduct and opinion not surpassed by any country of that size in the world, and rarely equalled. Like the maritime provinces, it is much more American—of the Eastern type—than English in appearance and habit of life, naturally enough not merely from its situation, but from the fact that it was originally settled by Americans. The bitterness of these old U. E. loyalists still lingers in a certain antagonism to the great republic that sometimes puzzles the British visitor. It is not quite the same as the vague dislike, or rather prejudice, entertained by many Englishmen towards the United States, but is at once greater and less. The superficial differences that mainly excite some Englishmen to unfriendly criticism touch the Canadian only slightly, as he shares most of them himself; but he has a latent hereditary antagonism of another kind and much more personal—a relic of the bitter moments of 1782 and 1812.

Ontario, though settled by mixed races, has rather a Scottish than an English tone and flavour. She began to manufacture before the federation, but between the high American tariff and British competition had not made great way. Nor have reciprocity treaties with the United States proved greatly to her advantage. In 1877 Sir John Macdonald introduced the "national policy," which was one of comparatively high protection. This stimulated manufactures greatly, and when the recent development of the west burst upon her she made gigantic strides and practically abandoned all talk of free trade, which had formerly been the creed of the Canadian Liberal party. Not only the cities, but most of the country towns, are now the seats of mills and busy industries which supply the west, export to Europe, and of course serve their own rural districts. The latter, which till the 'seventies like so much of England, made

LOADING TRUCKS WITH TIMBER IN THE MOUNTAINS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



WHEEL FOR CATCHING SALMON ON THE COLUMBIAN RIVER OREGON



SALMON JUMPING: THE FISHERS HAULING IN THEIR NETS

A FINE CATCH OF ROYAL CHINOOK SALMON

SALMON FISHING IN CANADIAN WATERS

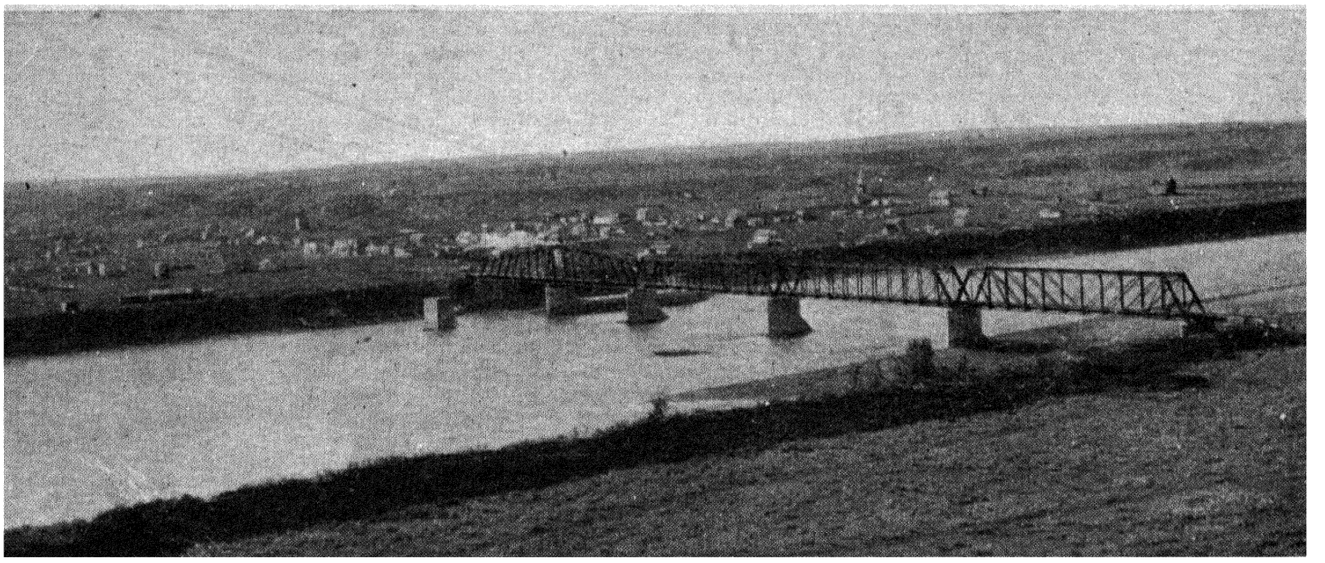
grain its principal crop, like Great Britain, suffered sorely, till at last it had to confess itself beaten in this phase of agriculture by western competition.

Now, however, the Ontario farmer, who is the freeholder of from one to two hundred acres, with buildings equal to those of an English farm twice the size, has readjusted his system. Dairying, co-operation, fruit, mixed products and careful stockbreeding have made him once more a prosperous man, and his farm, speaking generally, worth as much as it was in 1873. He may send his surplus sons out to the west, but he now no longer wants to go himself. All the religious creeds flourish in the province, so does education. Besides the common free schools, intermediate schools, and a few of the English public school type, there is a flourishing university at Toronto, to which various colleges are affiliated, and the MacGill University at Montreal, which is quite as important. The chartered banks, originated largely by the Family Compact, and increasing with the growth of the country, are the one branch of commerce in which the Canadians are indisputably in advance of the United States; and the Bank of Montreal, the chief of many sound and old-established banks, has no equal in North America.

The province of Quebec, with 1,648,898 population, is to-day more French than ever, and differs wholly in character from Ontario. The exodus to the north-west has affected those few portions of it that were in part or whole English, notably the eastern townships, far more than the others, for the sufficient reason that the man of British origin is much readier than the other definitely to sever home ties and advance his fortune in distant countries. Where the British farmer steps out, the French Canadian steps in, and a considerable displacement of this kind has been proceeding for a generation. The city of Montreal is not typical of the province of Quebec save for the fact that about five-sixths of its population are French. It is the commercial capital and the wealthiest and finest city of Canada, the summer port for ocean navigation, and the distributing point for all winter freights that come from the open ports of Halifax and St. John.

THE WINTER SEASON IN CANADA: A CHARACTERISTIC SNOW SCENE

The commercial wealth of the city is mainly in Anglo-Canadian hands, though there is a large element of well-to-do and educated French Canadians. With the exception of Ottawa in political circles, and Quebec on a smaller scale, Montreal is the only part of Canada where French and English in great numbers live as



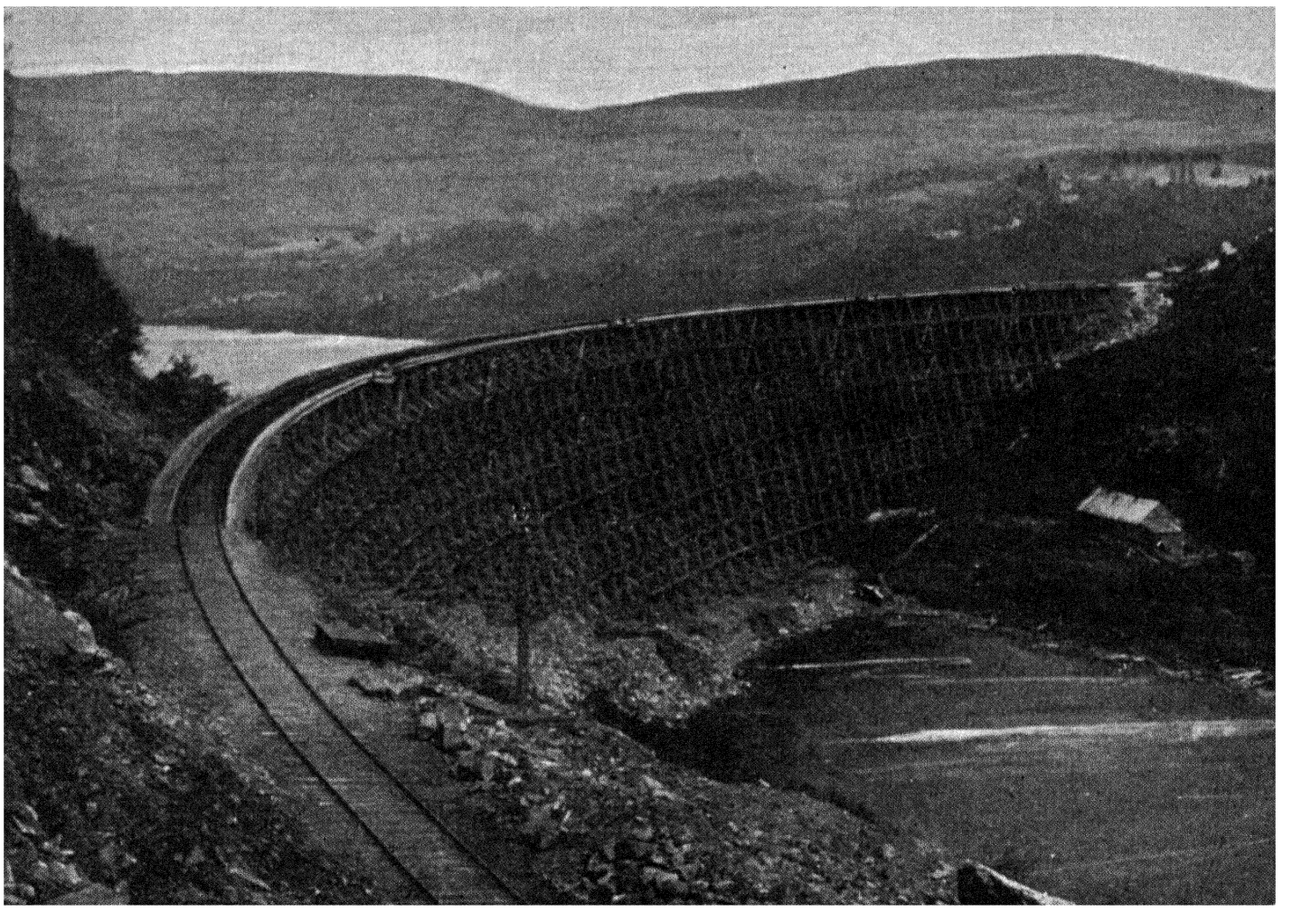
MEDICINE HAT: A VILLAGE ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

immediate neighbours, and in the upper classes the majority of the former are bilingual. Yet in no class, strange to say, to any extent worthy of mention, do they mix together socially or intermarry. The bitter feeling of the past is practically dead, but the continuous cleavage and utter inability to coalesce, particularly among the more enlightened and wealthier elements living side by side and so interested materially in the welfare of their common city and country, are noteworthy and curious facts. It should be said, however, that religion accounts for this in a great measure, which again will seem somewhat paradoxical when the fact is stated that there is practically no sectarian bitterness such as distinguishes Protestant and Roman Catholic in Ireland, or even Nonconformist and Anglican in Wales.

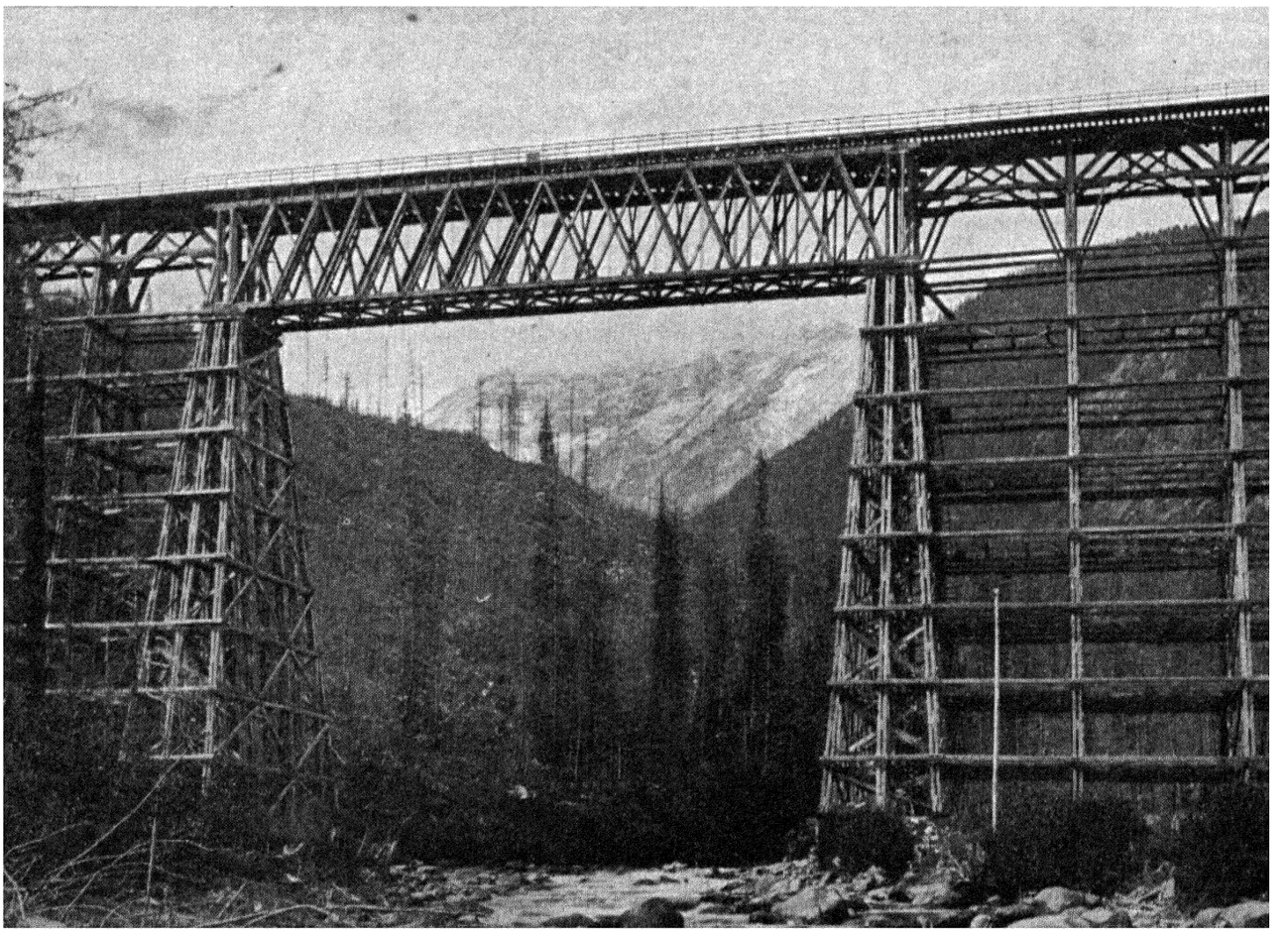
The two races take each other's faiths simply as a matter of course, and as individuals at least give no further thought to the matter. But the Roman Church in Canada, for doctrinal reasons, throws every impediment in the way of intermarriage, and the French Canadian, unlike the European Frenchman, with a few exceptions is a staunch and obedient son of his Church, which in Montreal possesses the most splendid cathedral in North America. This alone must discourage social fusion. That the French Canadians, in the cities at least, could remain uninfluenced by Anglo-Canadian and American influences is of course out of the question. But the cleavage is very marked, and is due also to yet other reasons. The French Canadian is educated in different schools and universities, and is fed on the literature of Old France, much as he abominates the political and religious methods of modern France.

The great and finely equipped University of Laval, in Quebec, with a branch in Montreal, is the Alma Mater of all the college-bred, and is the leading Roman Catholic institution of North America. Something also must be attributed to the ancient habit of separation, which in the higher circles was mainly the fault of the English. The French have the credit of being, on the whole, the more cultured, as they are the less materially vigorous, of

CANADIAN OATFIELD SHOWING BY CONTRAST THE GREAT HEIGHT OF THE GRAIN

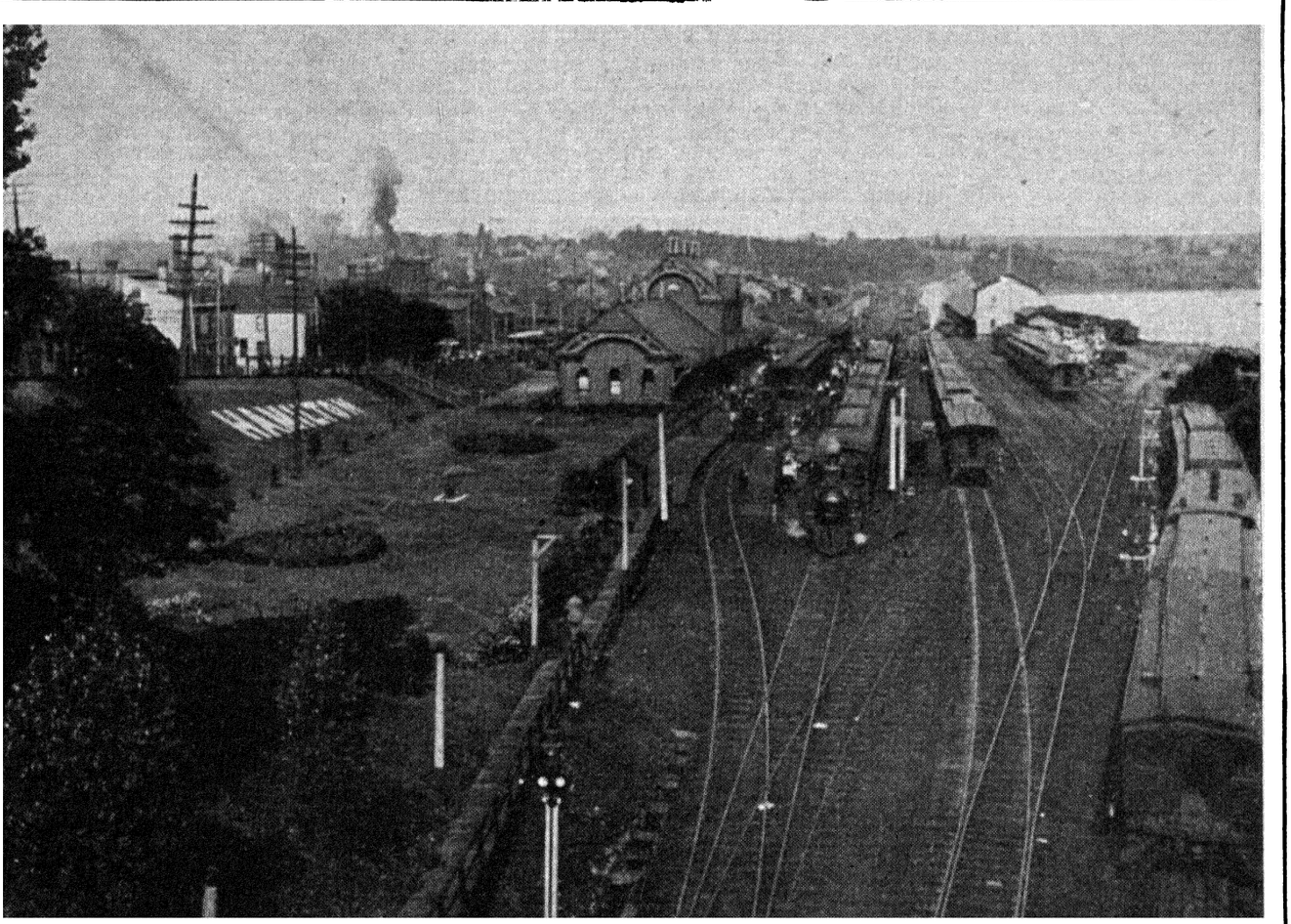


RED SUCKER TRESTLE BRIDGE ON LAKE SUPERIOR

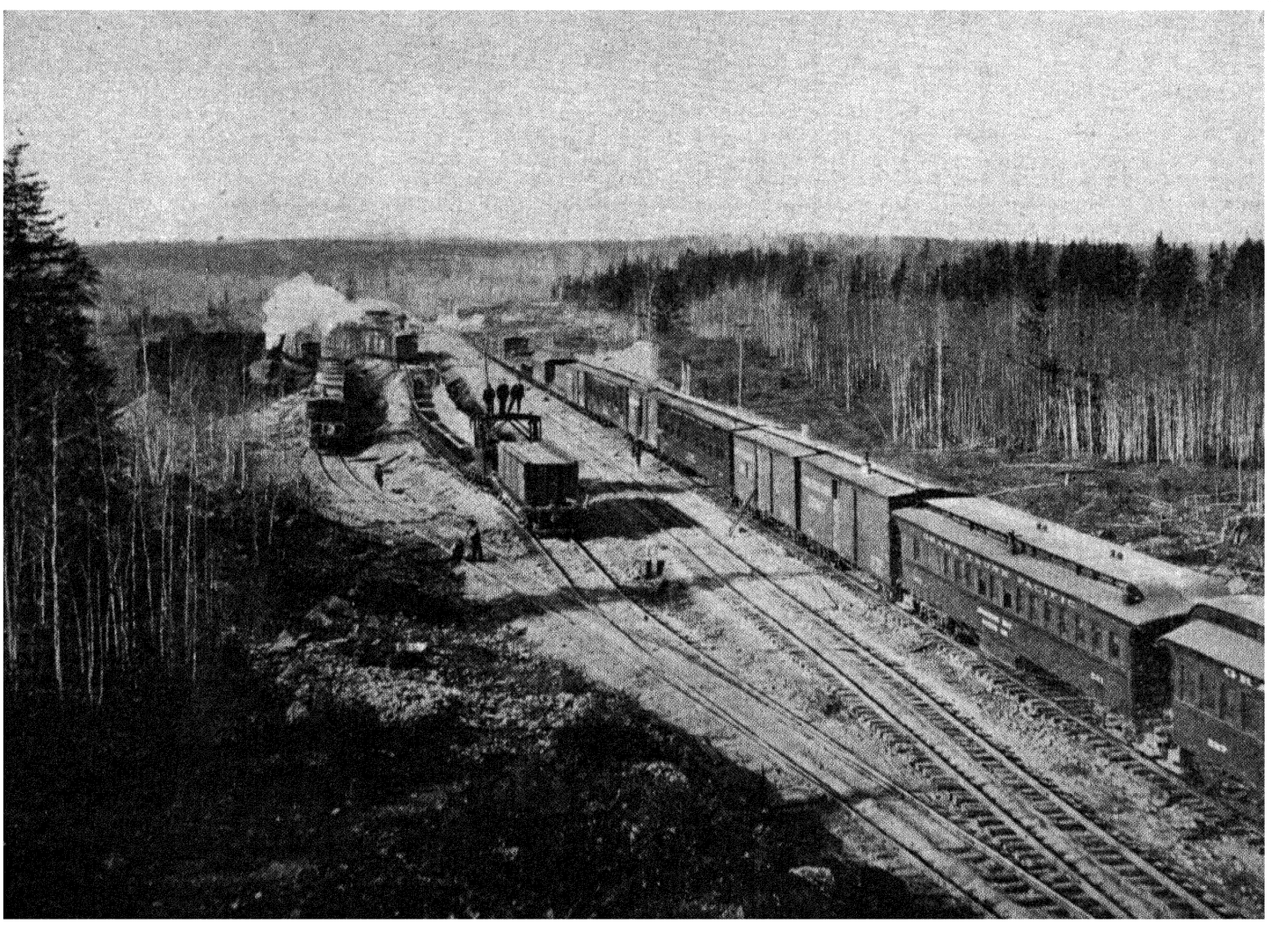


MOUNTAIN CREEK BRIDGE, CONTAINING ONE AND A HALF MILLION FEET OF TIMBER

SCENES ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

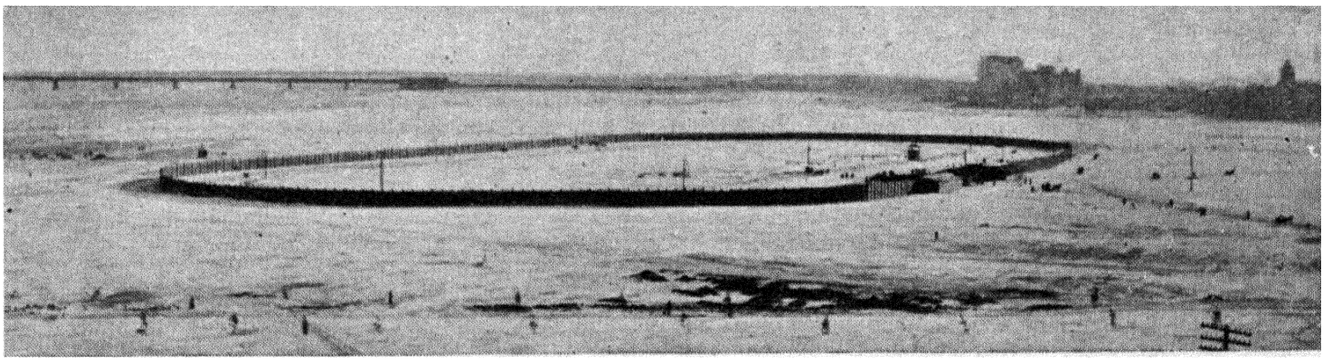


THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY STATION AT HAMILTON, ONTARIO



THE TERMINAL YARDS OF THE SYSTEM AT FORT WILLIAM

Photos on this page and pages 6069, 6152, 6158 and 6174 by courtesy of the London "Canada" newspaper

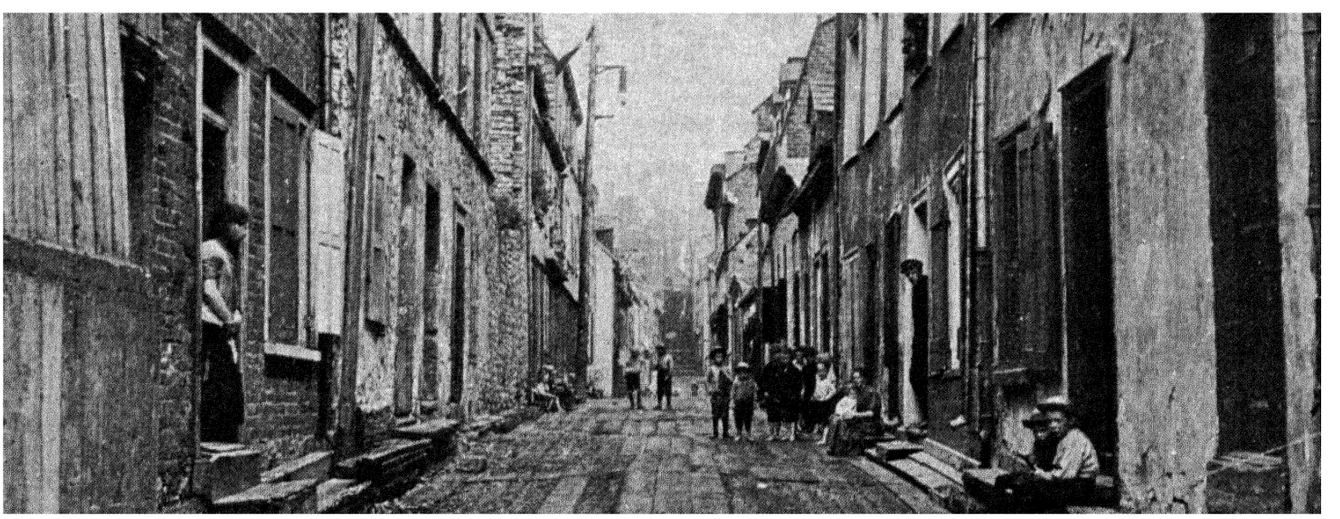


THE RACECOURSE ON THE FROZEN RIVER ST. LAWRENCE AT MONTREAL

the two. But that has nothing to do with the cleavage, nor must the reader who has followed this story contract the notion that there is any remnant of the old noblesse cherishing exclusive sentiments. The latter were not strong enough or splendid enough to send down a surviving caste through four or five generations of a democracy. Descendants of the old seigniorial families enjoy just such distinction as attaches to the descendants of the quasi-military U. E. loyalist, and other English families of the Family Compact type. But it is purely sentimental, as both, like all Canadians, have had to earn their living in professions or in trade, and have intermarried freely with others who have not their particular claims.

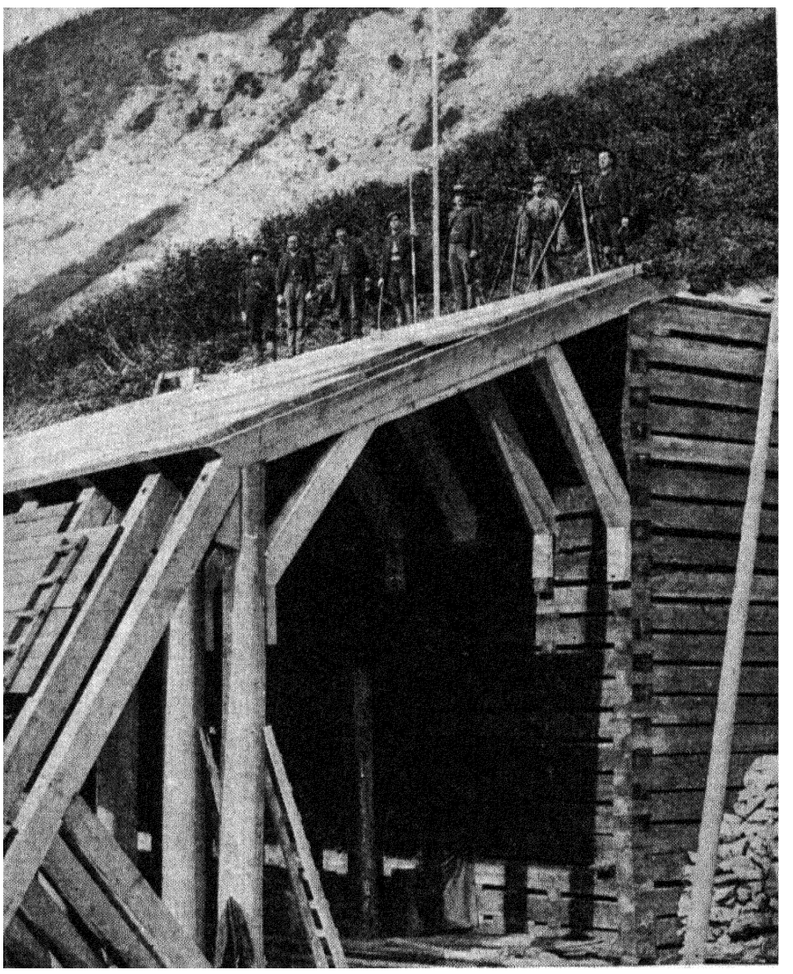
To sum up the question of modern French Canadians' feeling, so far as the subject can be dealt with in a few words, the attitude of the enlightened classes in Montreal, Quebec, Ottawa and various small towns —for the peasantry think nothing about the matter—implies neither cordiality nor yet ill-will between the races. They live apart as people of different ideas and tastes, not as enemies who have quarrelled, though there is sometimes friction. On the other hand, there are, of course, innumerable exceptions to prove a rule which is a matter of Nature, instinct and tradition rather than of design or culpable bigotry. In all things that really matter, the French Canadian nowadays is a quite sound element in the British Empire. His destiny is virtually fixed for him. Any thought of political affiliation to modern France is utterly distasteful. And if it were not so his Ultramontane Church, to which he is entirely devoted, would regard such a possibility with abhorrence. Annexation to the United States has not a single attraction to recommend it.

Such dislike as he may feel for the Anglo-Saxon would be there intensified, while his peculiar privileges, such as an endowed religion, his laws and his language would be in the utmost peril. Canadian independence is not an impossibility at some future day. The French Canadian, however, would probably hail it with less enthusiasm than the other. For this kind of independence would chiefly centre on the Anglo-Saxon, whose preponderance increases yearly. It is unreasonable, again, to expect the French Canadian to have the same zeal for the empire outside Canada that most of us have ourselves. To expect him to volunteer to cross the seas and fight our battles like the Anglo-Canadian is to expect too much of human nature.



LITTLE CHAMPLAIN STREET: QUEBEC'S QUAINT AND PICTURESQUE THOROUGHFARE

The French habitant is in almost full possession of the soil of Quebec, both of the old seigniories and of the regions outside them, which was settled by British immigrants who since then have shifted westward. The province has a less fertile soil and a more rigorous climate than Ontario. In some districts agriculture is fairly progressive. But for the most part the habitant on his long farms of fifty acres or so, though still reckoned by him in the ancient French measure of *arpents*, is unimproving and unambitious. Content with his surroundings, attached to his native country, submissive to his priest, loyal to all observances of his Church, including its holidays, cheerful and prolific, and possessed of a sufficiency of simple comfort, he is a complete contrast to the typical, strenuous English-speaking farmer of Canada or the United States. He usually knows no English, and his speech, with certain modifications, is that of the seventeenth century peasant of Northern France. He is fond of music and dancing, which help to beguile the long winters, and still sings the songs his ancestors brought over from Normandy and Picardy. Though the tendency of the habitant, who occupies the picturesque country along both shores of the St. Lawrence for a hundred miles below Quebec and for more than that between Quebec and Montreal is conservative and home-staying, he sends out two classes of wanderers in great numbers, who keep him and his in frequent touch with the wider world. Nearly a million French Canadians are scattered about New England, working in the factories, and remaining as a rule homogeneous in large groups with their own priests. All through the lumber-camps and saw-mills of Canada, too, "Jean Baptiste" is in great demand. These wanderers, however, keep in touch with their old homes to an infinitely greater extent than British Canadians in the same situation, frequently returning there to settle down, bringing money with them; and not only money, but ideas somewhat modifying the old elementary conditions and causing anxiety to the excellent priests, whose influence, speaking generally, has always been, and most effectively, exerted in the excellent cause of law and order. Education in French Canada, though administered as elsewhere by a department of the provincial government, is by common consent controlled by the Church; which owns, moreover, an immense amount of property in the province. If the practical results are for obvious reasons inferior to those obtained in the common schools of Ontario, there are compensations from the French Catholic point of view which are no concern of their British Protestant neighbours. The English districts of Quebec have their own government schools as in Ontario, and there is no friction whatever between the creeds.

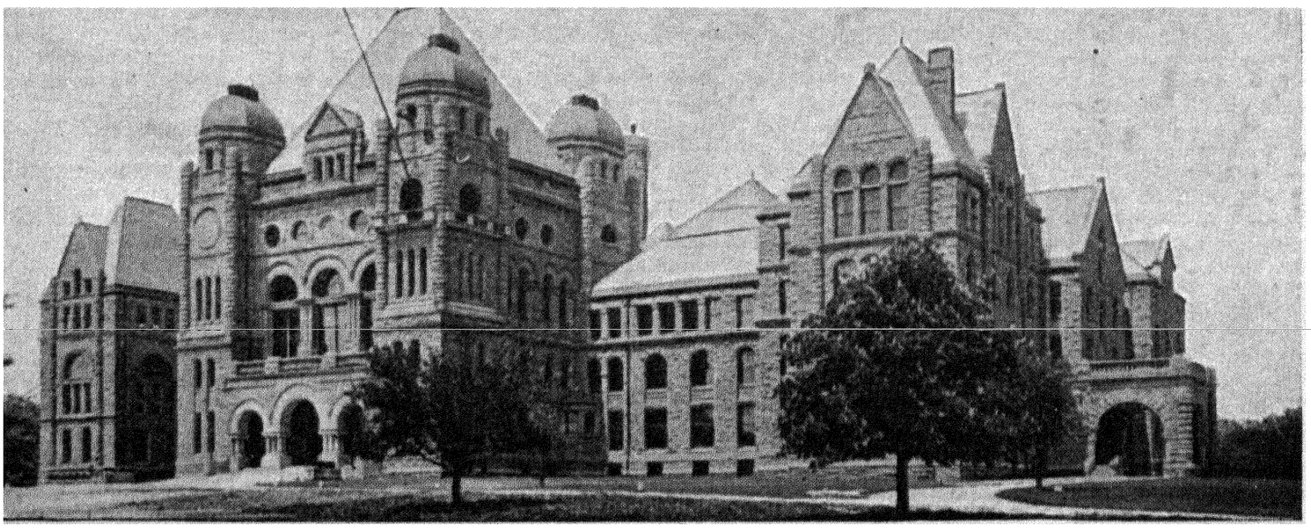


SNOW-SHED ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
The protection of the line during the winter months is a matter of serious importance to the engineers of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Rockies. The scene of the above picture is particularly exposed to snowslides and avalanches; hence to meet this emergency snow-sheds are built, which carry the accumulation of snow and ice over the track.

Higher education in the province is admirable, with Laval University at its head. The latter is conservative, and still makes the classical and literary standard too prominent in the opinion of many for the North American atmosphere, while the convents educate the women of the same class. The provincial government

THE DOMINION HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT AT OTTAWA

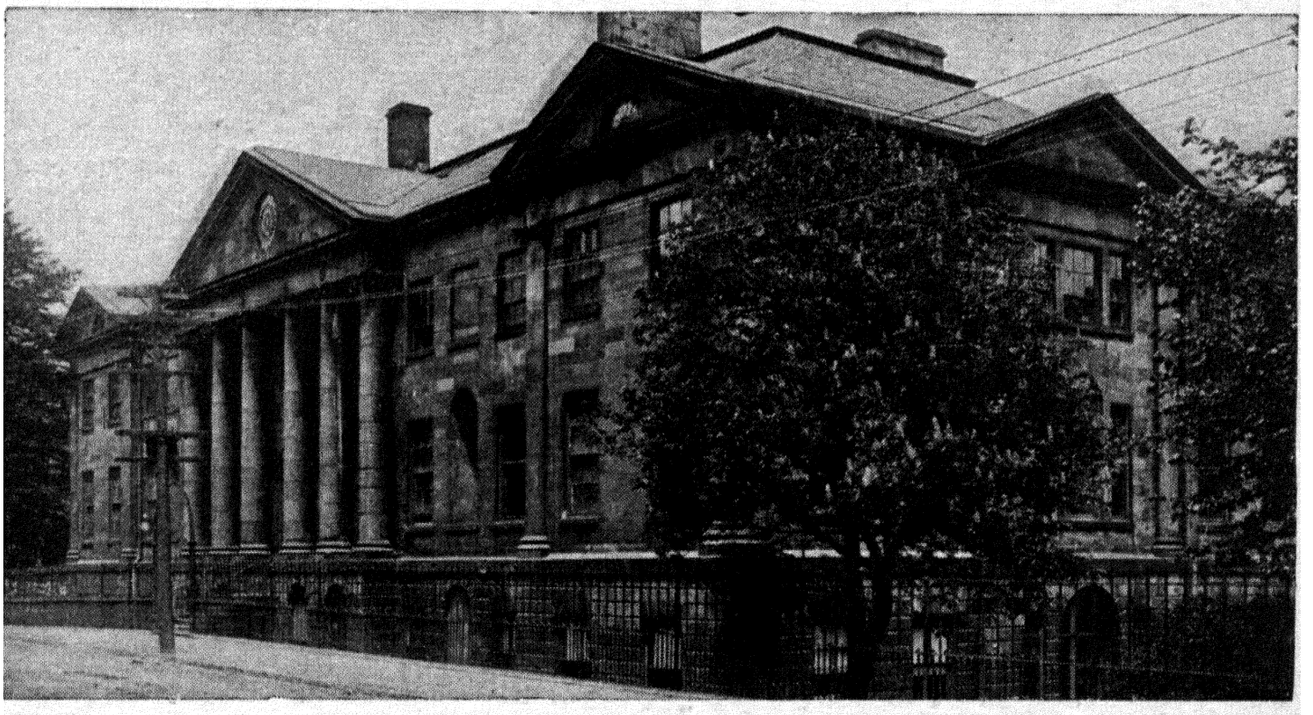
BRITISH COLUMBIA'S HOUSE OF LEGISLATURE AT VICTORIA



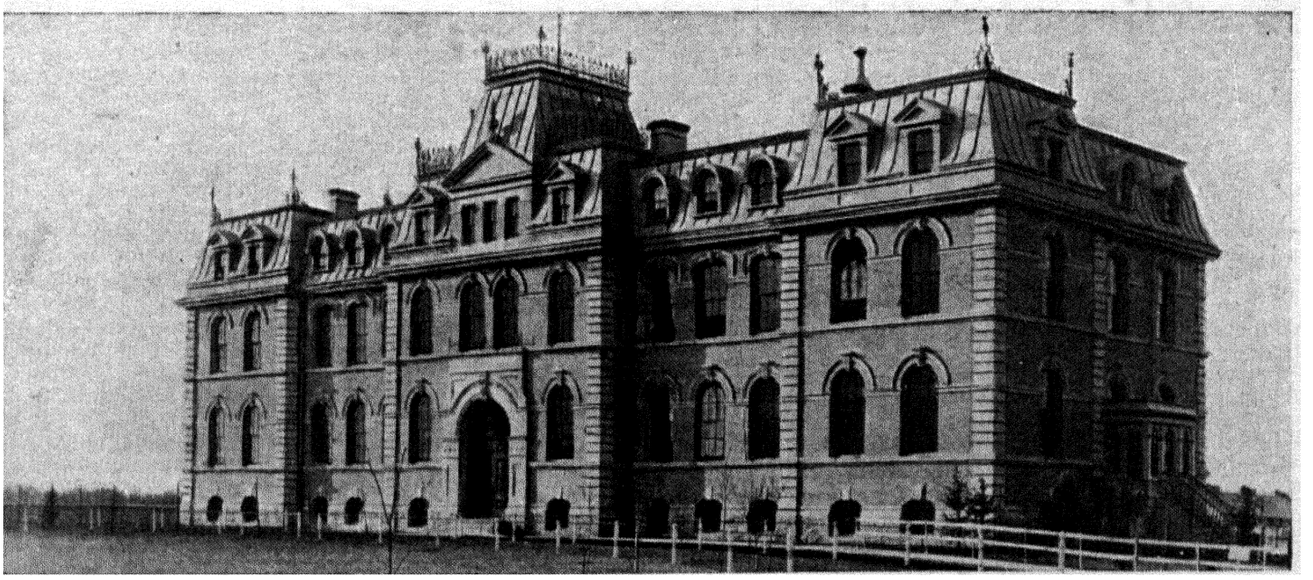
ONTARIO'S SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT TORONTO

THE DOMINION PARLIAMENT AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS

QUEBEC, CANADA'S QUAINT AND PICTURESQUE CITY



HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA'S IMPORTANT SEAPORT



WINNIPEG, THE FLOURISHING SEAT OF THE MANITOBAN GOVERNMENT

Photos: Valentine

CANADIAN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS

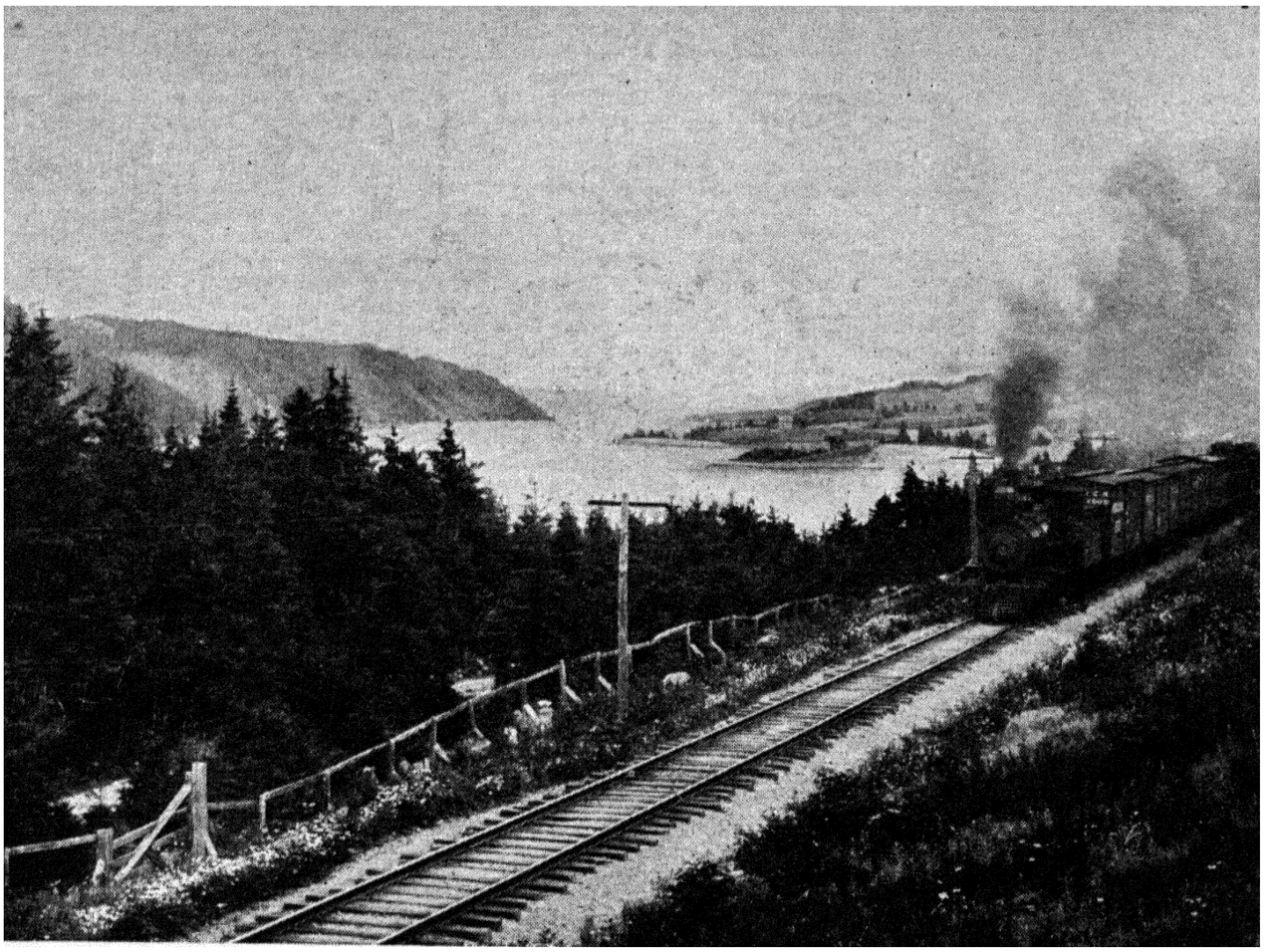
buildings are at Quebec, the only province except Nova Scotia that has an upper house nominated for life by the governor in council. The legislators and executive are mainly, though not all, Frenchmen, that language being chiefly used in debate; and here, as in the other provinces, lawyers are the strongest element both in the provincial and federal councils. It must be admitted, too, that there is undoubtedly more political corruption all over Canada than would now be tolerated in Great Britain.

It is a happy dispensation, on the whole, that the French Canadians are virtually confined to their ancient province, and, outside Montreal, have control of it, the English being too few to arouse any racial friction. As a member of the federation at Ottawa, Quebec plays a worthy and patriotic part. The new prosperity of the dominion has been sensibly felt even by this, its least active member, and a great deal of American capital has been expended in mills and mines. The French vote, though apt to go nearly solid under a leader like Sir Wilfrid Laurier, simply from racial pride in his achievements, in normal times has before, and doubtless will again, divide on other than racial lines. There seems no reason to anticipate any more of the old bitterness and civic strife between the races. Their difference in temperament and habit has now free scope without clashing. In all their domestic concerns they have agreed to differ, while in the essentials of federal life and Canadian unity and prosperity they are heartily in accord, and have nothing now of serious moment to quarrel about.

As regards the maritime provinces the recent strides made by the dominion have not been felt to the same extent as in Ontario and the west. For the last half century or more they have shared very little in the vast stream of immigration into Canada. They have lived upon their own increase, and upon that there has been a continuous drain to the more fertile and progressive regions. Little Prince Edward Island, with 90,000 souls, has long filled up as a purely agricultural country. New Brunswick, with 350,000, has received in its open port for ocean business of St. John an immense access of trade and prosperity; but the province generally pursues an uneventful agricultural existence in method and manners like Ontario, with less of its push, and unrelieved by the pressure of large and small industrial centres. Its forests, like those of the latter, still yield a revenue to the lumberman, whether for sawn timber or the pulp and paper manufacture that has recently converted into a valuable asset thousands of square miles of timber, hitherto only fitted for firewood, and practically valueless.

There is a vast area of land in New Brunswick that if cleared of forests would carry a farming population. But the

A CHARACTERISTIC FRUIT FARM IN NOVA SCOTIA

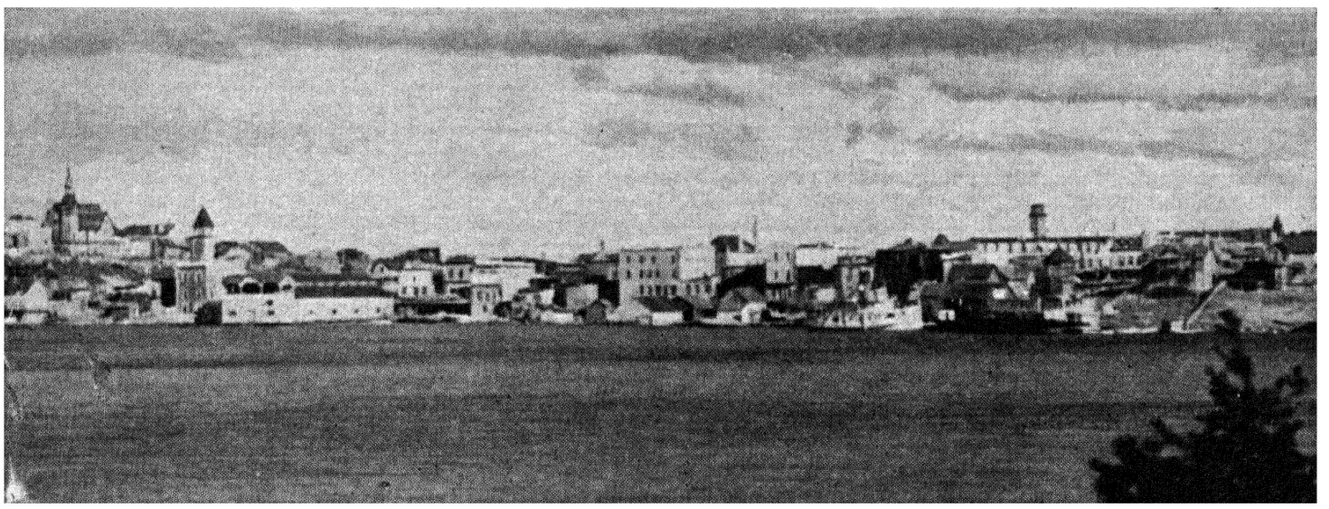


A PRETTY VIEW NEAR SYDNEY, ON THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON

GENERAL VIEW FROM CAPE BLOMIDON, LOOKING ACROSS MINES BASIN

SCENES IN THE CANADIAN PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA

Photos on this page and pages 6067, 6144, 6154 and 6156 by courtesy of the Canadian Emigration Office



THE TOWN OF RAT PORTAGE, ON THE LAKE OF THE WOODS, ONTARIO

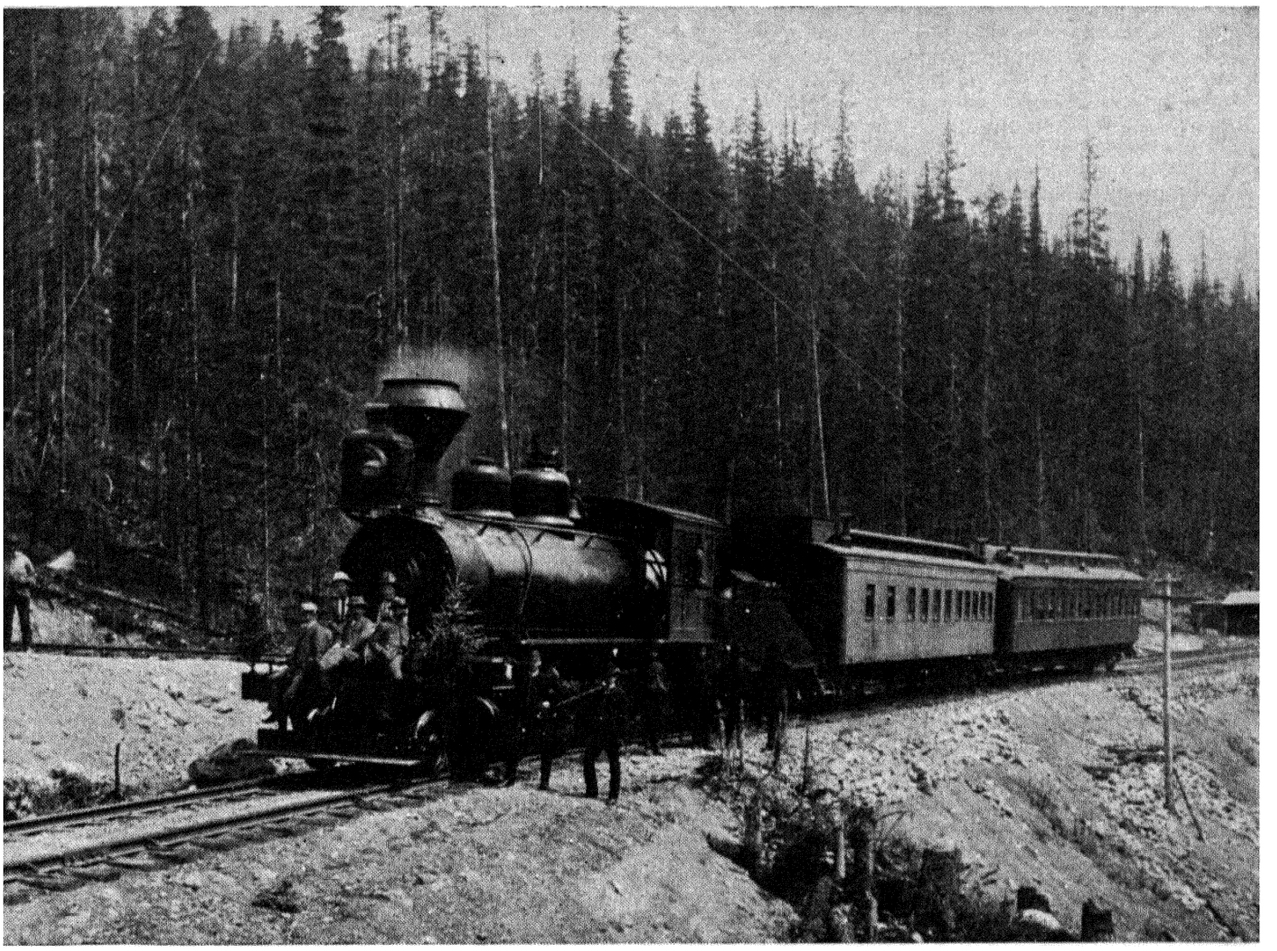
best has long been cleared and occupied, and, as in old Ontario, men with all North America to select from will no longer laboriously clear timber from second or third rate land when unencumbered first-class land can be had in the west. The population includes many races, the old Acadians among them, but by far the prevailing stock is British, mostly sprung from the original U. E. loyalists.

The same general description will apply to Nova Scotia, with rather less than 500,000 inhabitants; but to both, more particularly to the latter, must be added a fishing population and a fishing industry. Nova Scotia is the more attractive country, while both have a climate of much the same quality, but more foggy and milder than Quebec. Halifax, a naval station and commercial port, but no longer of its old military importance, is less progressive than St. John; but Sydney, on Cape Breton, near the scene of the old fortress town of Louisbourg, now vanished, is assuming important dimensions as a busy centre of the coal and iron industry. To the ordinary agricultural industry of Nova Scotia, which has long ago cleared all the land at present worth clearing, must be added the famous apple orchards of the Annapolis Valley, and other districts so well known in the English market.

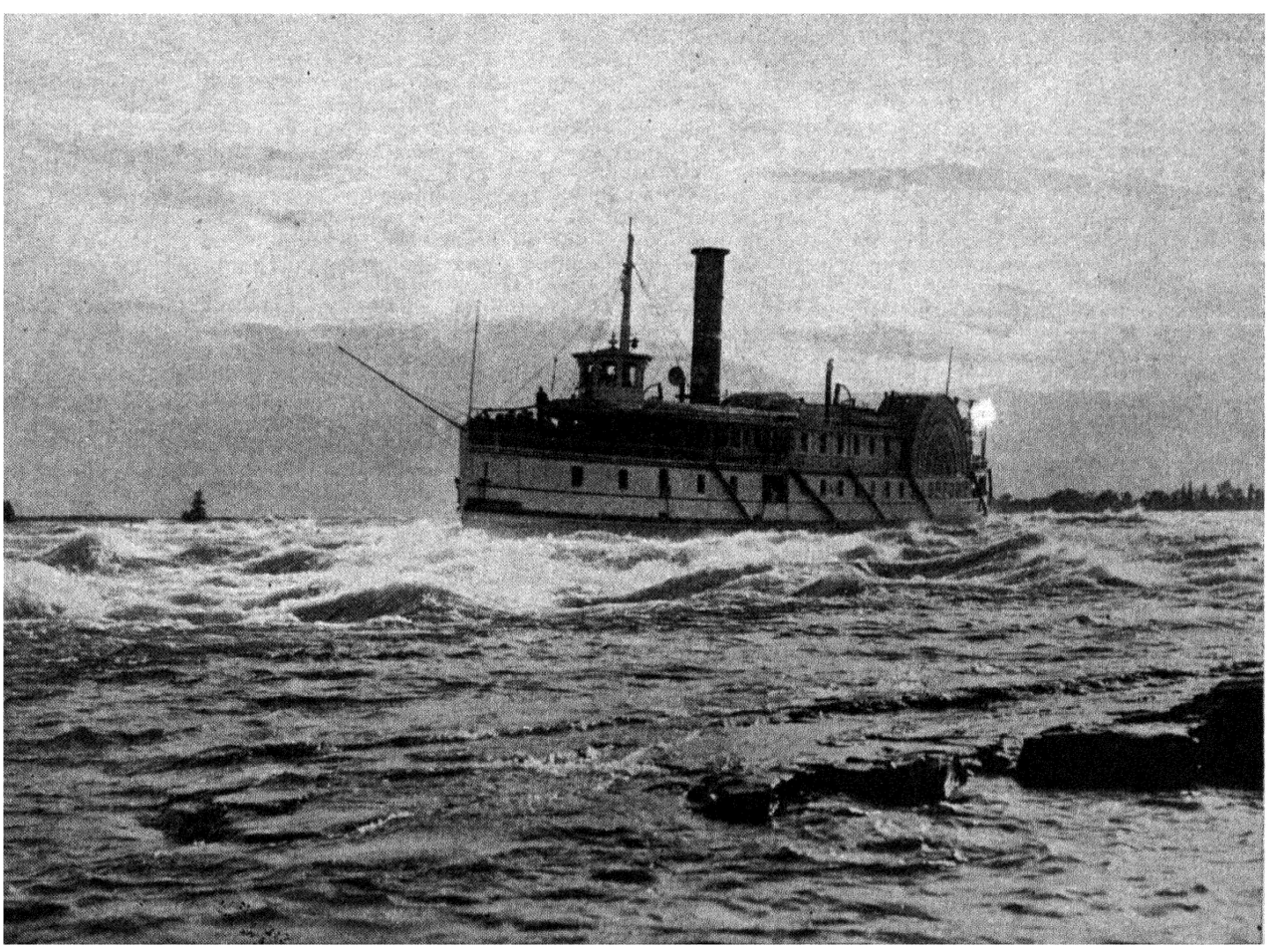
As a last word on Canada one may say that it is a country which from the time of the loyalists' influx, the true beginning of modern Canada, grew slowly and surely by hard work. Till the twentieth century it was accounted, and actually was, a relatively poor country, a land of simple but widely diffused comfort, where individual wealth was rare, and individual expenditure through all classes on a proportionately modest scale, quite different from that of the United States, or, again, of Australia, where great fortunes were accumulated early in her history.

The average individual, whether farmer, trader or professional man, of course only does as well or a little better than he did before, but his opportunities are greater and more varied. He feels he is part of a country that has made a solid leap forward, which has astonished the world, and, I may add, himself. But beyond the average man there are now great numbers of wealthy capitalists and millionaires

AUTUMN PLOUGHING IN CARLTON COUNTY, NEW BRUNSWICK

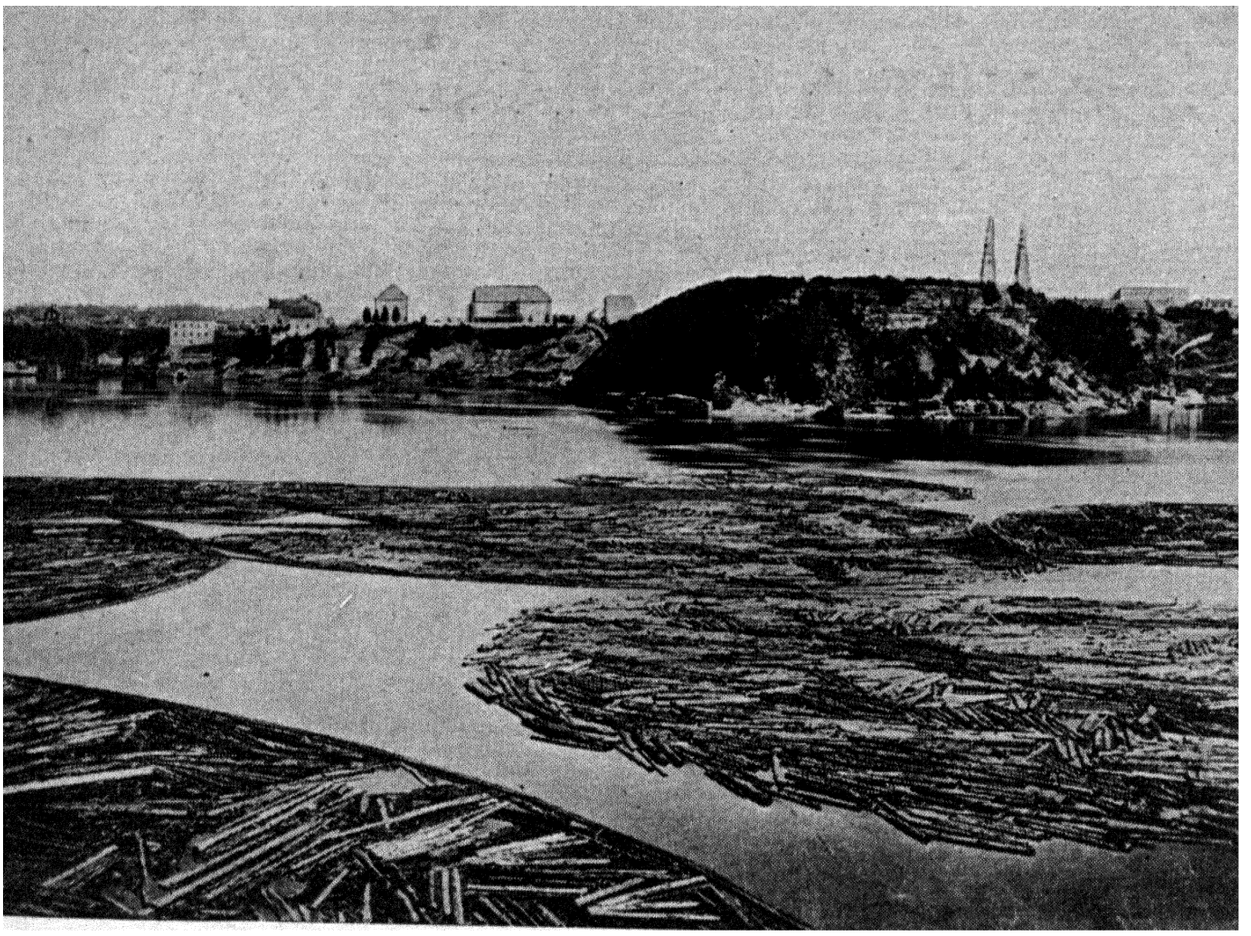


PINE-FOREST SCENERY ON THE RAILWAY SYSTEM OF WESTERN CANADA



PASSENGER STEAMBOAT IN THE LACHINE RAPIDS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

TRAVELLING BY RAIL AND RIVER IN CANADA

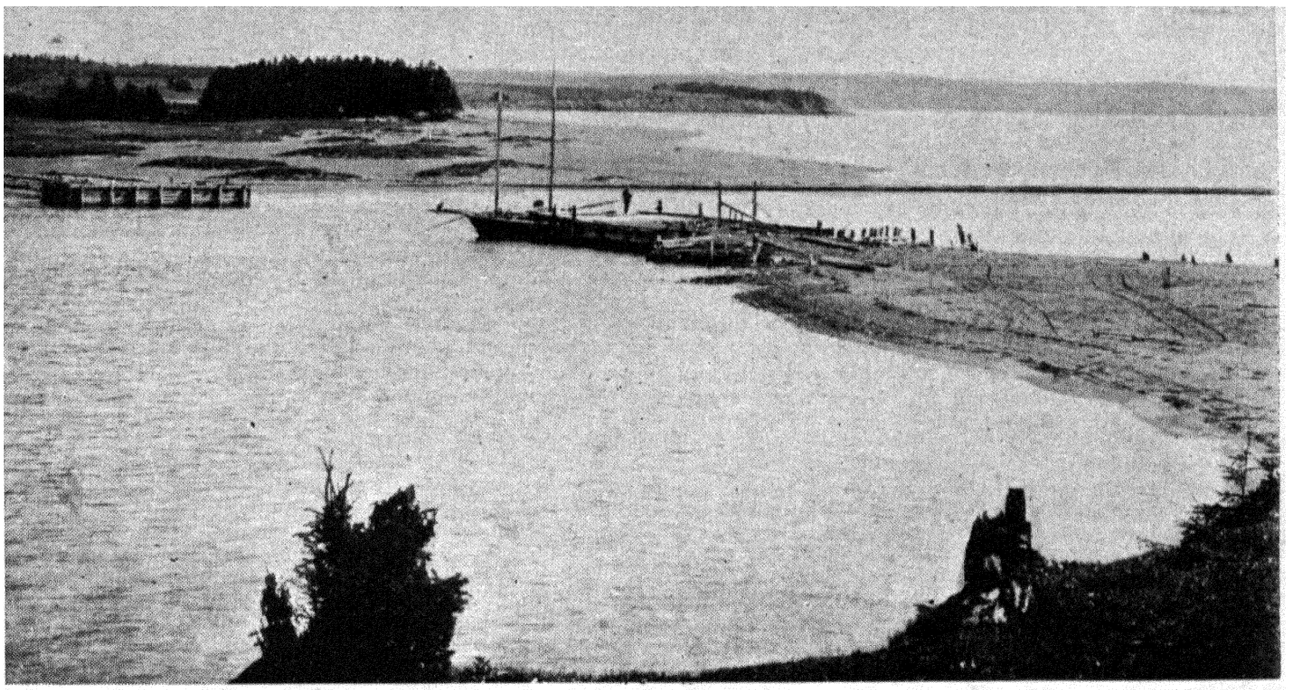


MASSES OF FLOATING LUMBER IN THE OTTAWA RIVER

OTTAWA'S FLOURISHING AGRICULTURAL MARKET

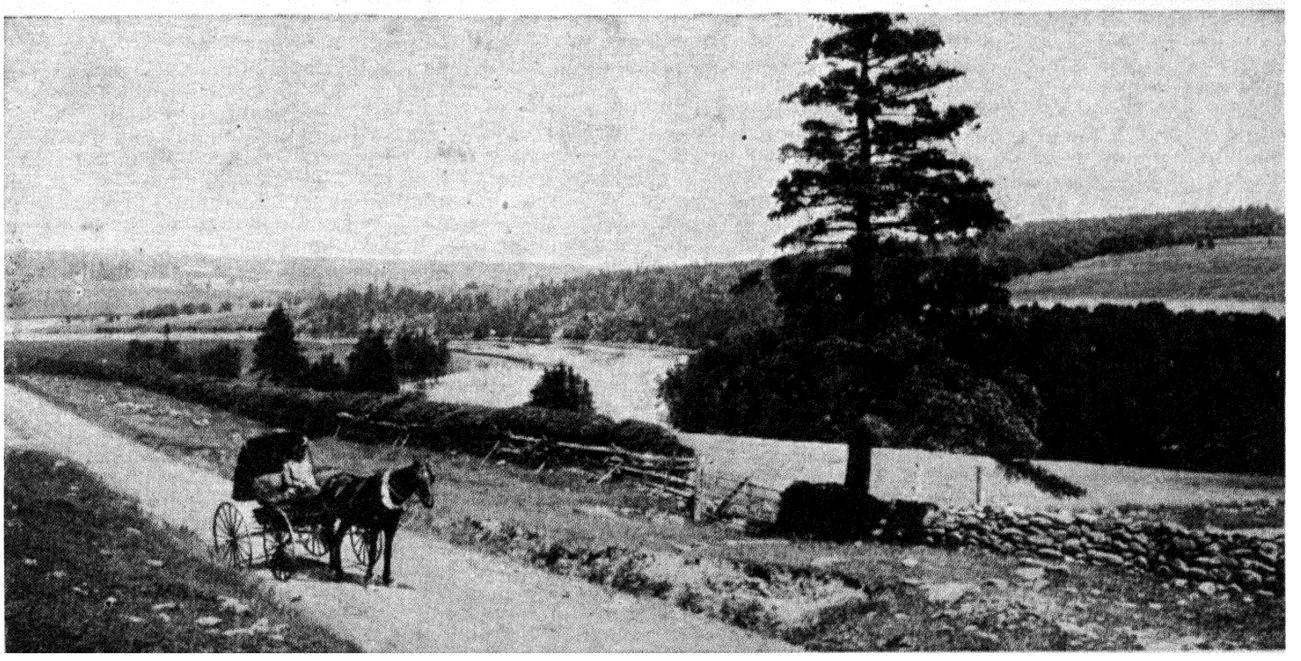
Valentine

SCENES OF TO-DAY IN CANADA'S CAPITAL CITY



THE RIVER SOURIS NEAR ITS ENTRANCE INTO THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

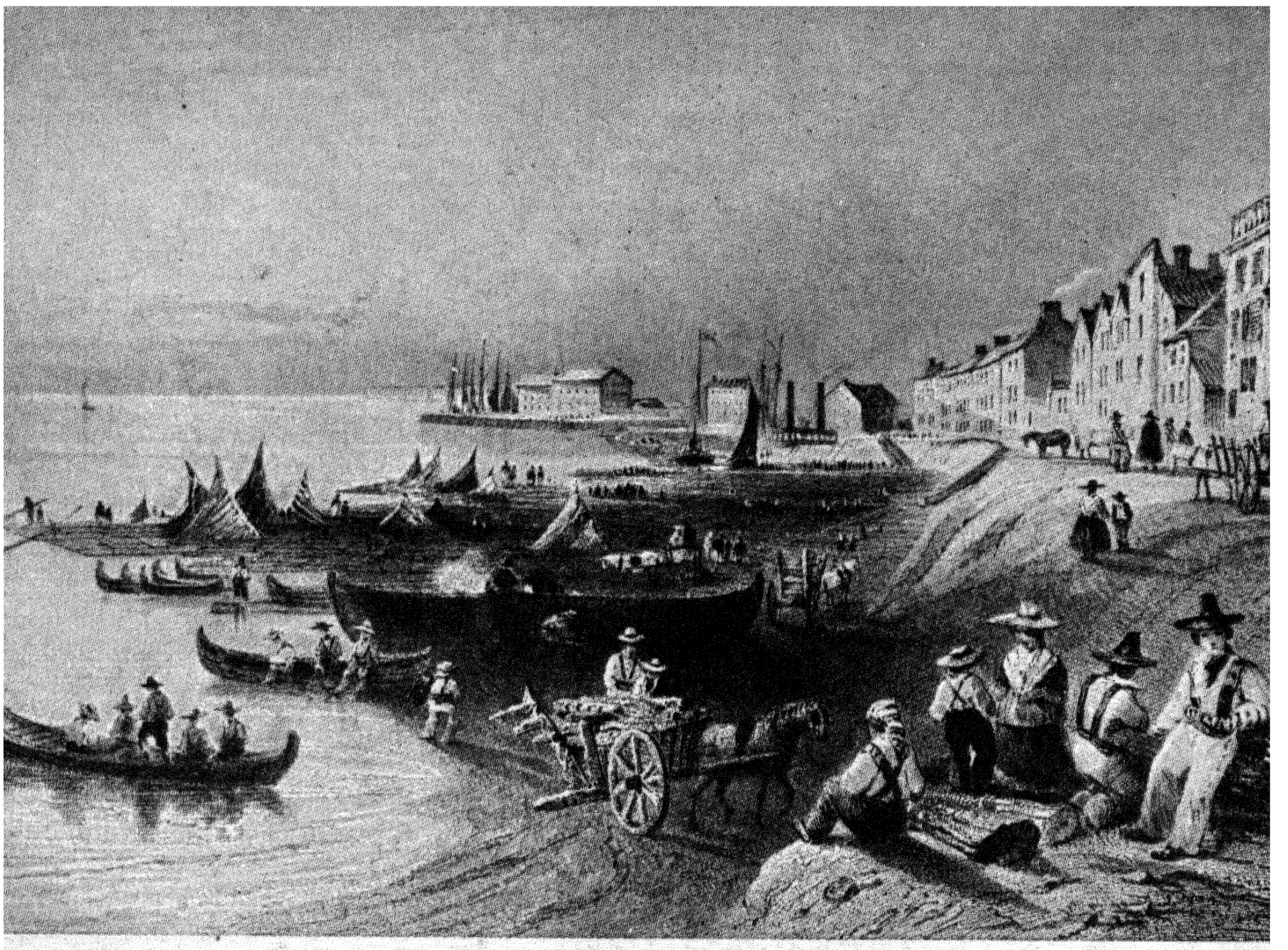
A PRETTY VIEW OF POWNAL, WITH THE BAY IN THE DISTANCE



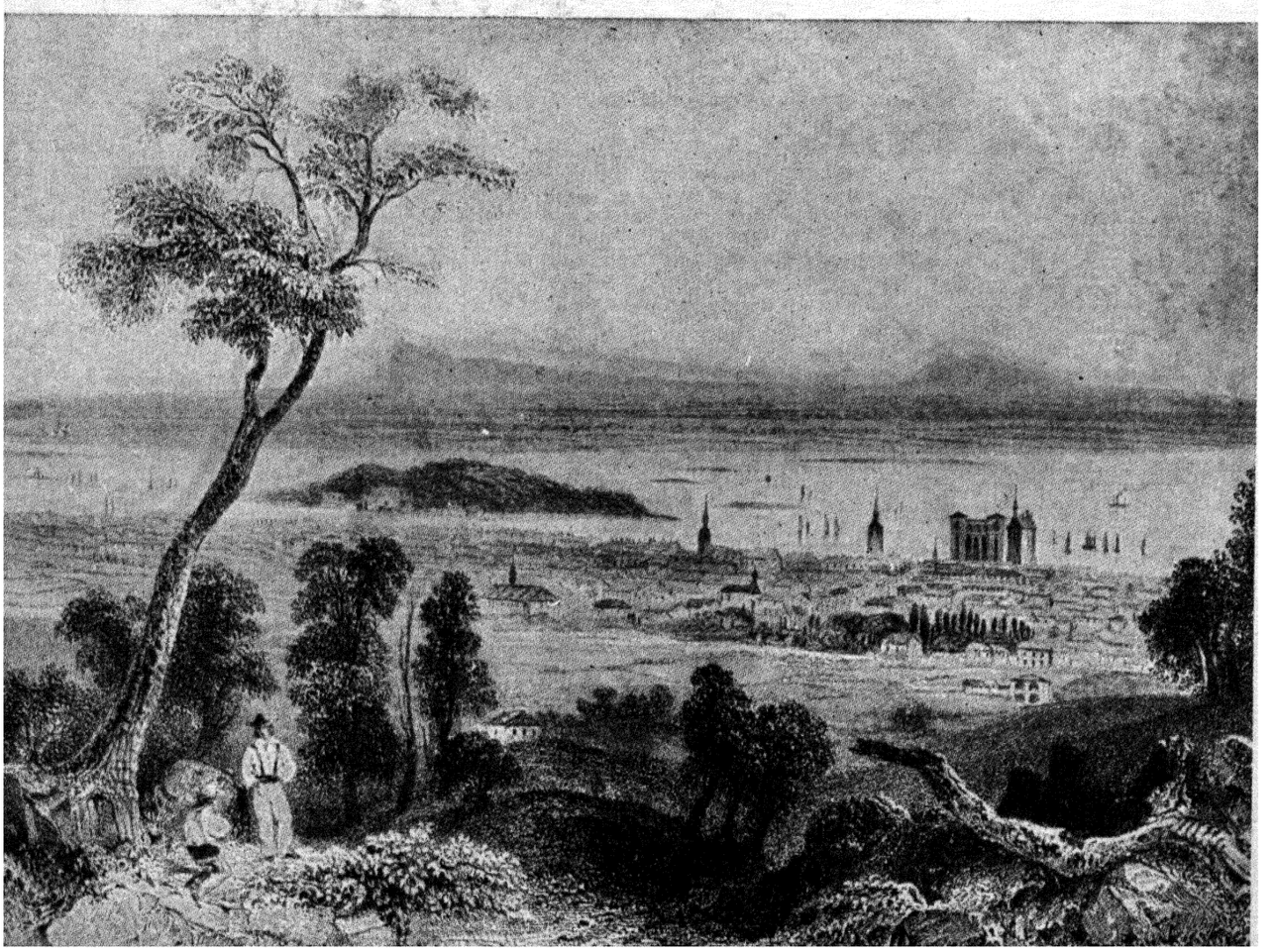
Valentine

ON THE ROAD: A CHARACTERISTIC SIGHT IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, CANADA'S ISLAND PROVINCE

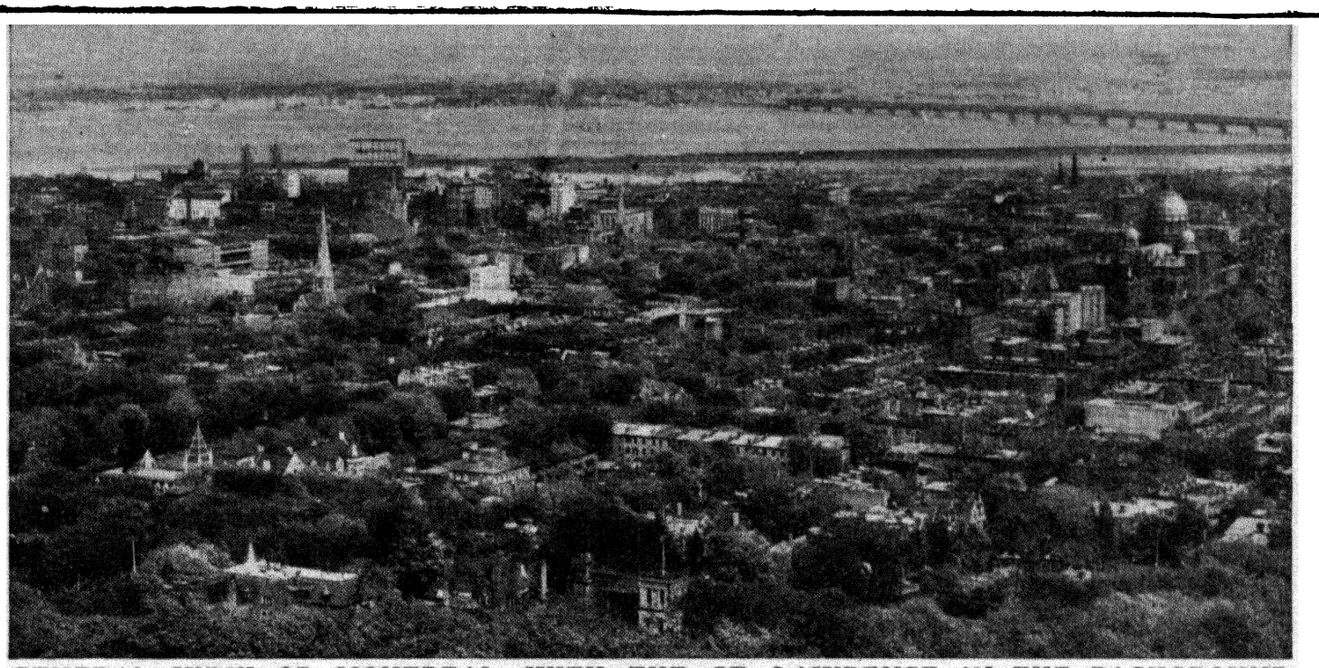


THE CITY AS IT LOOKED IN 1840

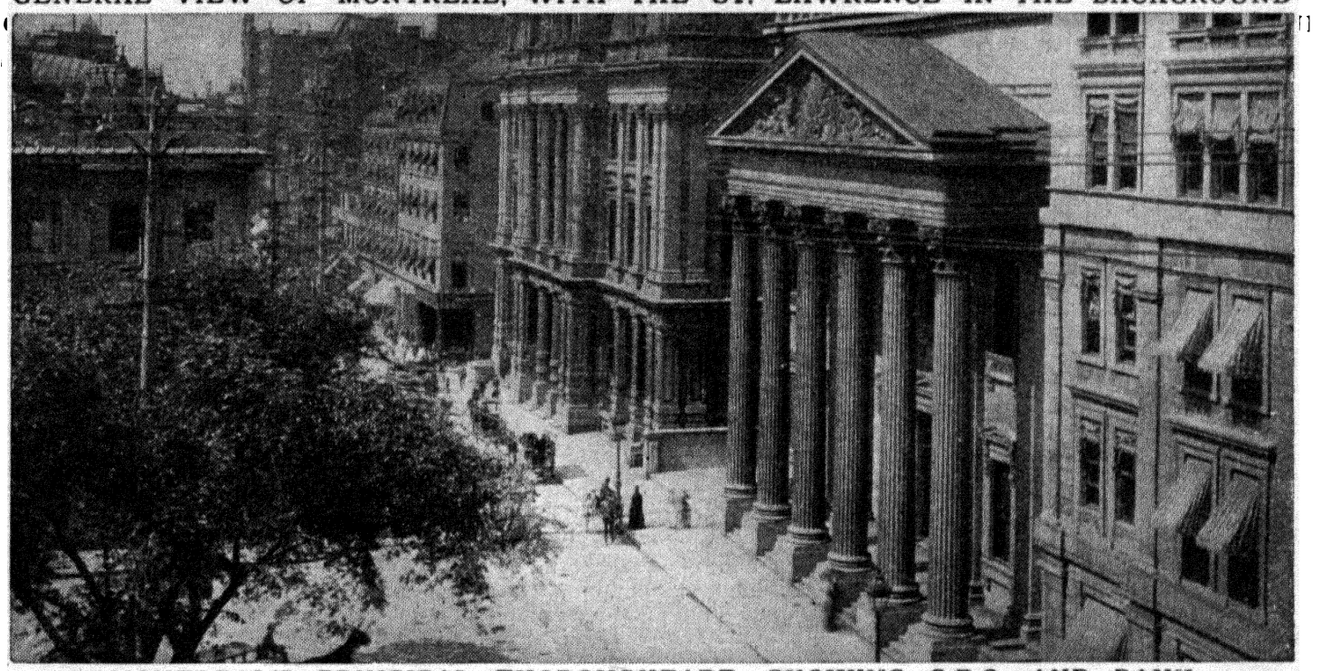


A VIEW TAKEN FROM MOUNT ROYAL IN 1840

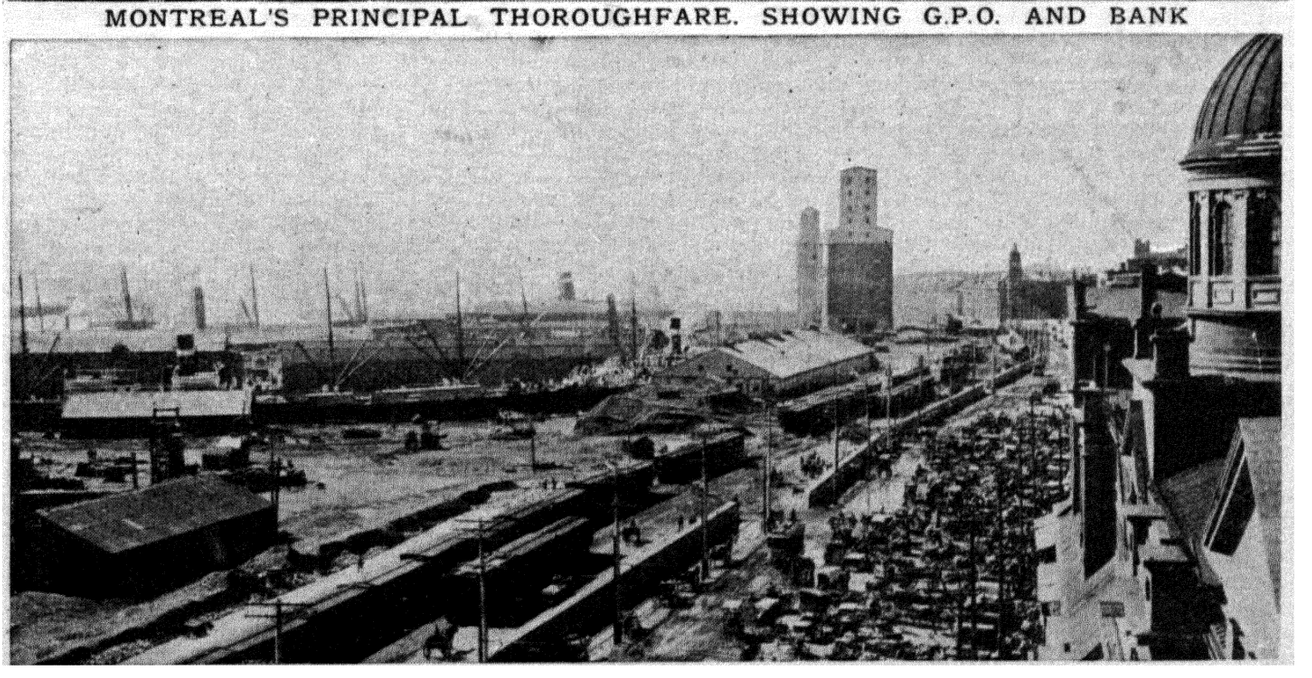
THE MARVELLOUS GROWTH OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL



GENERAL VIEW OF MONTREAL, WITH THE ST. LAWRENCE IN THE BACKGROUND



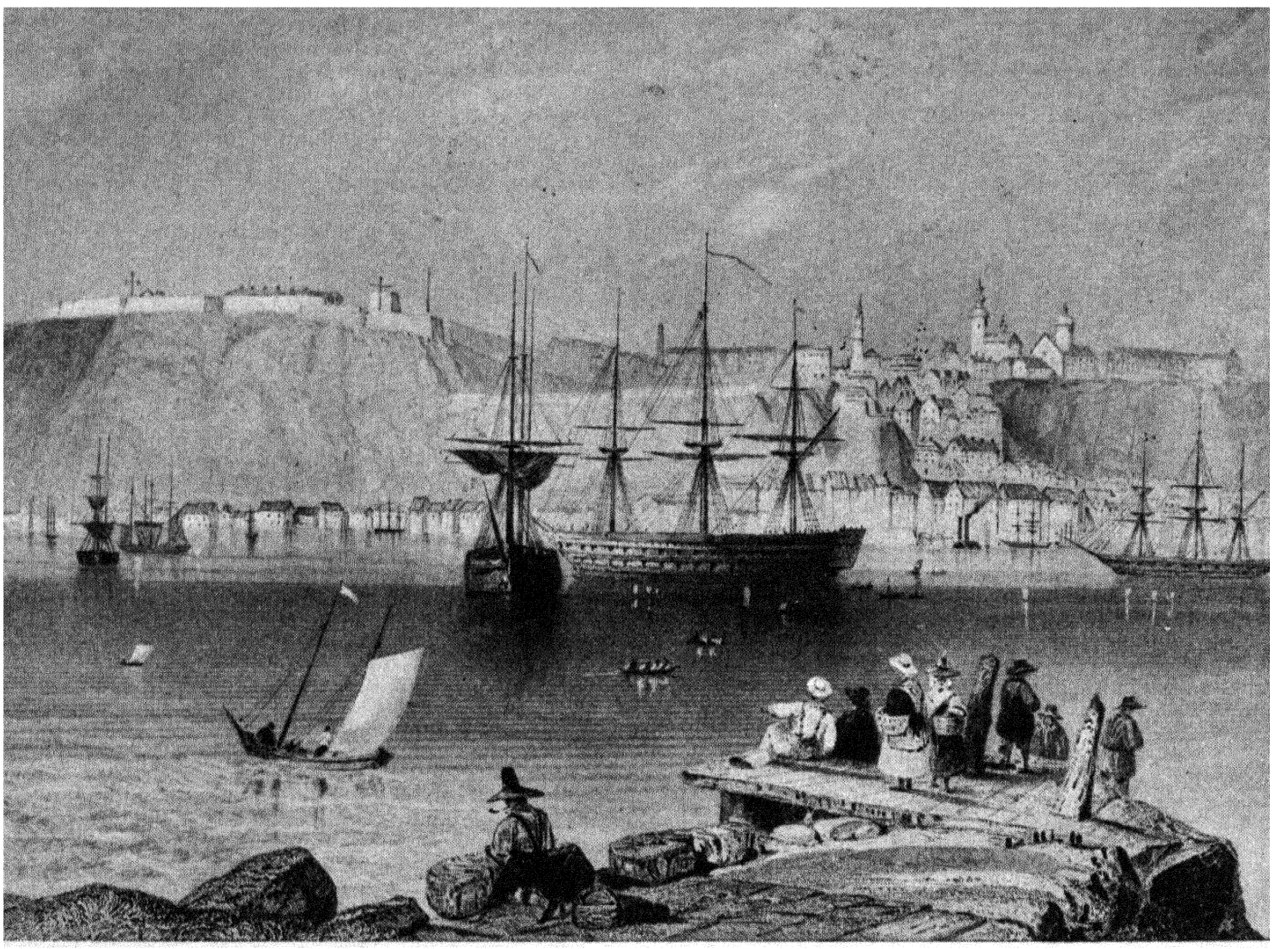
MONTREAL'S PRINCIPAL THOROUGHFARE. SHOWING G.P.O. AND BANK



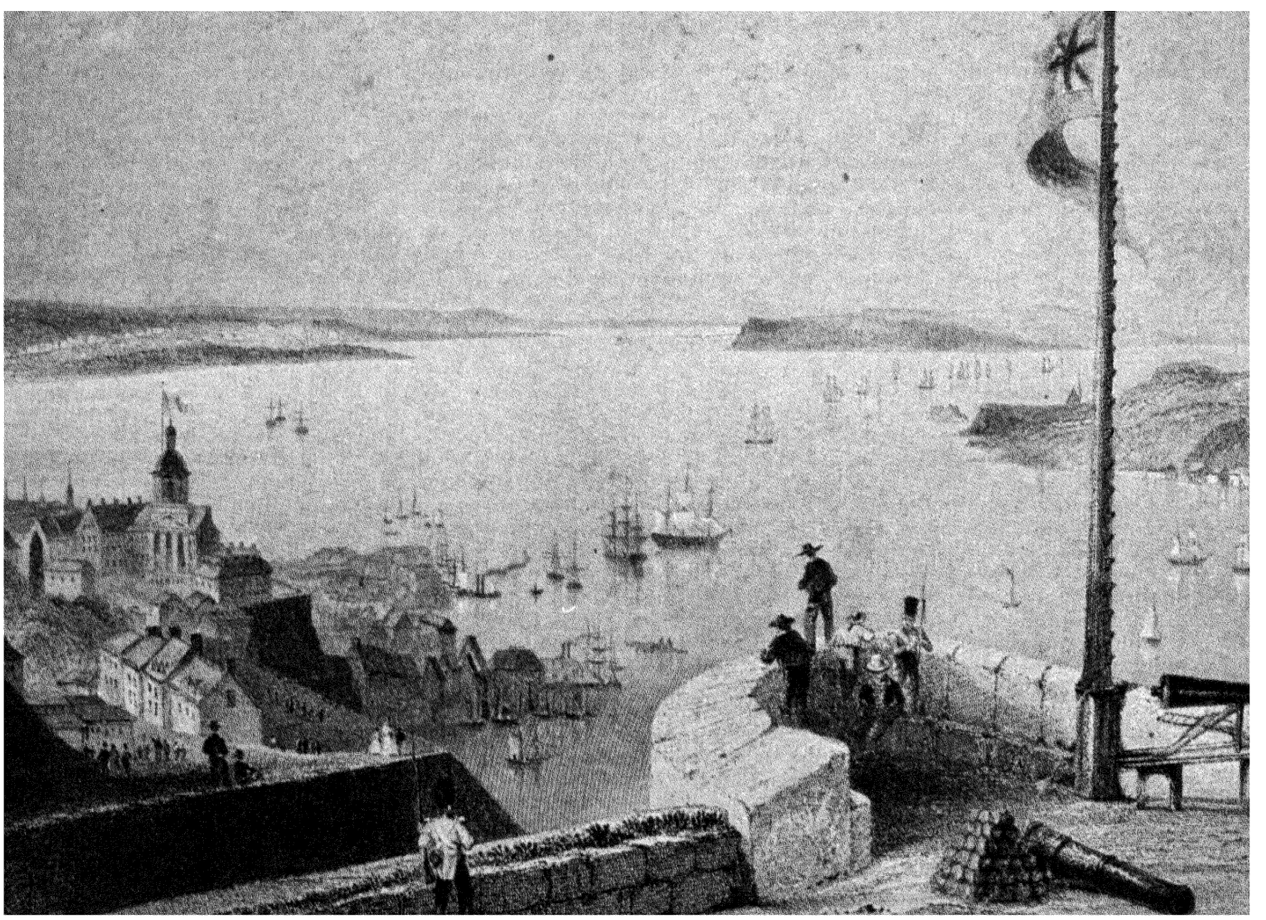
GENERAL VIEW OF MONTREAL'S EXTENSIVE HARBOUR

Valentine

MONTREAL TO-DAY: THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE DOMINION



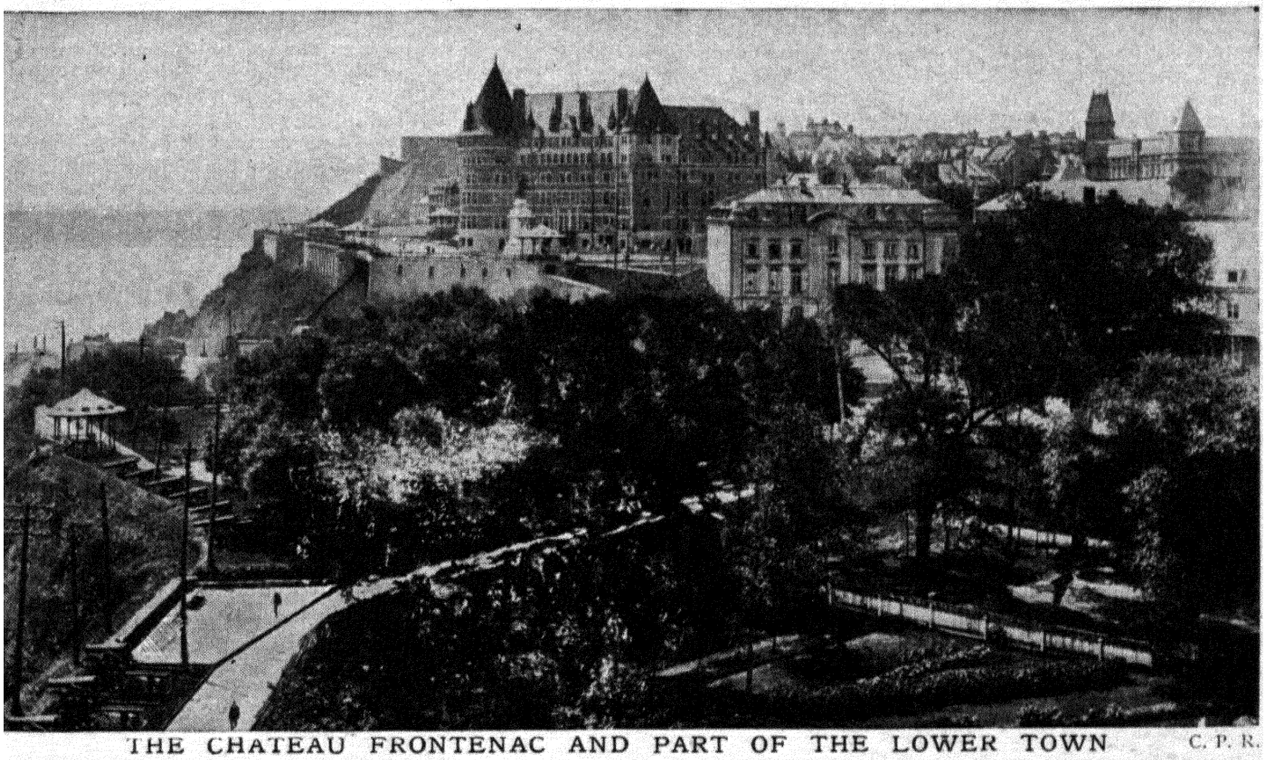
BRITISH MEN-OF[illegible] QUEBEC IN 1840



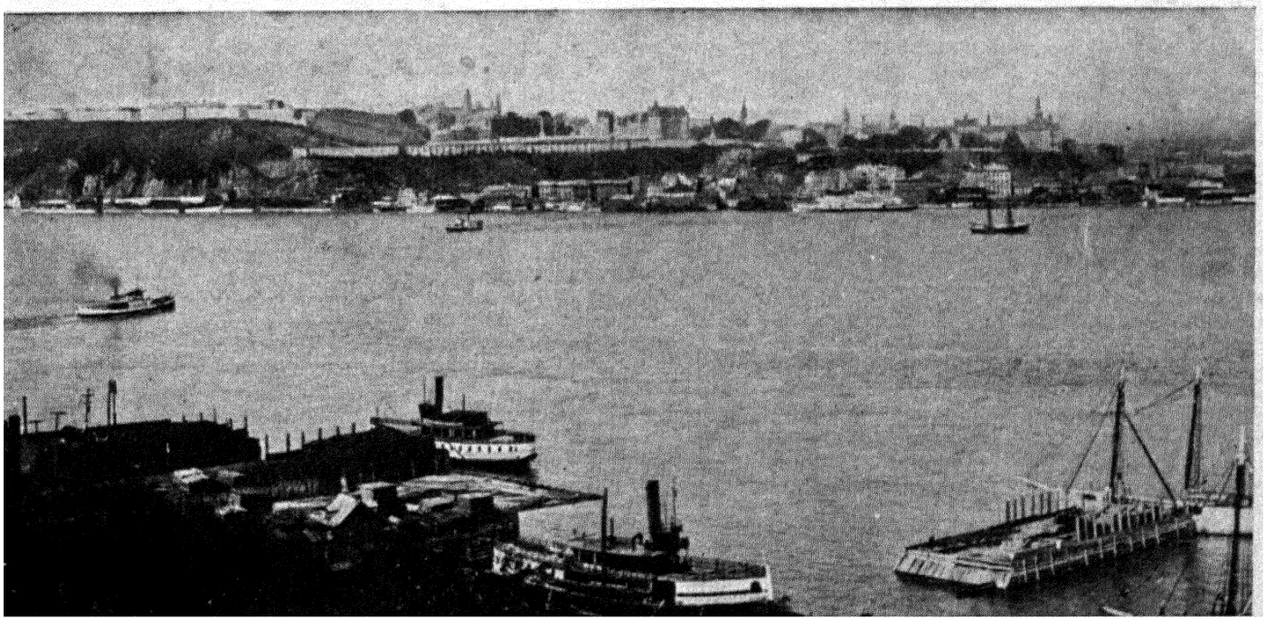
THE WORLD-FAMOUS VIEW FROM THE CITADEL IN 1840

QUEBEC AT THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN

THE MODERN CITY, AS SEEN FROM PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS Valentine

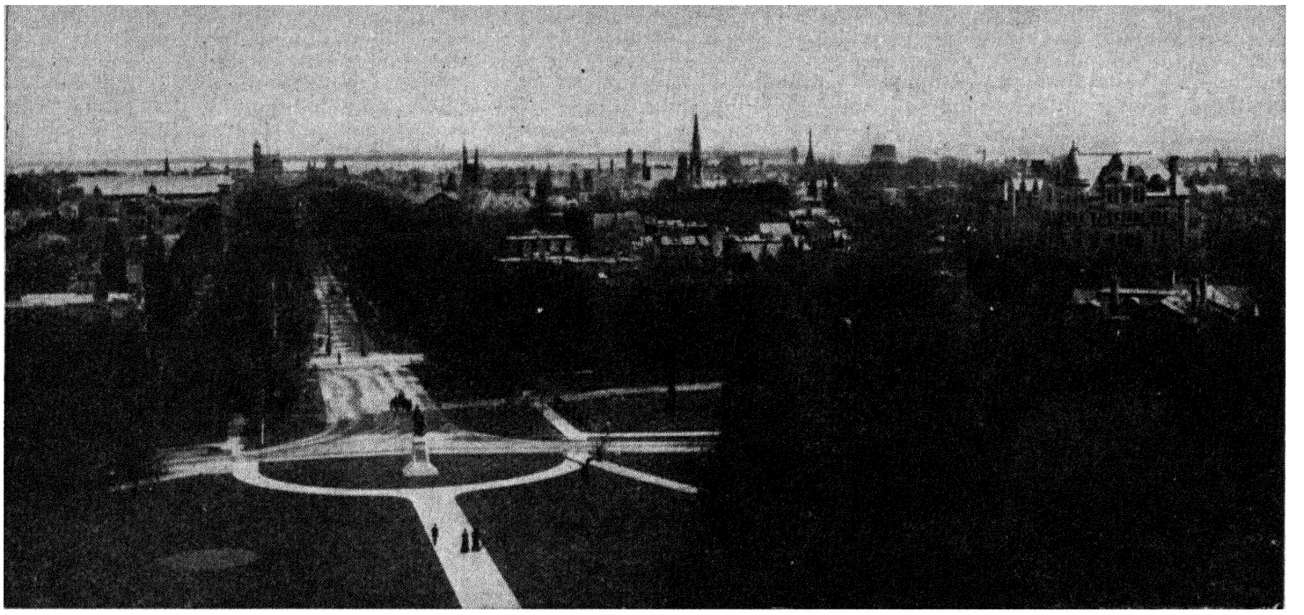


THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC AND PART OF THE LOWER TOWN C. P. R.

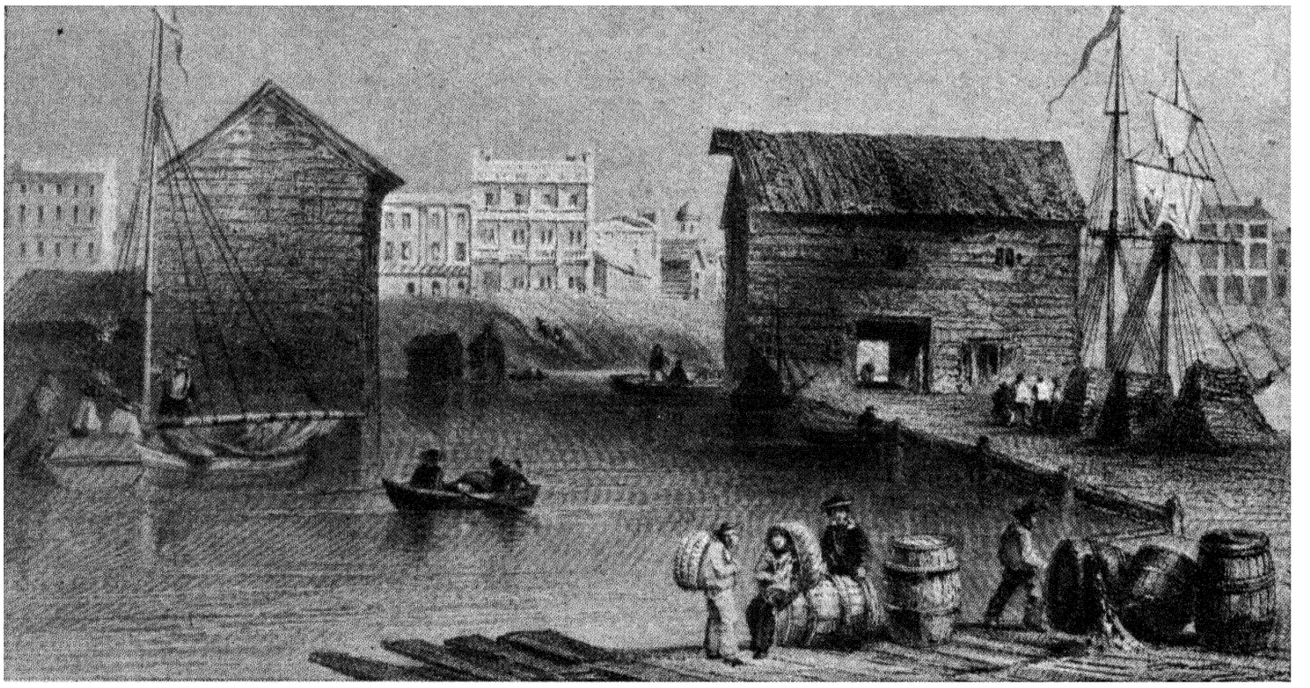


QUEBEC'S WAREHOUSES AND WHARVES WITH CITADEL TO EXTREME LEFT

QUEBEC TO-DAY: THE THIRD LARGEST CITY IN CANADA



QUEEN'S AVENUE, FROM PARLIAMENT BRIDGE



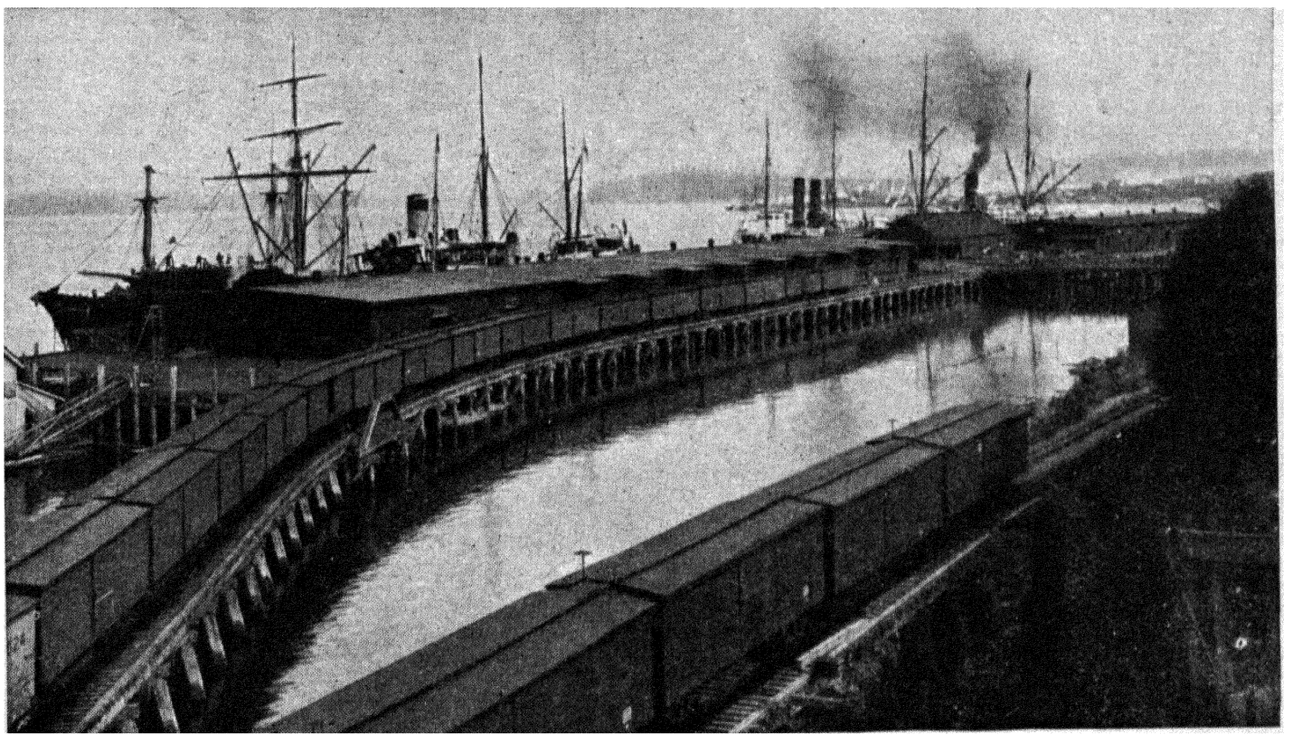
A PICTURESQUE VIEW OF THE CITY IN 1840

YONGE STREET, ONE OF THE CITY'S CHIEF THOROUGHFARES

TORONTO, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF ONTARIO

6166

VANCOUVER'S SPACIOUS HARBOUR AND WHARVES

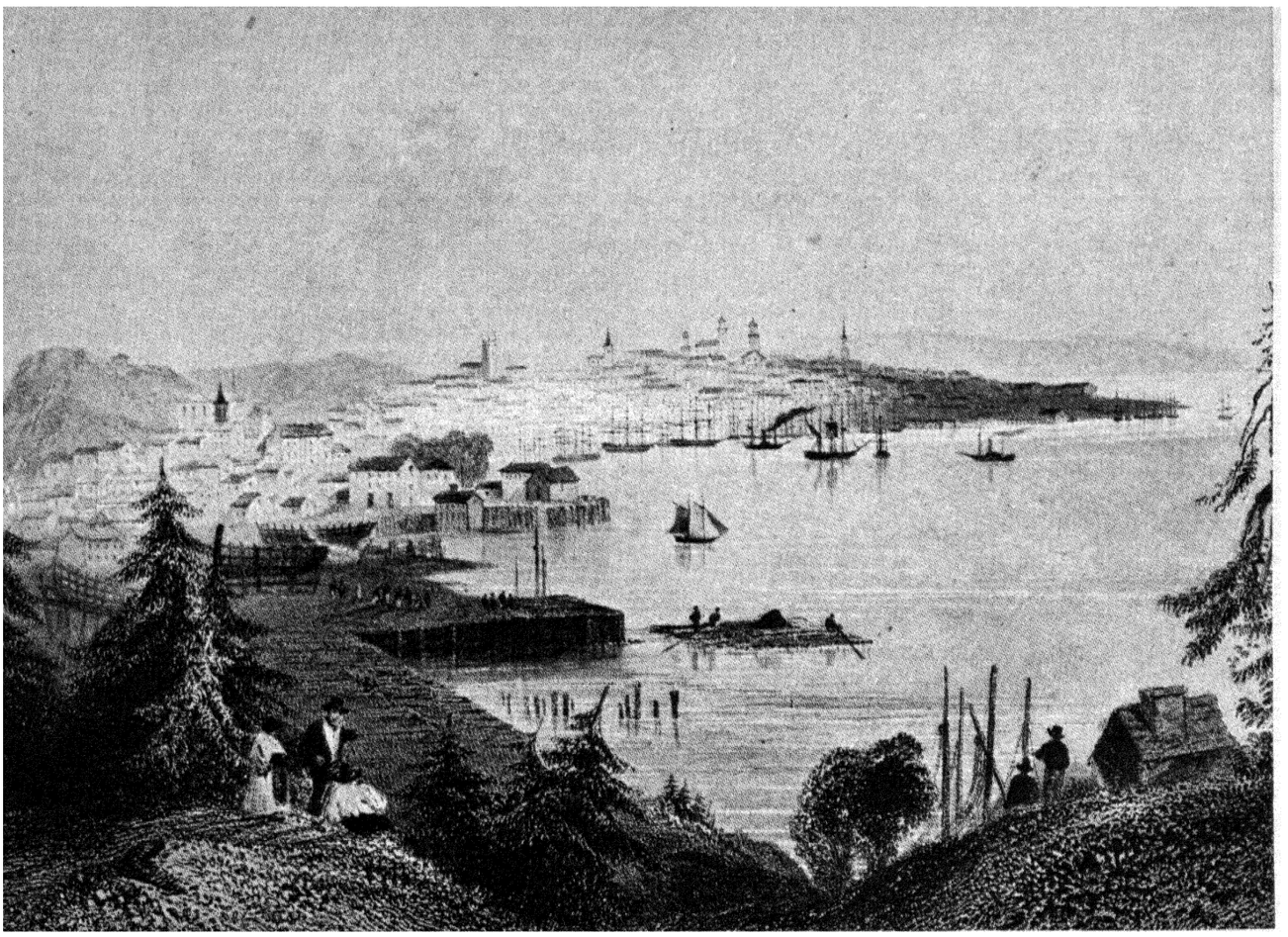


THE COMMODIOUS DOCK OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

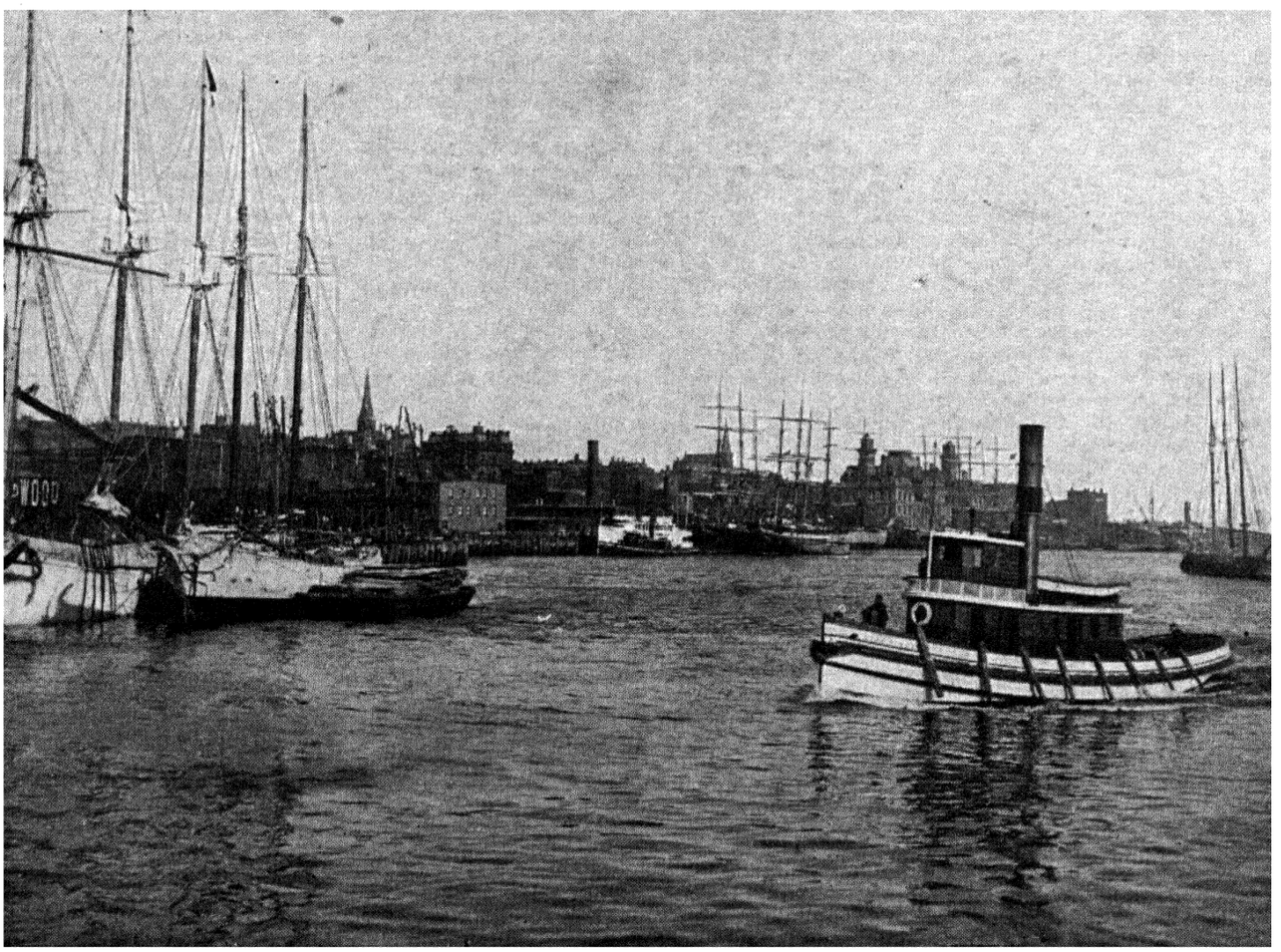
THE CITY AS SEEN FROM THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY HOTEL

VANCOUVER, THE PROSPEROUS CAPITAL OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

6167



TOWN AND RIVER AS THEY WERE IN 1840



THE HARBOUR FRONT AS IT IS TO-DAY

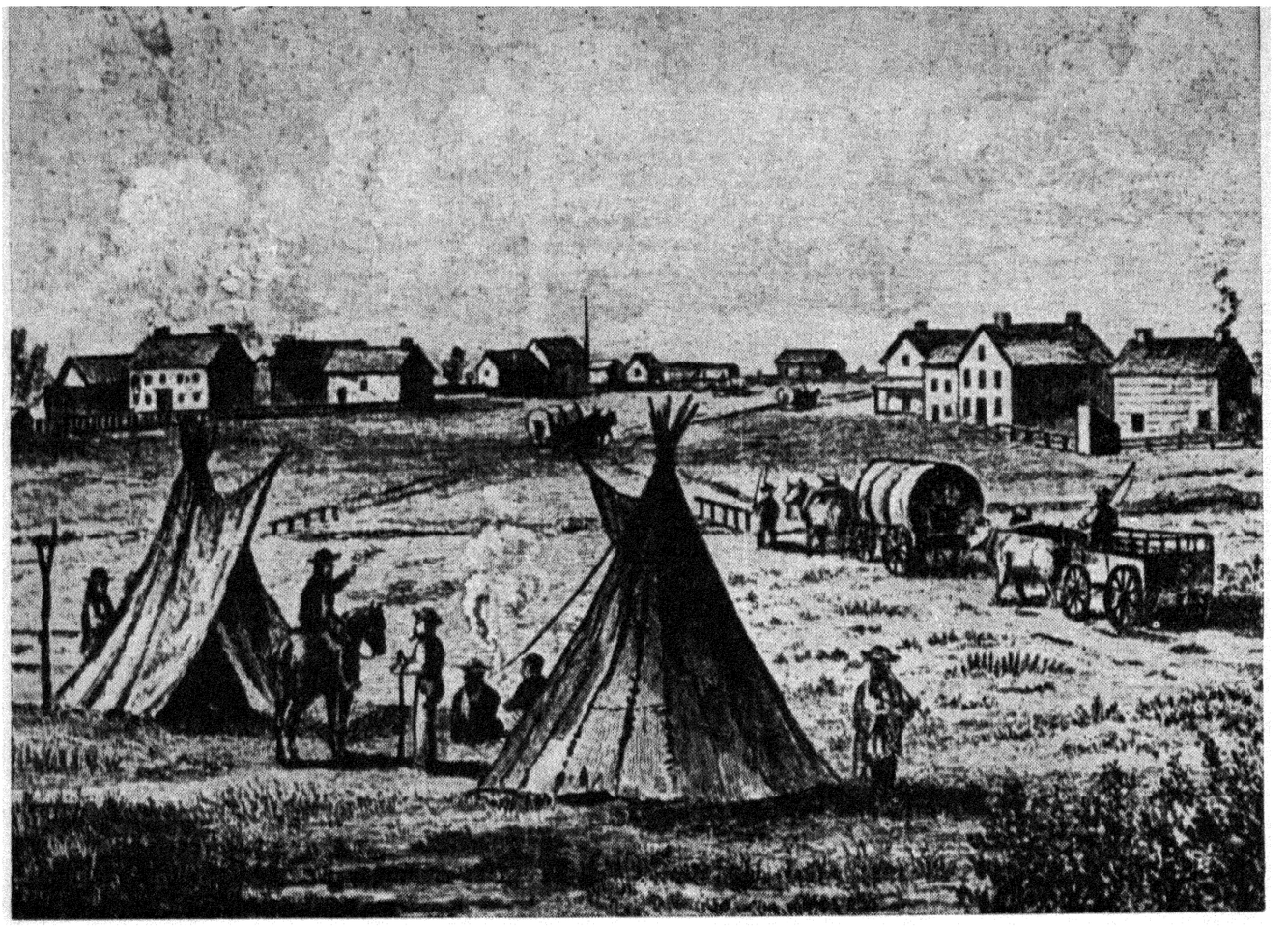
REVERSIBLE FALLS, SHOWING TIDE RUNNING DOWN THE ST. JOHN RIVER

Valentine

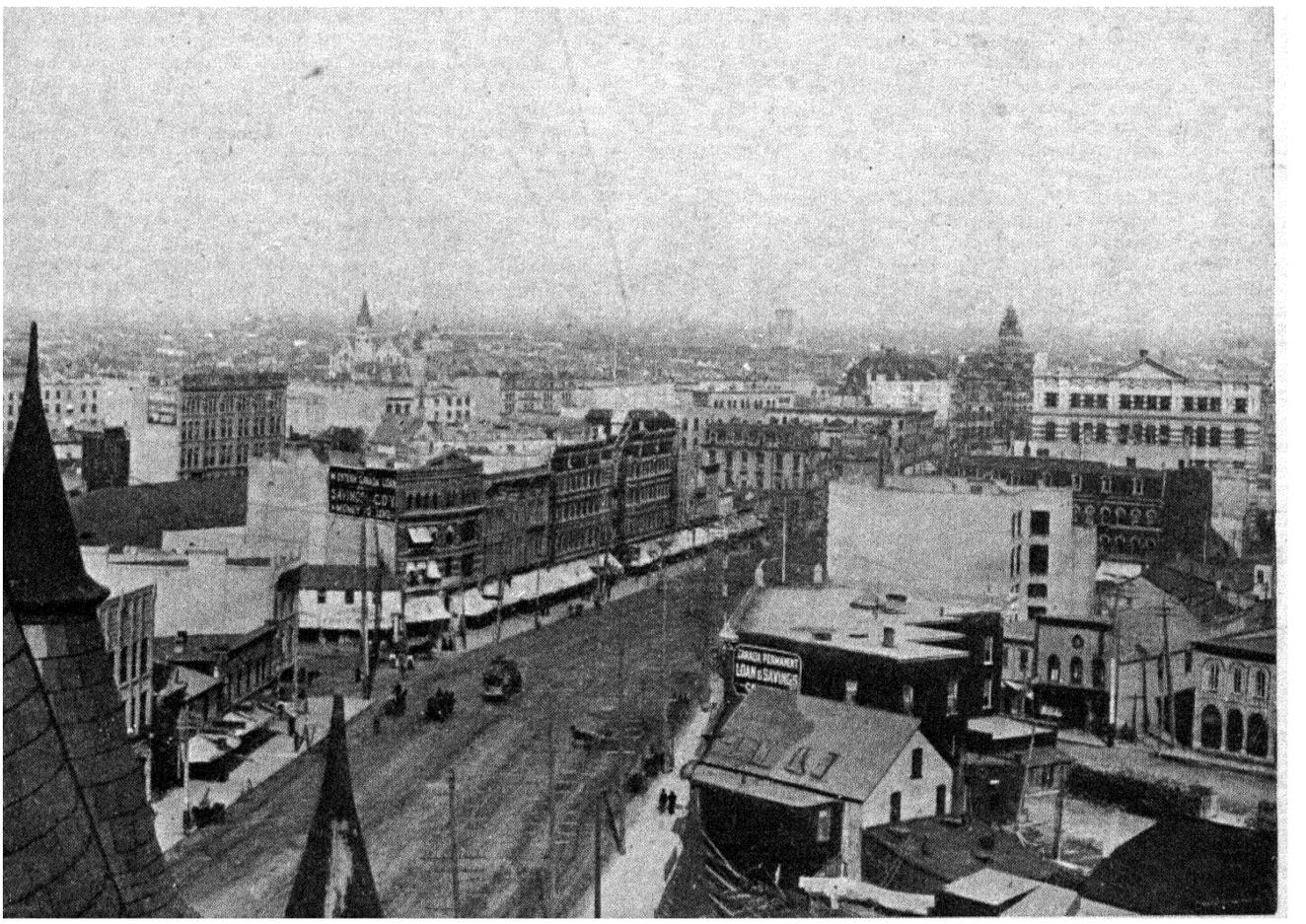
THE WEST END, THE FAVOURITE RESIDENTIAL QUARTER

SCENES OF TO-DAY IN THE PICTURESQUE CITY OF ST. JOHN

6169



THE VILLAGE OF WINNIPEG AS IT WAS IN 1870



MAIN STREET, WINNIPEG'S CHIEF THOROUGHFARE

WINNIPEG AS IT WAS IN 1870, AND AS IT IS TO-DAY

6170

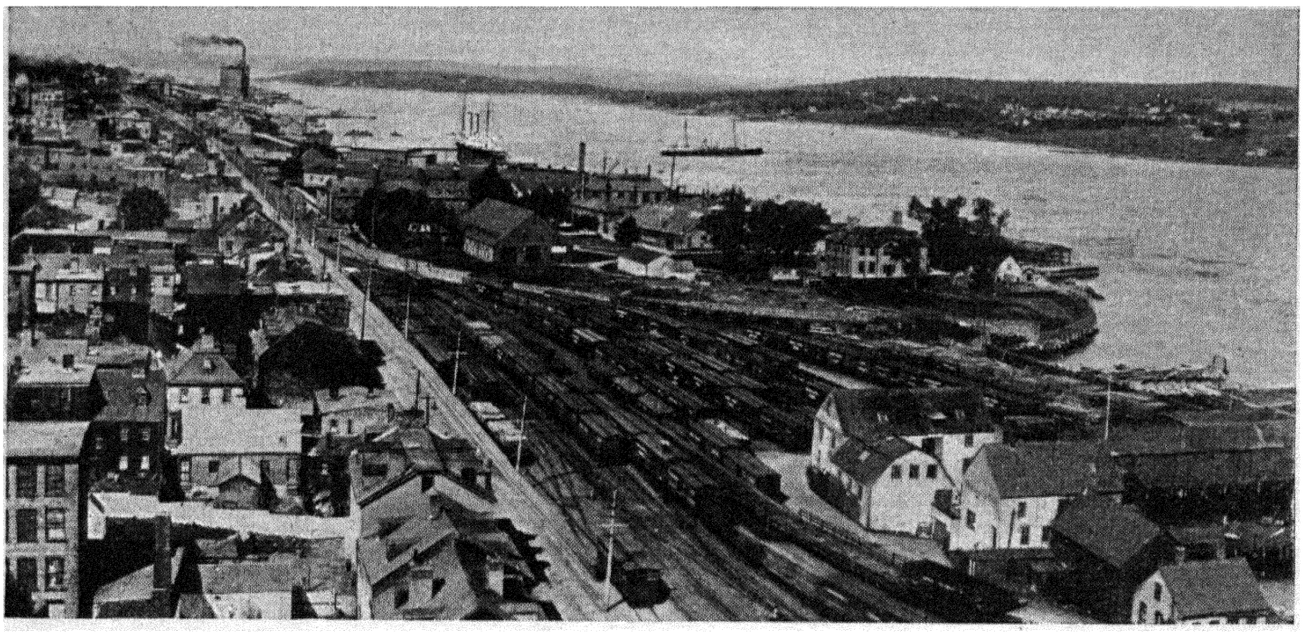
NIA UNI
COLLEGE LIB

Valentine

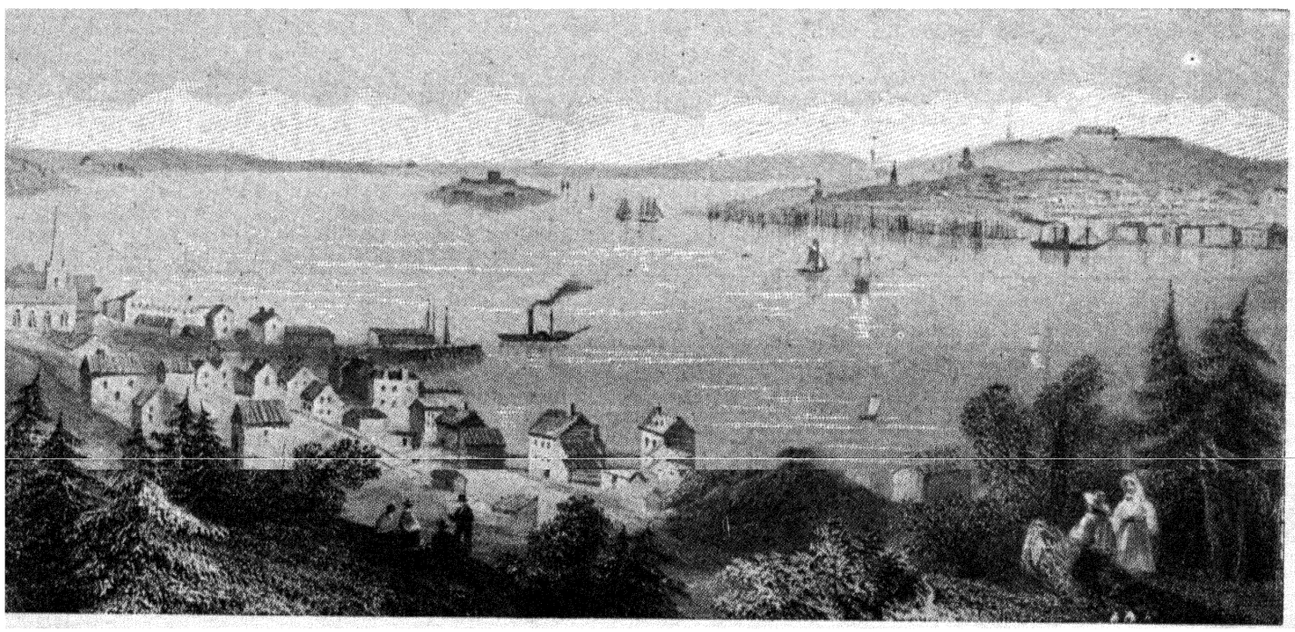
THE UNION BANK OF CANADA AND THE CITY HALL WINNIPEG

GENERAL VIEW, WITH THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS IN THE MIDDLE DISTANCE

WINNIPEG, THE CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA



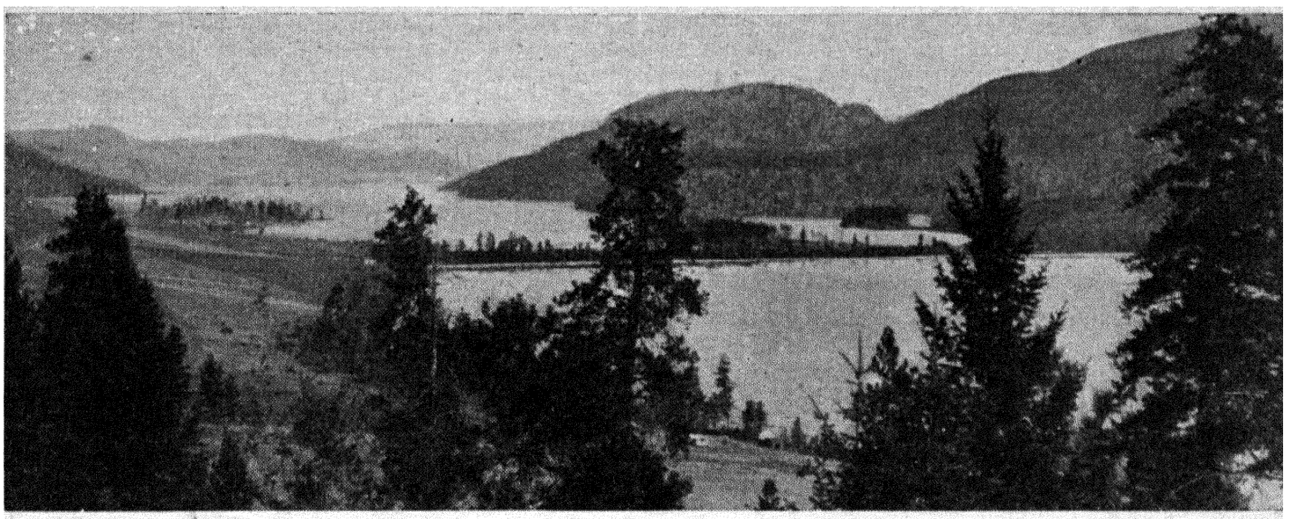
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HALIFAX, SHOWING ITS FINE HARBOUR



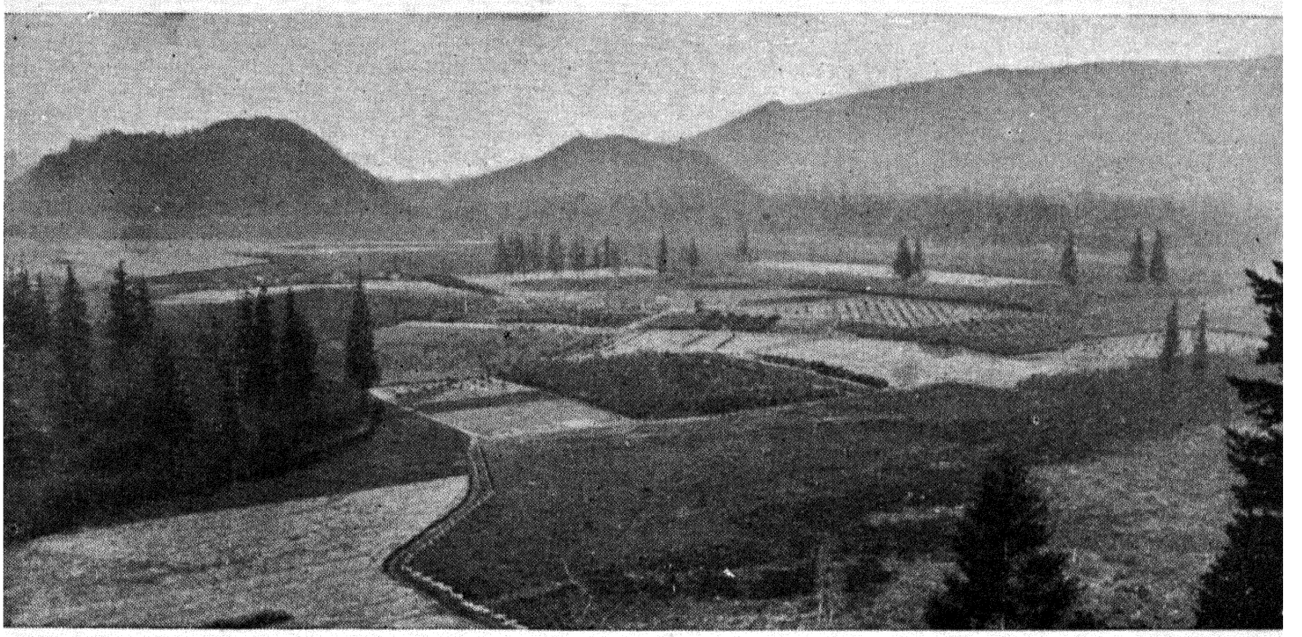
HALIFAX IN 1849, WHEN IT WAS JUST A HUNDRED YEARS OLD

GENERAL ASPECT OF THE HARBOUR FROM THE CITADEL

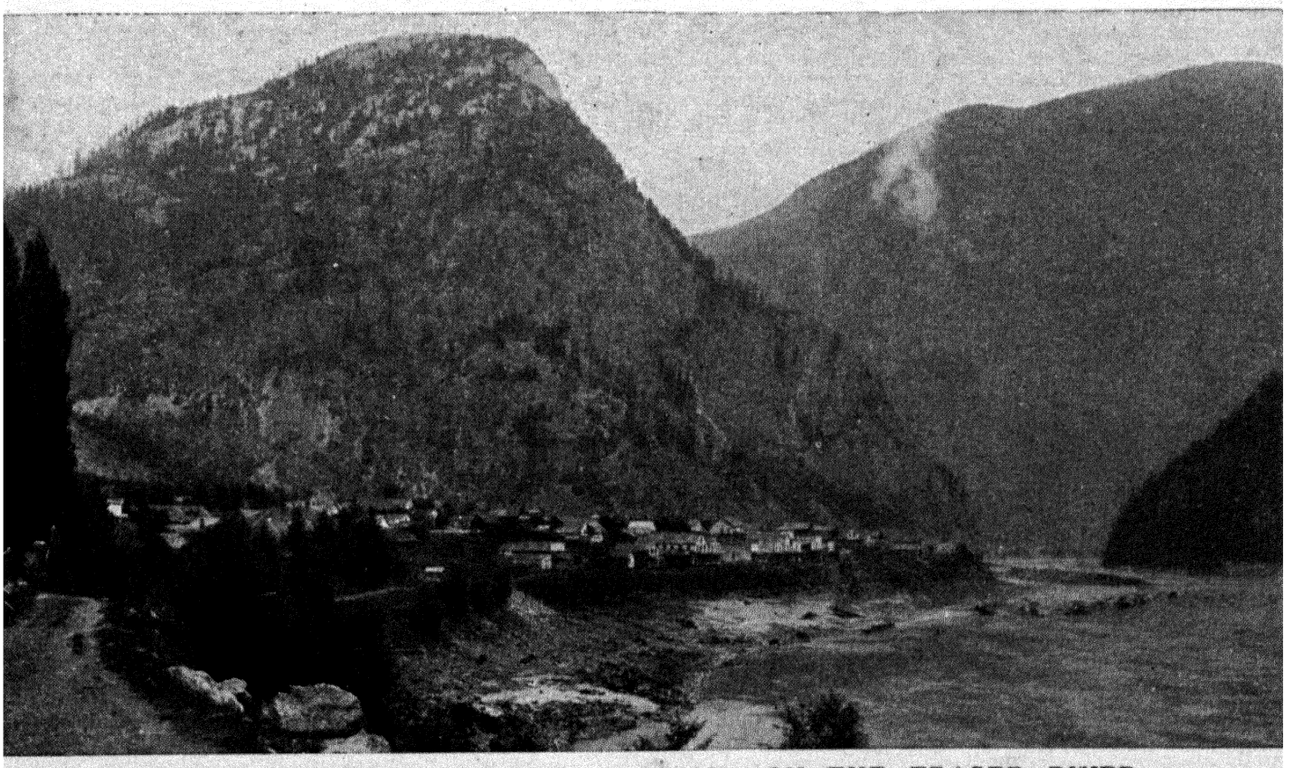
CITY AND SEAPORT OF HALIFAX, THE CAPITAL OF NOVA SCOTIA



A BEAUTIFUL VALLEY SCENE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

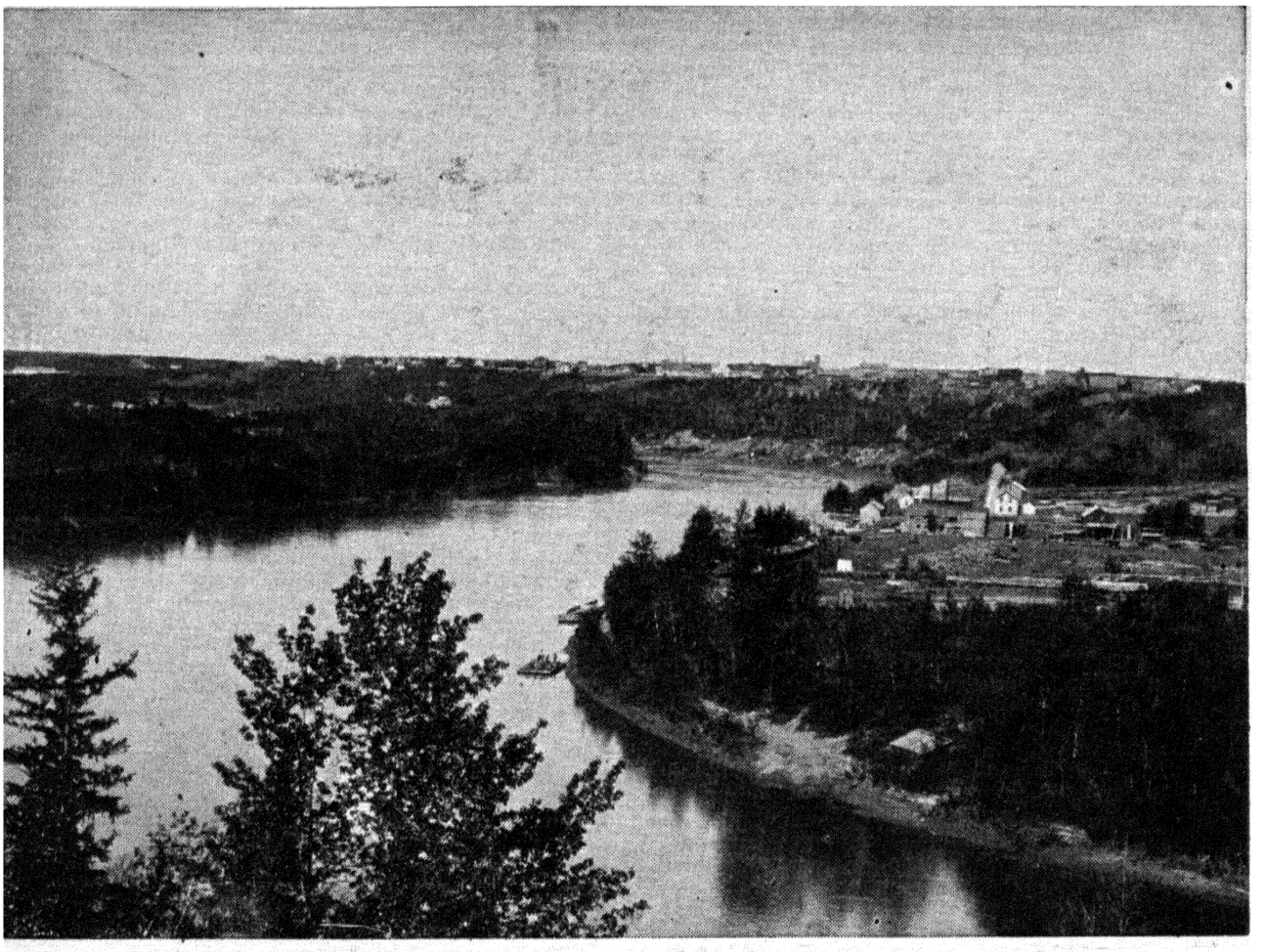


AN EXPERIMENTAL FARM AT AGASSIZ

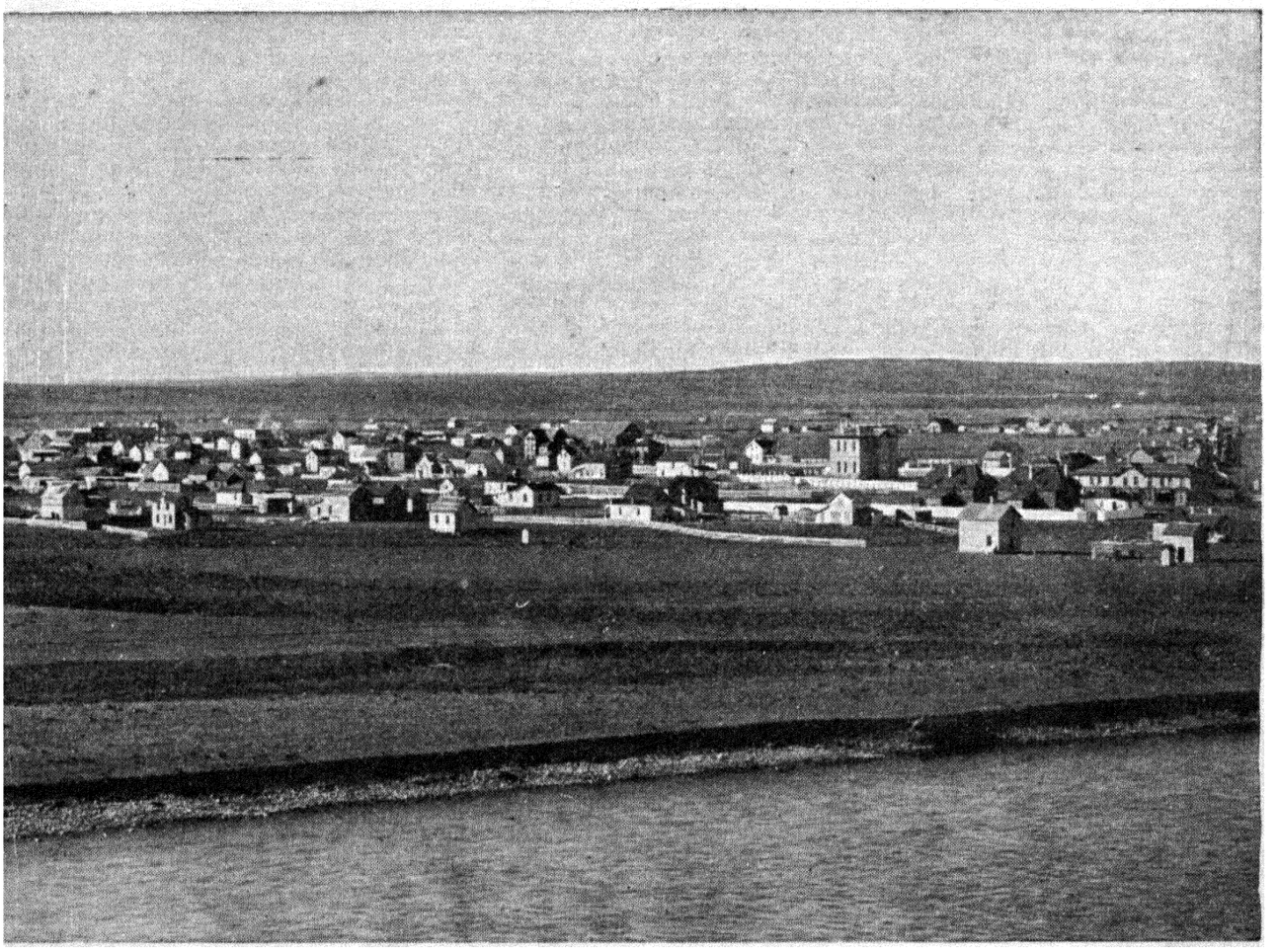


A TOWNSHIP OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, ON THE FRASER RIVER

TYPICAL SCENES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA



EDMONTON, THE IMPORTANT FUR-TRADE CENTRE OF ALBERTA



CALGARY, A THRIVING AGRICULTURAL TOWN

TWO PROSPEROUS CANADIAN COMMUNITIES

LATER EVENTS IN CANADA

THE two chief political parties in Canada, as in Great Britain, are called Liberal and Conservative, and the latter, under the able leadership of Sir John Macdonald, held office from 1867 to 1891 with only one interval of five years.

But on the death of Sir John Macdonald his party weakened and the election of 1896 brought the Liberals into office, and, with Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Prime Minister, they retained their majority till 1911. In that year came the Government proposal for a commercial Reciprocity Agreement with the United States, and this proposal met with an opposition strong enough to defeat the Government, the Conservatives winning at the polls and coming into power with Mr. R. L. Borden as Prime Minister.

Mr. Borden Prime Minister

The campaign between the two parties in 1913 turned on the question of Imperial Defence. In 1909 and 1911 Imperial Conferences were held and Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the representative of Canada, had taken the same policy as Australia on the subject of naval defence, both Canada and Australia deciding that they would build their own navies. Mr Borden, on becoming Prime Minister, was convinced, after a visit to England in 1912, that, as far as Canada was concerned, this policy must be changed. To his inquiry as to the best form of help that Canada could give in the matter of Imperial Defence the British Government replied that such help "should include the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply."

Mr Borden at once (December 1912) brought in a Bill in the Canadian House of Commons for the construction of three vessels of at a cost of £7,000,000. The ships were to be maintained and controlled by the British Admiralty, and were to be at the disposal of the British Government for the defence of the Empire. Only in the event of the Canadian Government in the future establishing a unit of the Fleet were the ships to be at the call of the Canadian Government and to be maintained by Canada. The Bill further required that the vessels should be built in Great Britain, on the ground that no adequate facilities for building Dreadnoughts existed in Canada.

Question of Imperial Defence

This Canadian Naval Aid Bill, though it passed its second reading in February, 1913, was fiercely opposed by the Liberals, and was only carried through the Canadian House of Commons in the following May. In the Senate, where the Liberals still had a majority, it was rejected a few weeks later.

A good deal of criticism was aroused during the debates on the Bill over the correspondence between Mr Borden and Mr. Winston Churchill, the British First Lord of the Admiralty. In this correspondence the British Admiralty stated that:

"It would be wholly unwise for Canada to attempt to undertake the building of battleships at the present moment. The cost of laying down the plant alone would, at a rough estimate, be approximately £15,000,000 and it could not be ready for four years."

British Admiralty's View

This declaration was resented by the Canadian Liberals as an attempt to interfere with the policy of the Dominion, though the general truth that the ships could more readily be built in Great Britain was not seriously disputed.

On the rejection of the Canadian Naval Aid Bill by the Senate Mr Winston Churchill announced in the British House

of Commons (June 5th, 1913), that the Government "had determined to advance the construction of the three contract ships at the earliest possible date," and Mr. Borden, questioned by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the following day as to this announcement, declared that it was the intention of the Canadian Government to pay for these three ships at a later stage. The Government, said Mr. Borden, would ask for an Appropriation for three Dreadnoughts the following Session. A Redistribution Bill would also be introduced to adjust the representation of Canada in accordance with the census of 1911, and the effect of this redistribution, it was held, would be to increase the number of senators in the Western Province and thereby give a majority for the Appropriation.

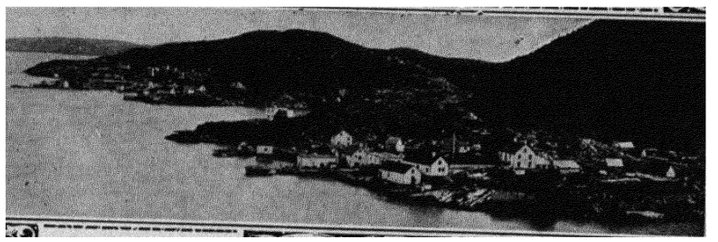
Increase of Population

The steady increase of population throughout the Dominion—Prince Edward Island, Yukon, and the North-West territories excepted—has been very notable since 1891—the total number of persons, according to that year's census, being 4,833,239, while in 1911 it was 7,204,838. Between 1901 and 1911 the population of the province of Alberta went up from 73,022 to 374,663; British Columbia from 178,657 to 392,480; Manitoba from 255,211 to 455,614; Ontario from 2,182,947 to 2,523,274; Quebec from 1,648,898 to 2,002,712; and Saskatchewan from 91,279 to 492,432. Of religious bodies the Roman Catholic Church comes first with 3,000,000, while the Methodists, Presbyterians and Church of England claim 1,000,000 each.

The total immigration to Canada between 1908 and 1913 amounted to 1,685,924, and for the year 1913 to 402,432. Of this 400,000 Great Britain and Ireland sent 150,000, and the United States 139,000.

In spite of the real prosperity of the Dominion and the vast areas still to come under cultivation, Canada is not without its labour problems, and very serious strikes took place at the Vancouver mines in May, 1913. But the trade union movement is less revolutionary than in the United States, and proceeds rather on the lines of the British tradition in attaching considerable importance to legislation, and in seeking political representation to obtain improved industrial conditions.

Canada's Labour Problems



NEWFOUNDLAND, THE WEST INDIES AND BRITISH CENTRAL AMERICA

By W. H. Woodward

ENGLISH rights over Newfoundland date from the discovery of the "New Found Isle" by Cabot in 1497. But the first attempt at effective occupation was made under patent of Elizabeth, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583. His venture, however romantic as an incident in the history of plantation, was a failure. A Bristol merchant, named Guy, received an independent grant from James I., but permanent settlement dates from the expedition of Lord Baltimore in 1623.

Meantime, the island seas, and especially the "great banks" off the eastern coast, had become the seat of the finest deep-sea fishery of the world. From 1500 onwards, French, Basque and English vessels had made yearly voyages for the cod fishery. Of the 400 vessels which in 1580 were engaged in it, the majority sailed from Norman and Breton ports. With the turn of the century Englishmen rapidly outnumbered their rivals.

The English fishery was conducted by merchants and shipowners of the West Country ports, who found the capital and organised the annual voyages which were of the nature of great oversea "adventures." To afford shelter and the needful premises for curing and storing the catch, rough stagings and sheds were from year to year erected at suitable points along the coast. But it early became the object of the adventurers at home to prevent permanent settlement, the growth of proprietary rights and organised administration, as being likely to restrict the free use of the shore-line. Hence the development of the colony has been largely determined by the interests, British or other, which have gathered round the fisheries.

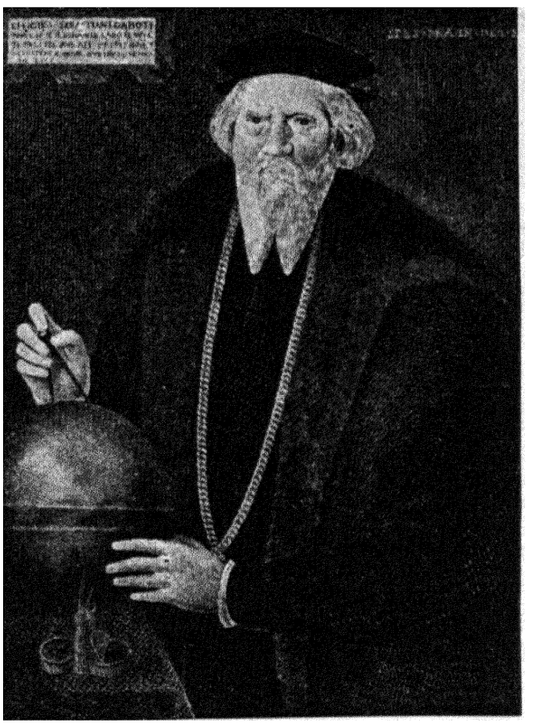
A Colony in the Making

Early in the seventeenth century the French cast about for a site for plantation, which would at once serve as a port of refuge and refit, and establish a territorial claim. From Placentia Bay, on the south side of the island, which was, about 1620, chosen for the purpose, the shore-men so harassed the struggling English settlements that Lord Baltimore, the proprietor, abandoned Newfoundland for Maryland. Placentia was recognised in 1662 as a French possession, with undefined boundaries. Hence, in the absence of active settlement from England, arose vague and conflicting claims to the whole island. The Peace of Utrecht—1713—put an end to French territorial rights; in return, France was accorded the right to share the fishery of the north and west coasts, permanent settlement being forbidden within these limits. Two-fifths of the coast-line were thus shut off from exploitation by the colony; and, further, it soon became evident that the French were ready to claim an exclusive and not concurrent right to the fishery itself.

English and French Adventurers

The colony had, however, by this time attained recognised status. The first governor was appointed in 1728. The settlers, though few were of a sturdy type, tenacious of their rights as against the Bristol adventurers, on the one hand, and the encroaching French fishermen on the other. By the Treaty of Paris—1763—the fishery rights conceded at Utrecht were

confirmed, and in addition the two small islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the south coast, were granted as the sole compensation for the loss of the vast North American domain of France. New England protested, as did the colony, and also, with considerable vigour, the great Chatham. But the English in America had won so much that they could scarcely press their complaint, which passed unheeded. At this period the settlers, chiefly in and near St. John's, numbered 8,000 in all; but, in addition, 5,000 fishermen visited the island each summer. The apparently undue preference given to the fishing industry is explained by the fact that from English fishermen were drawn the strongest elements in the naval force. In 1765 the coast-line of Labrador facing the island was added to the colony. The influence of the troubles with Massachusetts is seen in the passing of Palliser's Act of 1776, under which a bounty was offered to British seamen visiting the fishery, colonial fishermen being excluded from its benefits. The expressed object was that thereby trustworthy sailors might be trained for the defence of the realm. English prowess during the wars of the French Revolution enabled Newfoundland to command the world's market for fish, as all competitors were in turn swept from the seas. From this period dates the firm establishment of the prosperity of the colony. At the peace of 1815 the population reached 80,000. It was not until 1832 that a representative assembly was set up, with the usual rights over supply, but without control of the executive. Quarrels with the nominated upper house were constant, until, in 1843, the two were merged, to be again separated in 1848. Full responsible government on the Canadian model was attained in 1855. Internal progress made considerable strides. Roads were formed, a geological survey — 1838 — organised, and oversea communication developed. The great fire of 1846 destroyed St. John's, which was rebuilt on a more dignified plan. New sources of wealth were growing up in the seal and lobster fisheries. At least a fourth of the population is still engaged directly or indirectly in the harvest of the seas. With the growth of railways the interior of the island, of which much remains unexplored, is about to be opened up. Valuable mineral areas are already defined. But the persistent assertion by French and American citizens of special rights remained acute till the year 1904, when the former finally surrendered their preferential claims, and thus enabled the western shore to be

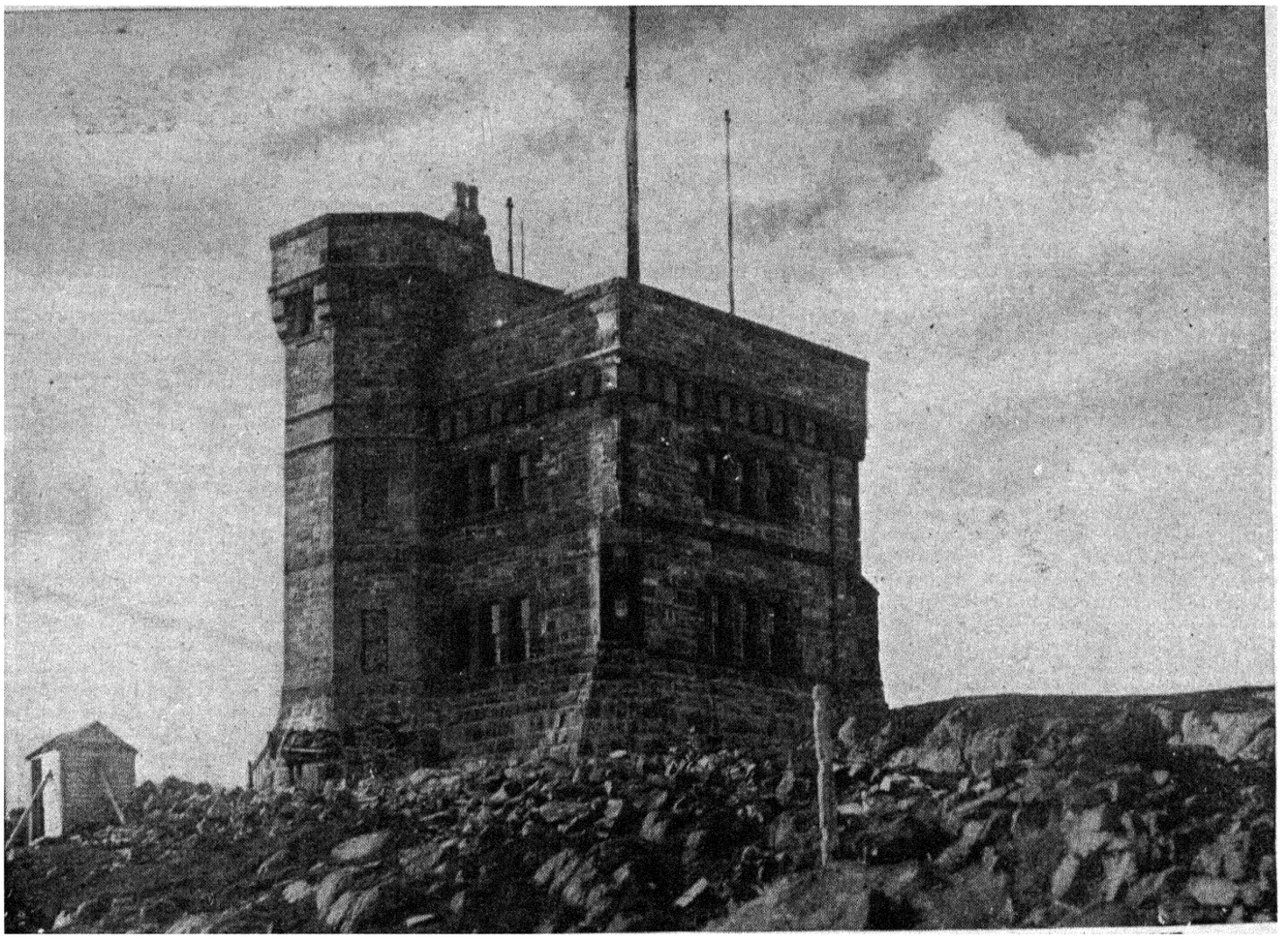


SEBASTIAN CABOT

Born probably at Venice in 1474, Cabot accompanied his father, John Cabot, on the famous voyage in the Matthew in 1497, when, in June of the same year Newfoundland was discovered.

JOHN CABOT AT THE COURT OF KING HENRY VII.

Failing to enlist the support of Spain and Portugal, Cabot at last succeeded in obtaining audience with Henry VII., who, on March 5th, 1497, authorised him by letters patent to take possession on behalf of England of any countries he might discover. With his three sons, Cabot set sail in the Matthew, and, on June 24th, sighted Newfoundland.



THE CABOT MEMORIAL ON SIGNAL HILL, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

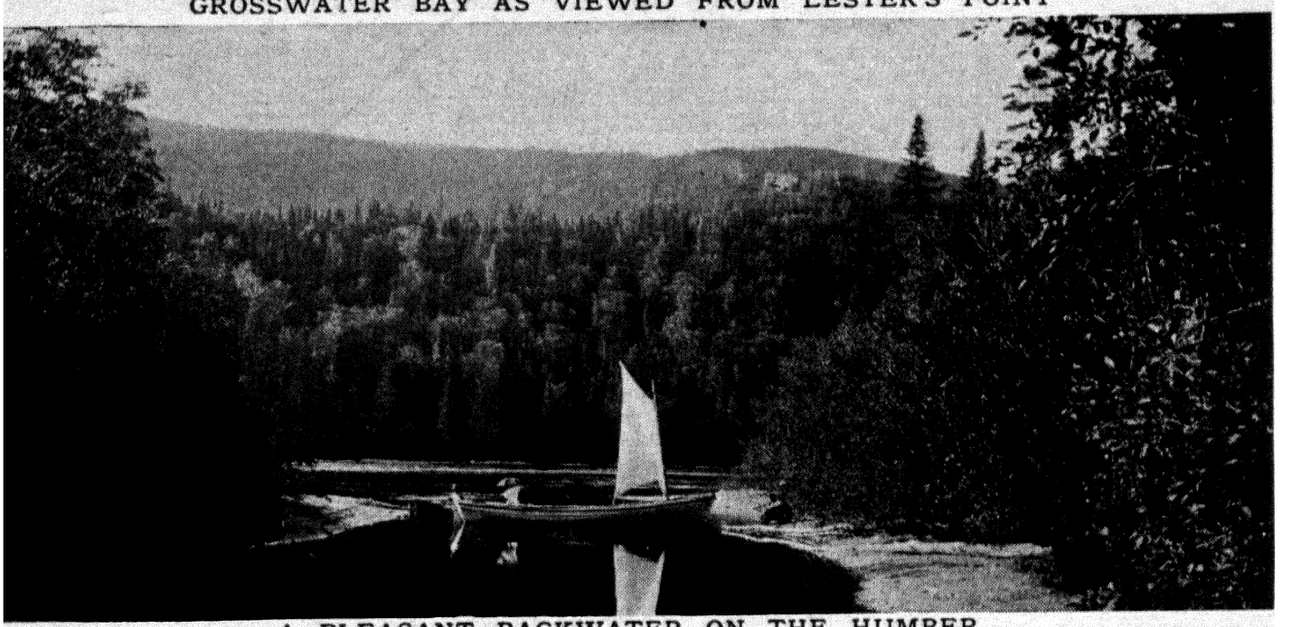
Towering on Signal Hill, 520 feet above the water and overlooking both sea and city, stands the majestic Cabot Tower, erected to the memory of John Cabot, the discoverer of Newfoundland. It now serves for the more practical, if more prosaic, purpose of signalling to the people of St. John's the approach of vessels into the harbour.

opened up for settlement. The privileges exercised by fishermen of Maine and New England were a subject of negotiation in 1909. Up to the present time Newfoundland has shown no desire to apply for admission to the dominion of Canada, nor does she forget that she is the oldest British possession outside the home seas. English occupation of a continuous character in the region of the Caribbean Sea dates from 1623. During the century that elapsed between the first West Indian voyage of Sebastian Cabot (1516) and the last expedition of Raleigh to Guiana (1617), men of English race appeared at intervals in Central American waters, but as marauders, illicit traders, or open enemies of Spain, not as settlers. For it was thoroughly understood in London, as in Madrid, during this period, that "the Spaniards account all other nations for pirates, rovers and thieves that visit any heathen coast that they have once sailed by or looked on." But after the death of Philip II. and the English peace, Spain rapidly declined in vigour, and became tacitly content with exclusive possession of her last provinces on the American mainland, with the addition of the larger Antilles, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico and Jamaica. England and the other Western Powers were no longer disposed to recognise title which did not rest upon occupation, and the Spanish administrators had never attempted plantation upon the Lesser Antilles or the Bahamas, which were,

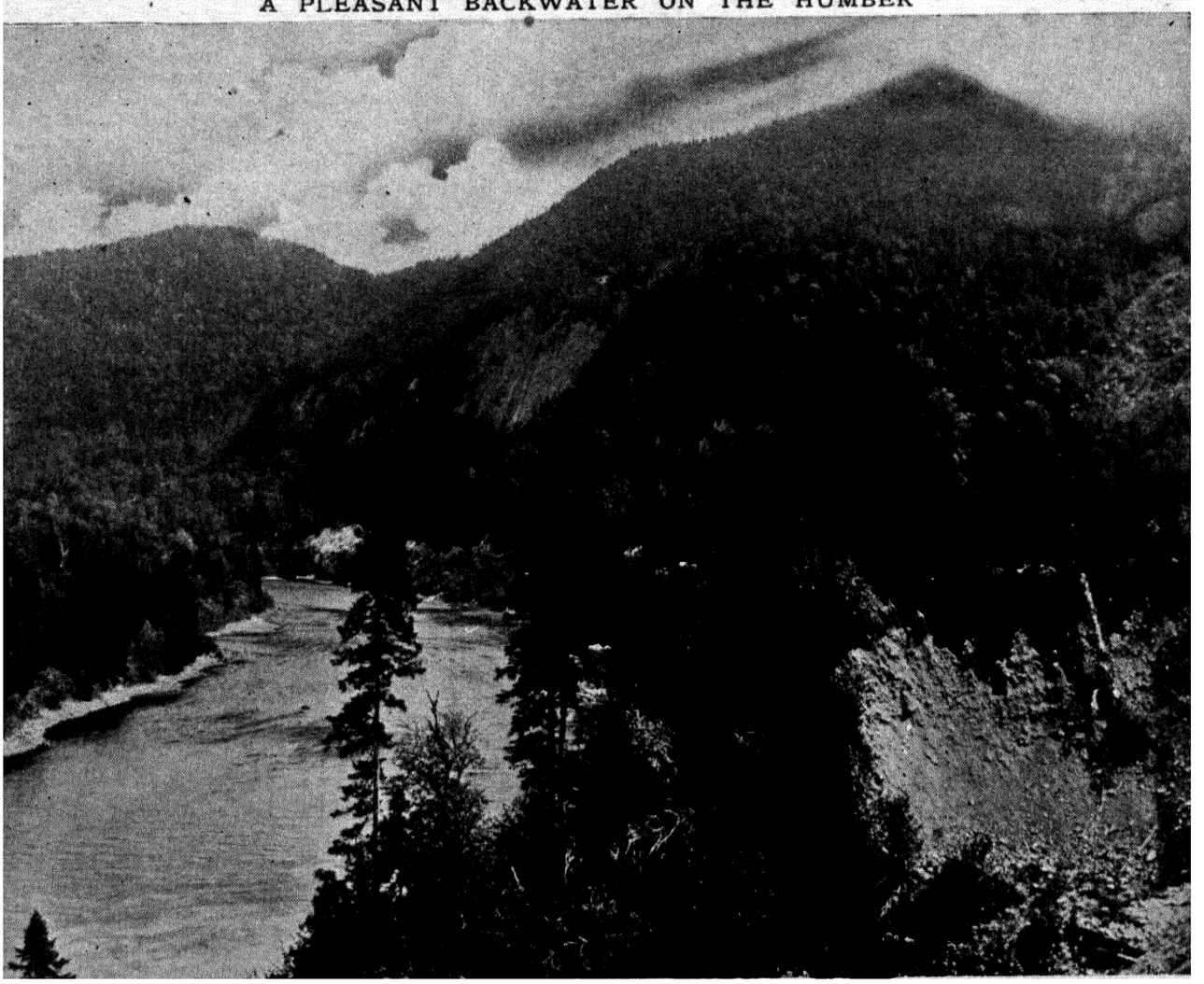
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

In 1583, Gilbert set out from Plymouth harbour to take possession of Newfoundland. On his return journey three out of his five vessels foundered off Cape Breton, himself going down in the fourth, on September 9th, 1583.

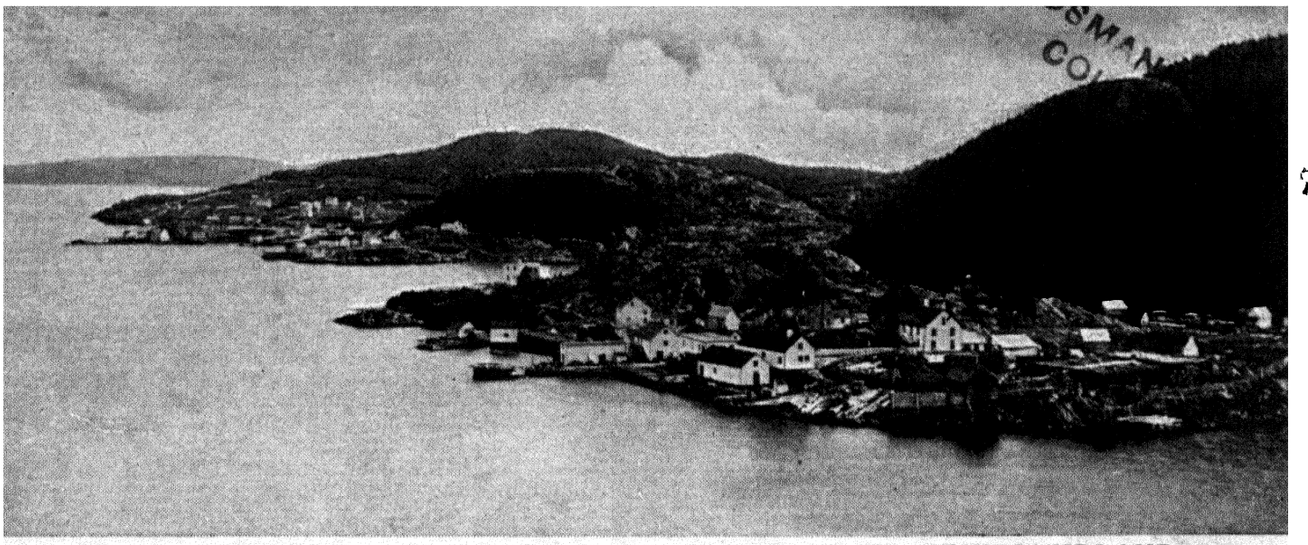
GROSSWATER BAY AS VIEWED FROM LESTER'S POINT



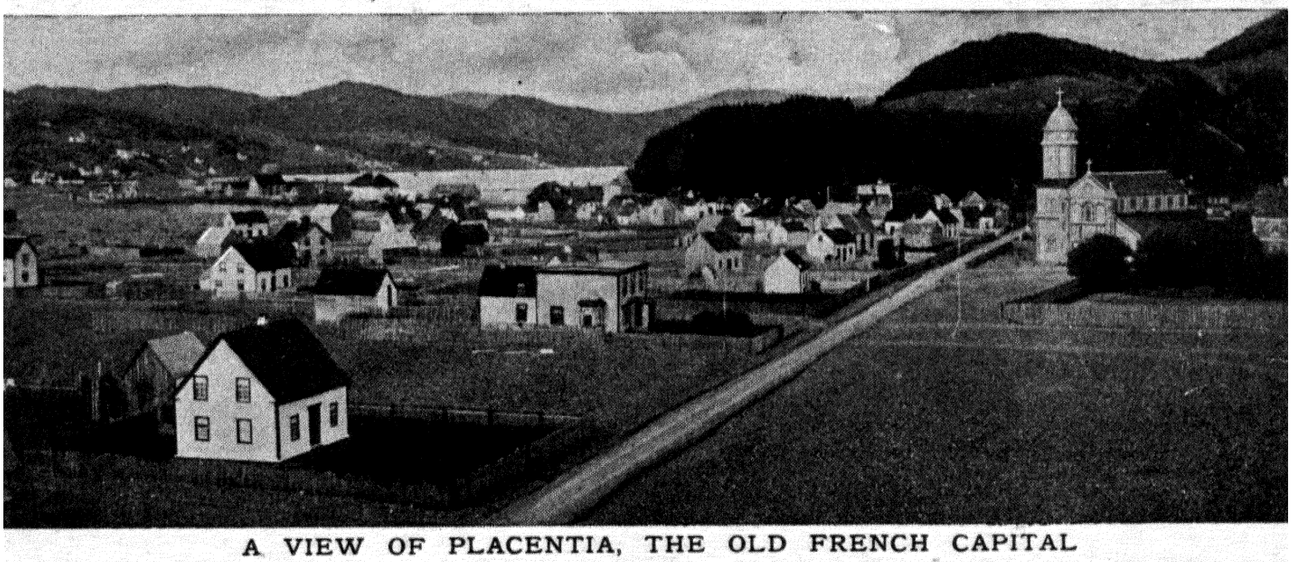
A PLEASANT BACKWATER ON THE HUMBER



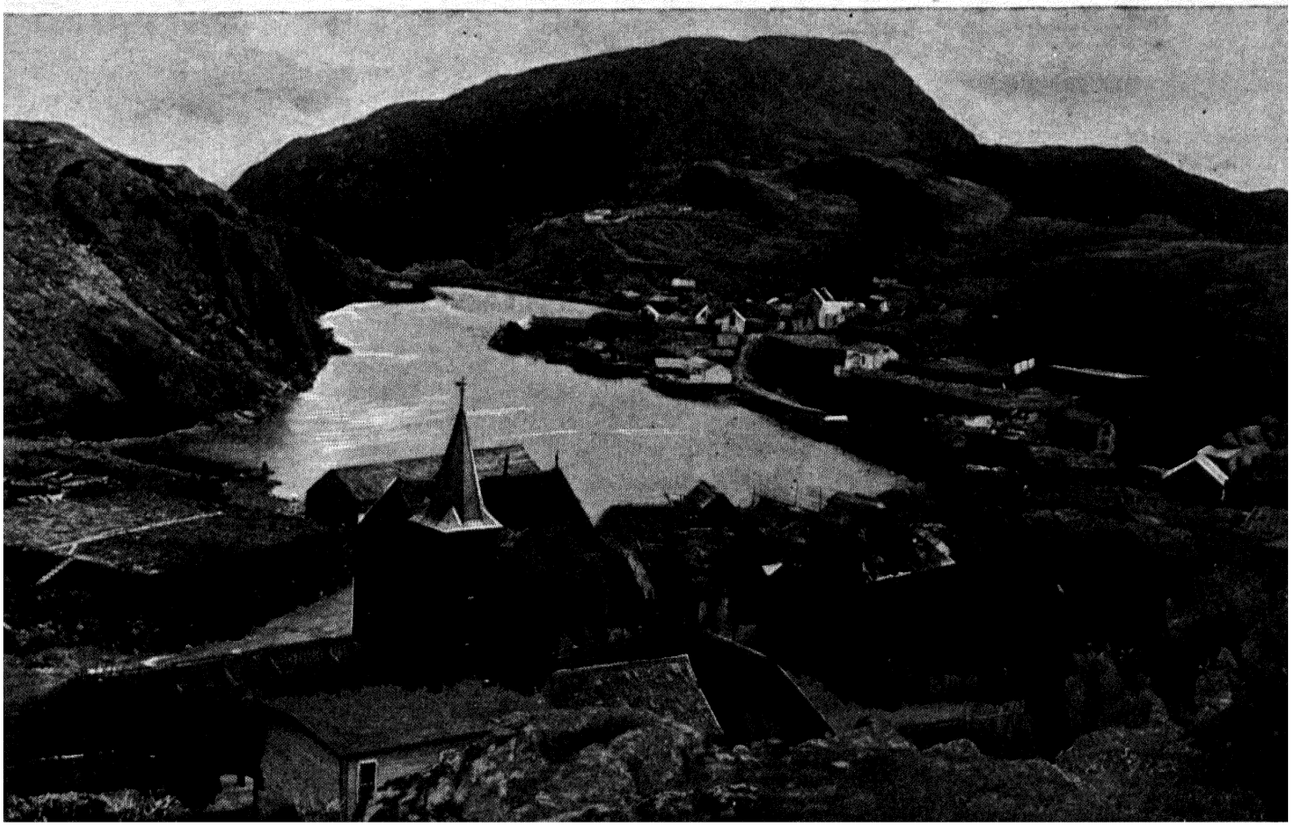
ON THE BEAUTIFUL HUMBER RIVER: SCENE NEAR THE LITTLE RAPIDS



BURIN HARBOUR, REPUTED TO BE THE BEST IN NEWFOUNDLAND



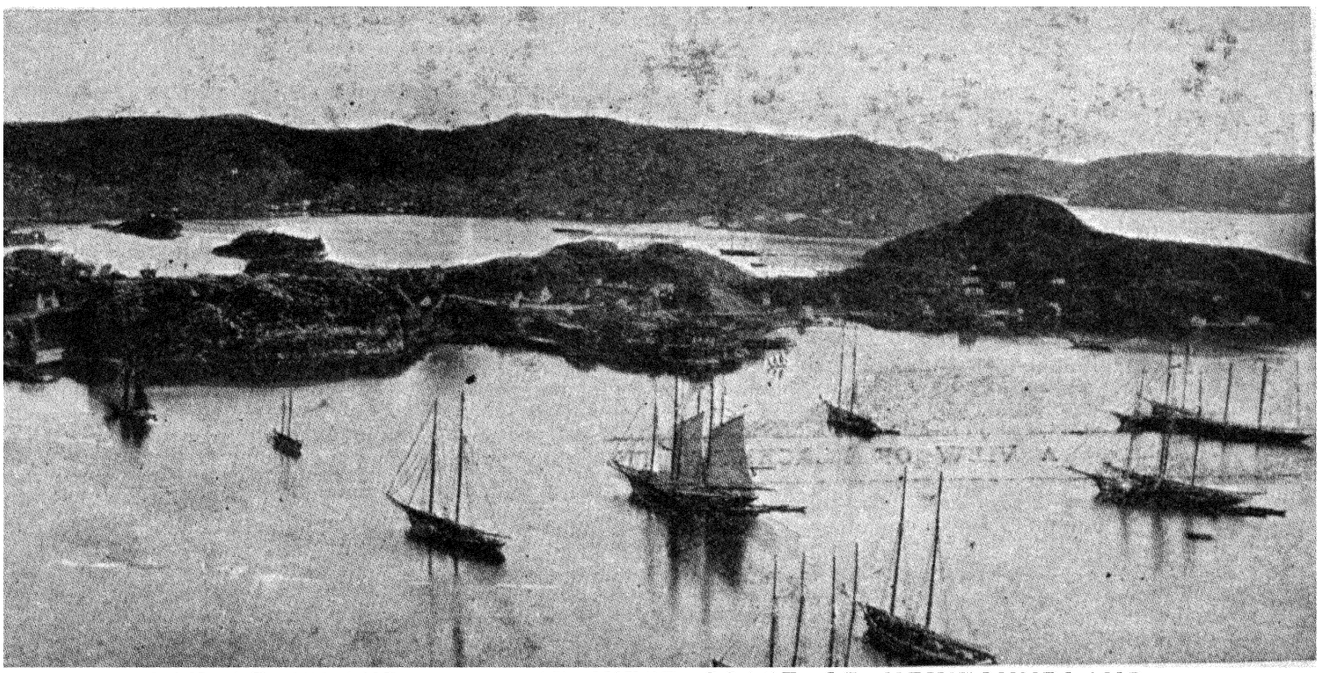
A VIEW OF PLACENTIA, THE OLD FRENCH CAPITAL



QUIDI-VIDI, A PICTURESQUE FISHING SETTLEMENT NEAR ST. JOHN'S

in fact, ignored by them as insignificant and economically worthless. Not until it was too late did they awaken to the agricultural possibilities and strategic importance of the outer fringe of islands which bounded their peculiar seas.

It is to be noted that the English, the Dutch, and the French took their first steps towards effective occupation of the Caribbean islands within the same decade. The Dutch West Indian Company was incorporated in 1621, the French in 1626, whilst the first English patents which led to plantation in this region fell between 1623 and 1627. The difference which characterises the activities of the four chief European Powers concerned in the colonisation of the West Indies deserves attention.



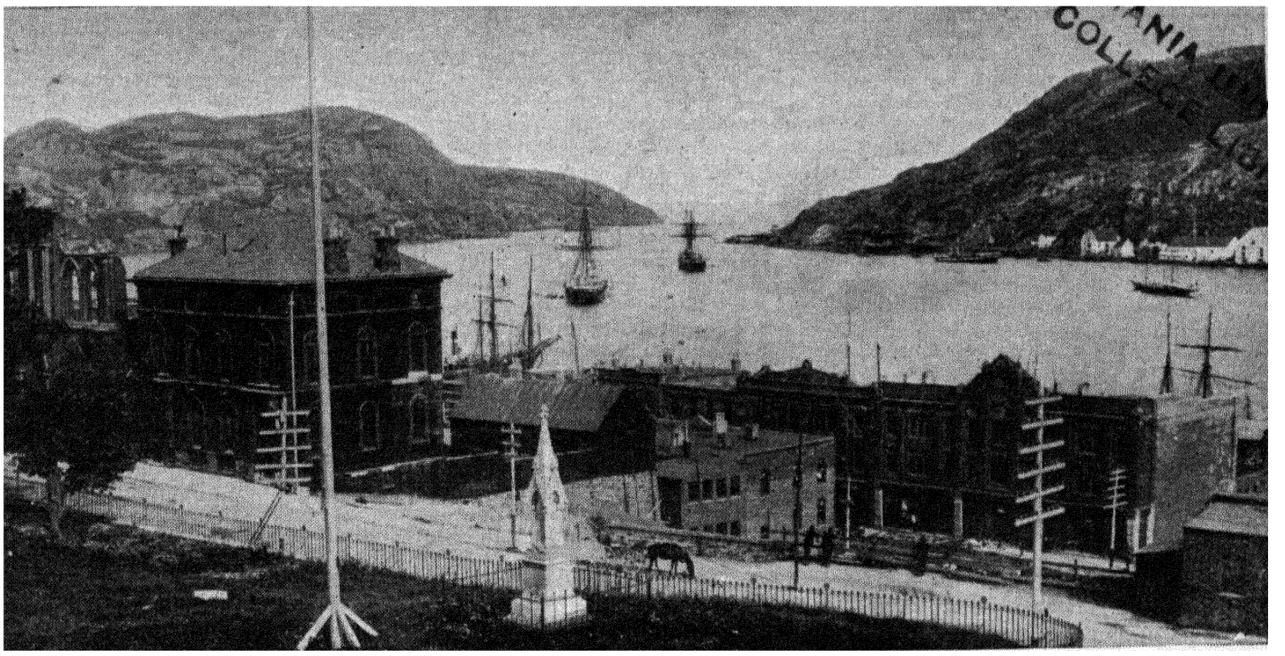
BAY OF ISLANDS ON THE WEST COAST OF NEWFOUNDLAND

The prime object of Spain was to exploit the mineral wealth of her American possessions; settlement was wholly subordinate to this end. Strong military occupation, rigid government control of production, naval security of ocean routes, and a slave system were essential to her purpose.

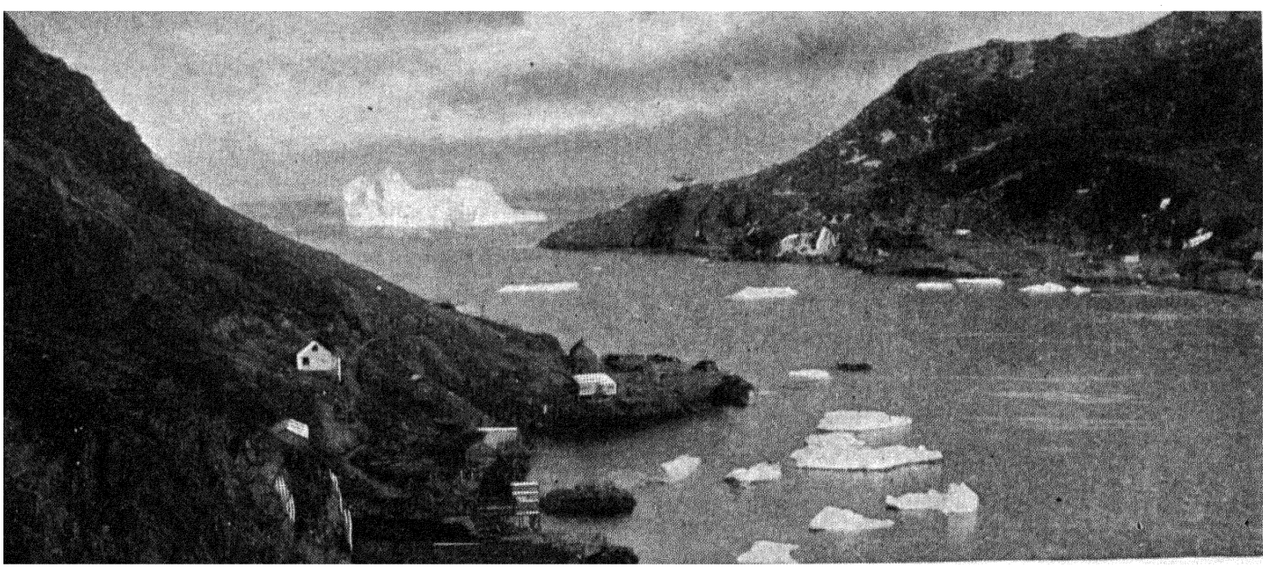
Hence the determination of Philip II. to hold the Caribbean Sea and the Mexican Gulf as a *mare clausum*, a policy which survived as a doctrine long after Spain had lost the power of enforcing it. The French went to the West Indies as settlers and traders, working through a royal chartered company, under strict regulation, and with effective protection from the home government. The original purpose of the Dutch was to harry and cripple their ancient enemy, Spain, by cutting off the sources of her national wealth. But they became rather the merchant traders of the islands, and having no surplus population for purposes of plantation, were content to gather in the riches won from carrying the produce of their neighbours. In fact, the development of their rich domain in the Eastern seas was, from 1620, a more urgent attraction than American colonisation.

English sovereignty in Western seas was from the first based on settlement, conducted in our national fashion by somewhat haphazard methods of private or corporate ventures. In matters of defence, the planters were largely left to themselves. War in Europe did not necessarily imply hostility between the belligerents in colonial waters. Planters set up their own institutions, borrowed the slave system of Spain, sent out ventures to hoist the British flag on unclaimed islands, joined in buccaneering raids against the ports and treasure fleets of the Spanish West. Two things, however, knit the English settlers into closer connection with the Mother Country—namely, the necessary dependence of the islands upon the home navy, and the ties of commerce, defined and strengthened by the Acts of Navigation.

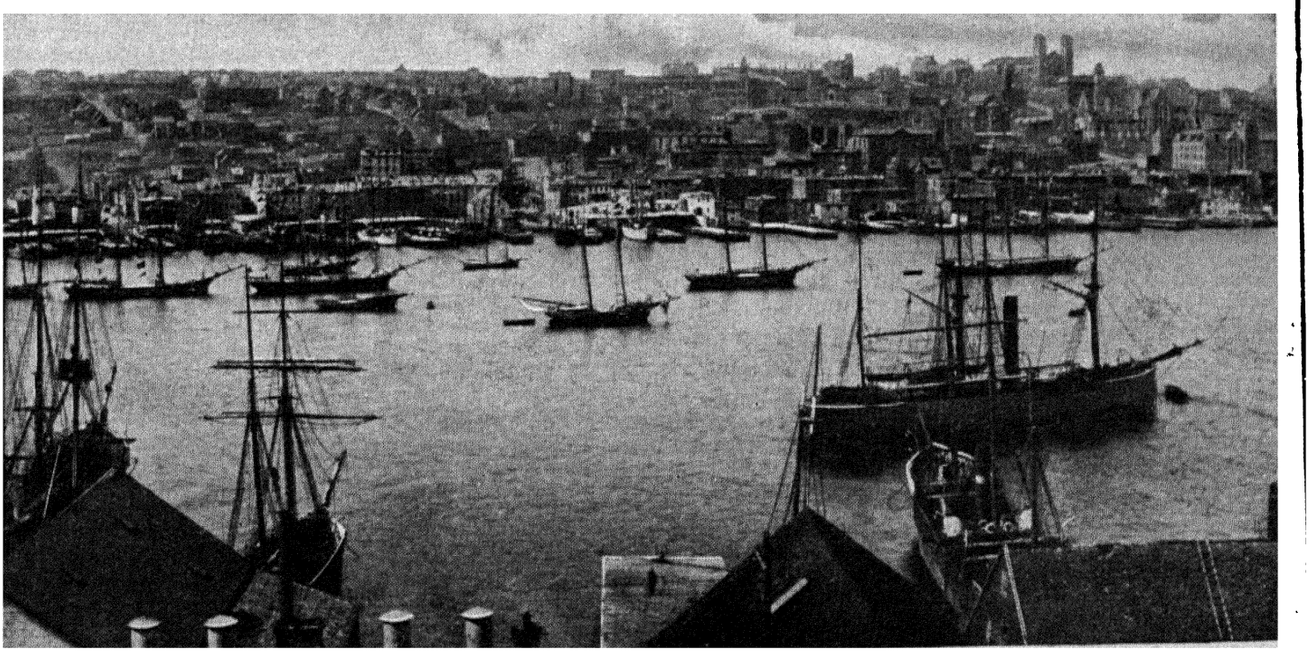
Viewed in a strict historical sense, the West Indian possessions of England fall into the following groups: (a) the Leeward Islands; (b) Barbados; (c) Jamaica; (d) the Bahamas; (e) the Windward Islands; (f) Trinidad and Tobago; (g) British Guiana and Honduras.



"THE NARROWS," FROM CHURCH HILL, SHOWING BRITISH WARSHIPS

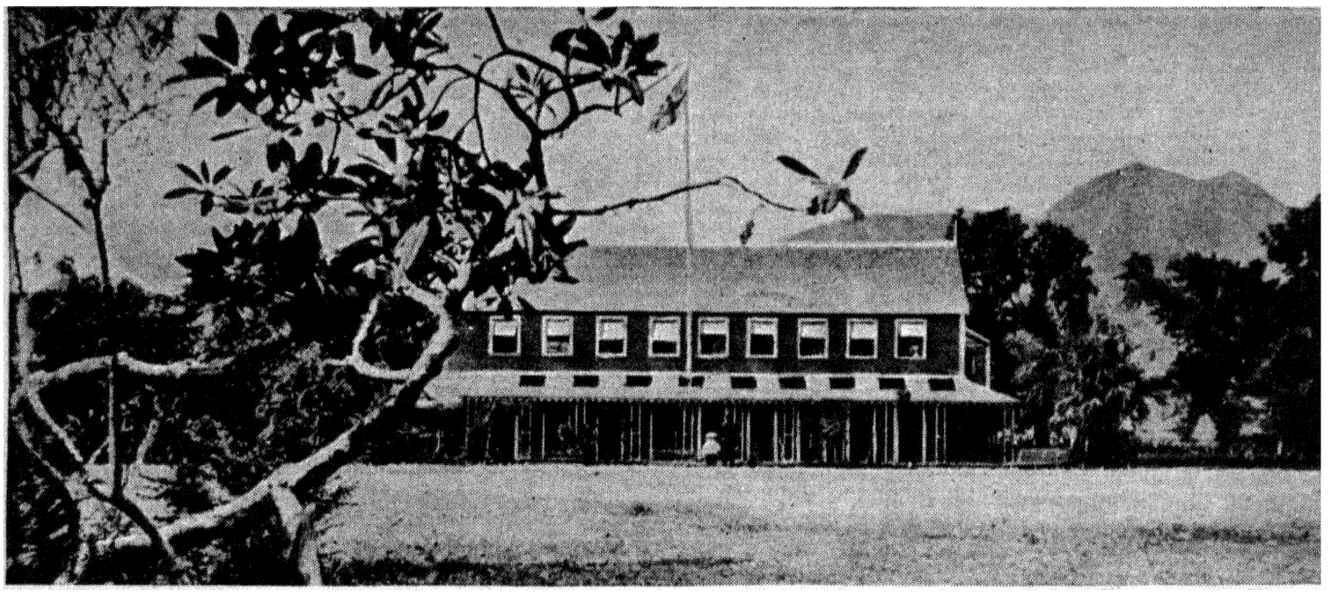


ICE IN THE ENTRANCE TO ST. JOHN'S HARBOUR



THE LAND-LOCKED HARBOUR AND TOWN OF ST. JOHN'S

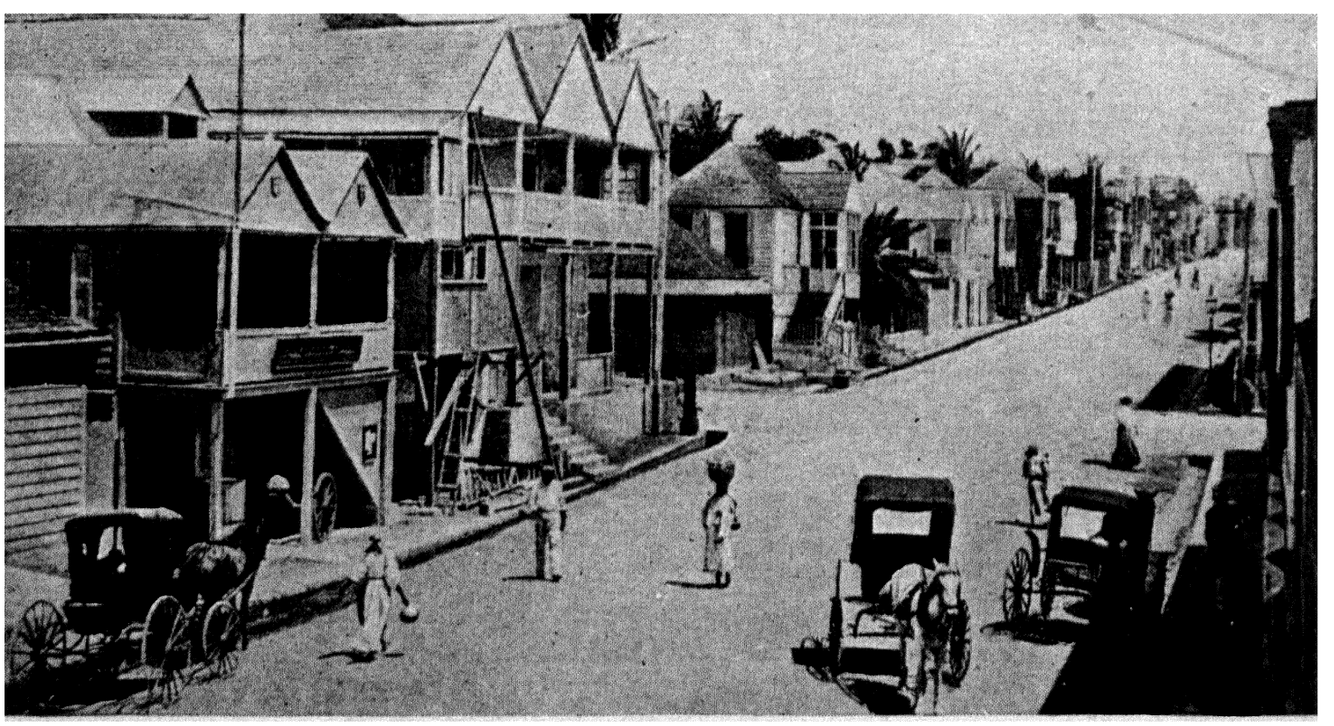
SCENES IN AND NEAR THE CAPITAL OF NEWFOUNDLAND



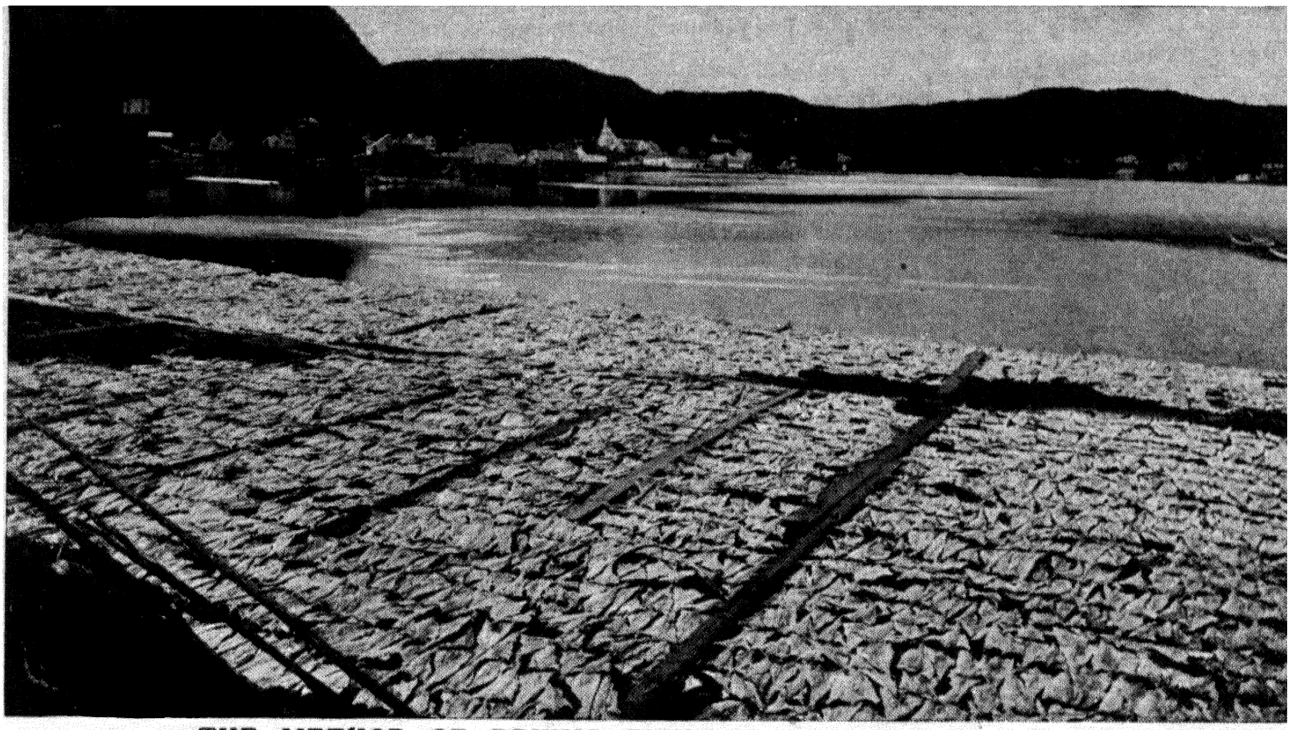
GOVERNMENT HOUSE: THE ADMINISTRATOR'S RESIDENCE, ST. CHRISTOPHER

St. Kitts, or St. Christopher, received its first English settlers in 1623, and from it other islands of the Leeward group were "planted." At some time within two years a French privateer's crew landed on the opposite end of St. Kitts, which by arrangement was, in 1627, divided between the two nationalities. From St. Kitts, Nevis was settled in 1623, Montserrat in 1632; Antigua in the same year. Dominica had already been occupied by French settlers, whose principal plantations were those of Guadeloupe (1635), and Martinique in the same year. The growth of the Leewards in prosperity and population was remarkable. Tobacco was the main crop, and a profitable one. After fifteen years of occupation, St. Kitts was said to have 12,000 inhabitants — probably an extreme estimate. But a Spanish raid in 1629, which nearly destroyed the settlements, French and English alike, brought home to the colonists their dependence upon the strong arm of the mother countries. With the exception of Barbados, the Leeward Islands were the most progressive plantations in the West Indies throughout the seventeenth century.

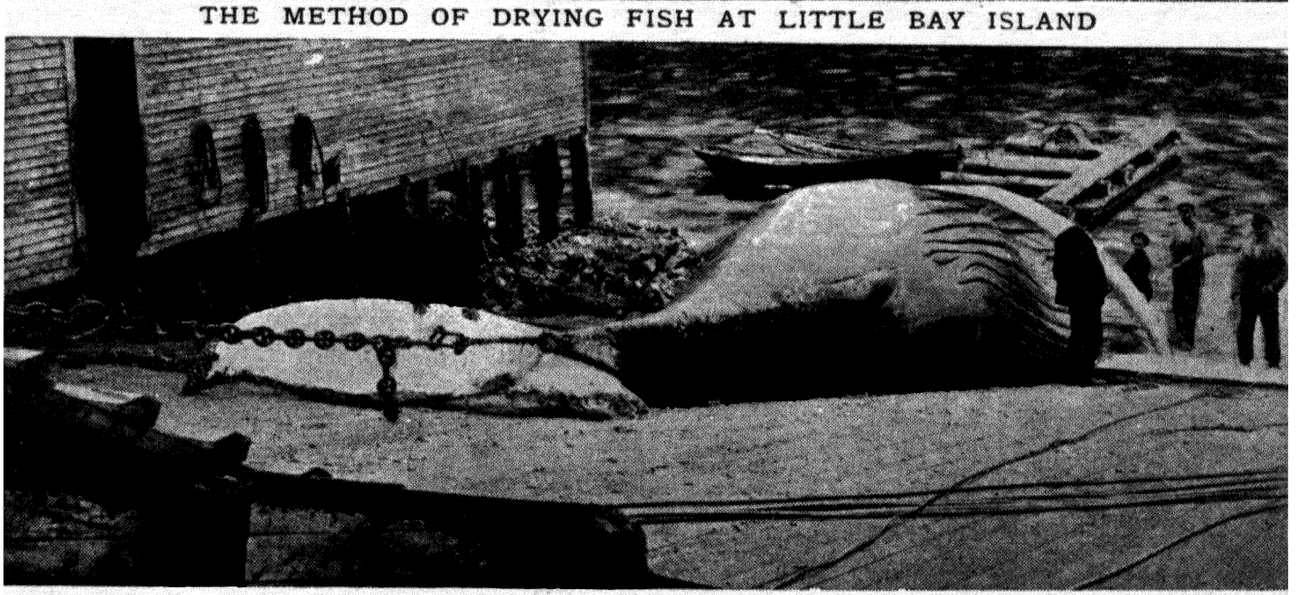
Barbados was formally occupied in 1625 by a company of adventurers fitted out by William Courten, under the Marlborough patent of James I. Other overlapping patents were granted in the usual careless fashion of the time to the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Pembroke, and these conflicting rights left their mark upon the economic history of Barbados until 1832. The reputed fertility of the island drew



A STREET SCENE IN ST. JOHN, THE CAPITAL OF ANTIGUA



THE METHOD OF DRYING FISH AT LITTLE BAY ISLAND



LANDING A HUGE "HUMP-BACKED" WHALE FOR USE IN THE OIL INDUSTRY

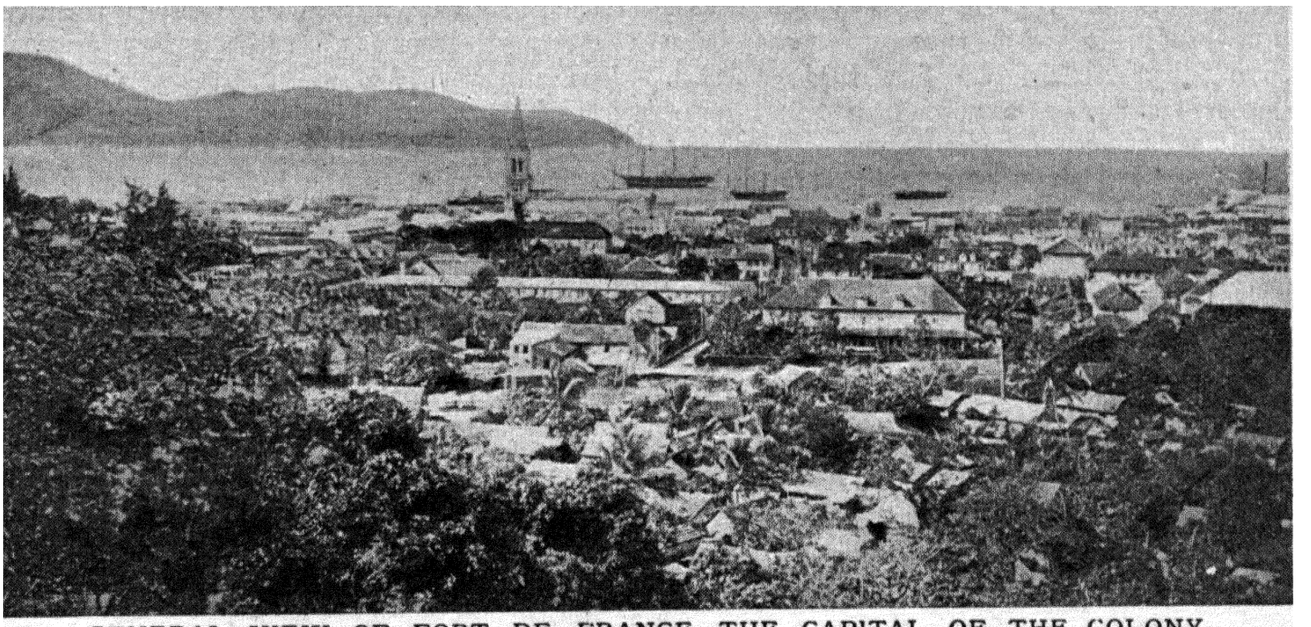
A BUSY TIMBER MILL AT BONNE BAY

settlers from the Bermudas, and from Virginia, as well as from home. By 1636 they numbered 6,000 of British stock. In or soon after 1639, Captain Philip Bell, the governor, summoned an elective assembly, which, with the nominated executive council, became the standing type of administration in the islands.

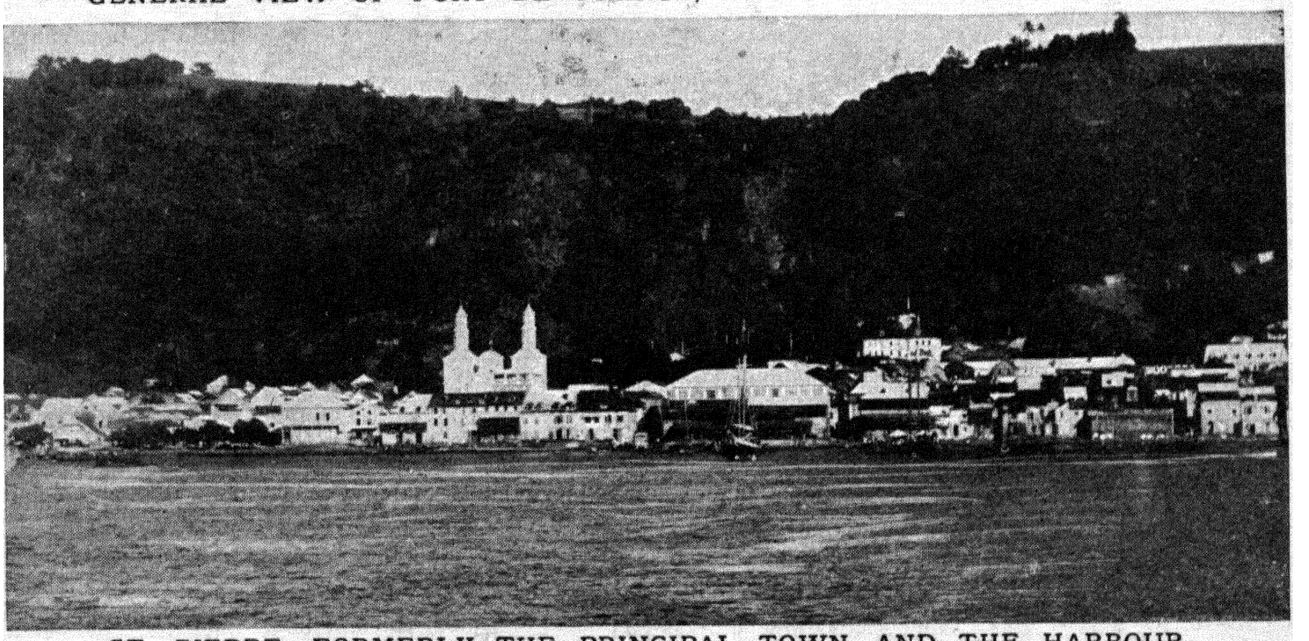
Sugar cultivation was introduced by Dutch traders from Brazil about 1640. It should be noticed that the relations of the English colonists with the merchant seamen of Holland were always friendly, to the great profit of both. Sugar-growing developed rapidly, and in a few years had ousted the production of cotton and tobacco in Barbados. This was facilitated by negro slavery. Negro slavery in the West Indies dates from 1503, and was firmly established in Spanish America a century before the English settlement. The Dutch landed a cargo of negroes from Lisbon at Barbados in 1627, or soon after; and from that time slave labour became the dominant factor in West Indian industry as in its population. Barbados, however, drew no little strength from the course of politics at home. Dissatisfied royalists of substance brought their families and took up land, as Puritans did in New England. The island received also prisoners of war, certain sorts of civil offenders, and other lawless or workless folk; all these were indentured, and such as survived forced service became free citizens. But the negro race, harder and cheaper, outstripped the rest, and by 1700 formed two-thirds of the population.

The royalist sentiment of Barbados led to hostilities with the English Parliament. In 1650, Charles II. was proclaimed in Barbados. Puritan settlers took their grievances to London. Led by Governor Lord Willoughby of Parham, the colonists boldly claimed the right of self-government, refused to debar the Dutch from the island ports, and met the fleet of the commonwealth with open resistance. But on January 11th, 1652, a compromise was reached. The settlers, accepting the commonwealth, were left in control of their internal affairs. Peace once established, industrial interests again absorbed the attention of the colony, which advanced in population and in esteem at home. The planters took an active part

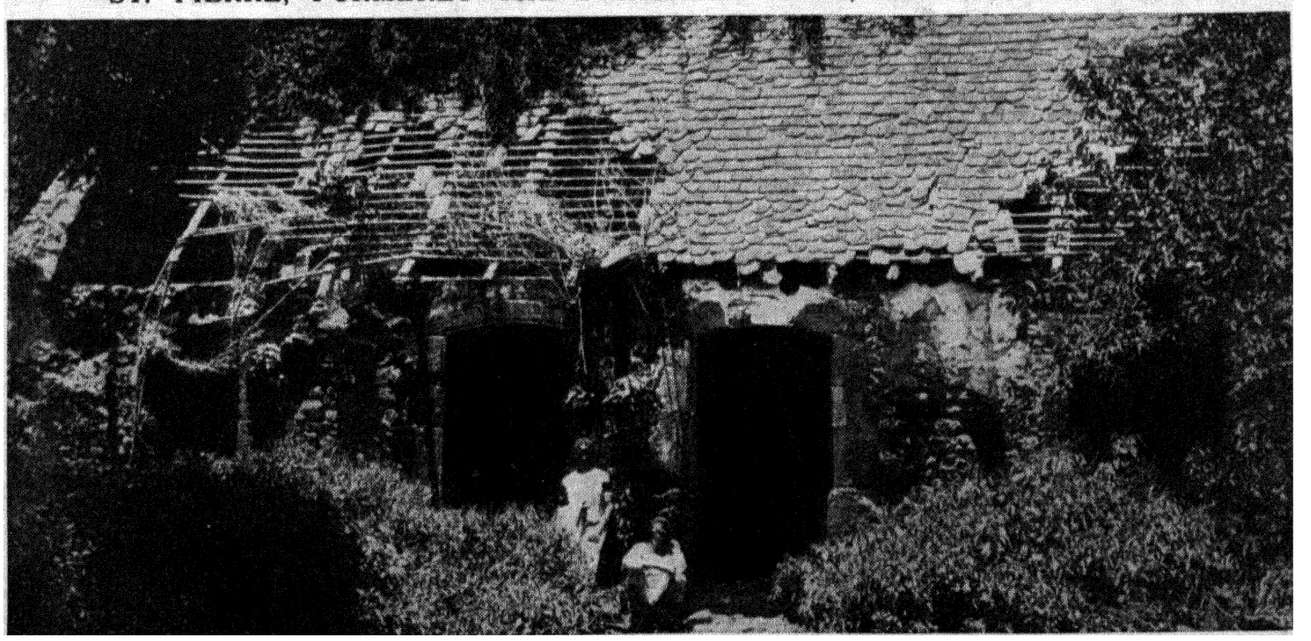
A FAIR IN THE WEST INDIES: THE MARKET-PLACE AT ROSEAU, DOMINICA



GENERAL VIEW OF FORT-DE-FRANCE, THE CAPITAL OF THE COLONY



ST. PIERRE, FORMERLY THE PRINCIPAL TOWN, AND THE HARBOUR



RUINS AT TROIS-ILETS: THE HOUSE IN WHICH EMPRESS JOSEPHINE WAS BORN

VIEWS IN MARTINIQUE, THE SCENE OF A GREAT EARTHQUAKE

in the capture of Jamaica by Cromwell's fleet. The Restoration was welcomed, and the high-water mark of prosperity (1670-1675) attained. The little island, which is slightly larger than the Isle of Wight, was to the fore in every venture that made for British expansion in the Caribbean Sea. It was the social and political centre of the English power in the West Indies. Like Virginia, it boasted of established families of the best English blood. Barbados has never passed under foreign rule, and its development has been of a purely British type. Jamaica, though held by the Spanish administrators as a place of call, was in most other respects neglected by its rulers. It was captured by the English fleet in pursuance of Cromwell's policy in increasing the national wealth at the expense of her European enemies. Charles II. sent out its first governor, who set up the usual executive council and representative assembly. An attempt to subordinate the legislature to the English Parliament was sturdily resisted. The population of the island was of mixed origin; the best element was the New Englander and the planter from Barbados and the Leewards. But there was haste to get labour, and emigrants of worthless sort from the prisons of English towns were hurried out. Sugar-growing was from the outset the main industry of Jamaica; and as it commanded a preferential price negroes were imported on a large scale. The standing dread of a negro rising, characteristic of West Indian life, was peculiarly felt in Jamaica. The Maroons, a mixed slave race, who fled to the mountains on the English conquest, threatened the security of the planters for 200 years. The buccaneers, an organised piratical community of varied elements, had their headquarters in Jamaica and the Bahamas, whence they carried on unceasing warfare against the Spanish-American coast towns.

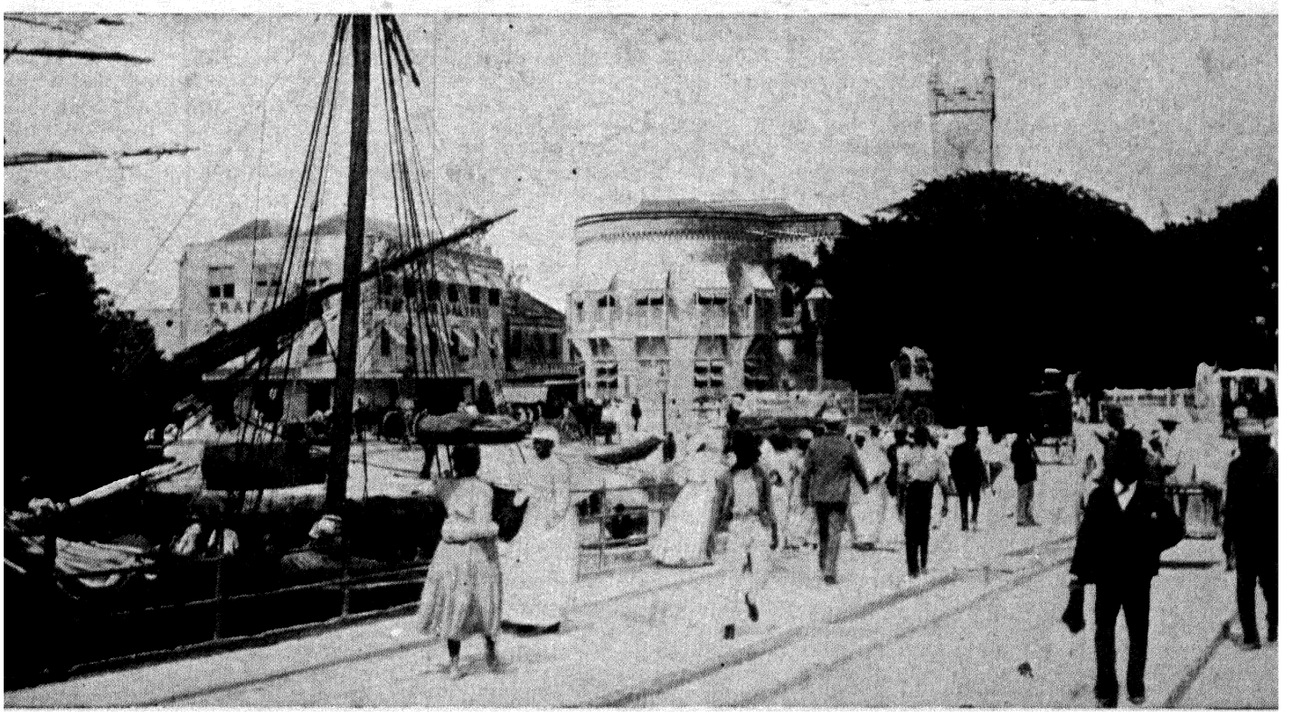
Their lawless violence was for a time condoned by colonial governors, both French and English. Henry Morgan, the Welshman, who led a plundering attack on Panama, and was knighted by Charles II., acted as deputy-governor of Jamaica, but was ultimately made a scapegoat to satisfy Spanish importunity. There was obviously risk as well as discredit in connivance at piracy, which was in the end sternly suppressed after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Meantime, Jamaica throve apace. Settlers from Guiana, and from the ill-fated enterprise of Darien, and political victims of risings against or for the Stuarts, helped in their various ways in the development of the island. By the end of the seventeenth century Jamaica had outstripped Barbados. The early associations of the Bahamas were discreditable. English occupation appears to date from 1655; but the work of plantation was first taken in hand by the Carolina Company in 1670. The islands already had a bad name for piracy, and New Providence, which alone had the semblance of a permanent settlement, was the gathering ground of outlaws and ruffians. The American Revolution brought fresh blood to the struggling islands, which suffer from poorness of soil and lack of good water. Their trade is mainly with the United States.

TYPES OF BRITISH WEST INDIAN SOLDIERS

Before treating of the Windward Islands, whose history falls rather within the eighteenth century, it will be useful to

SHIPPING AND SEA-FRONT WAREHOUSES, BRIDGETOWN

PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE CAPITAL FROM THE CATHEDRAL



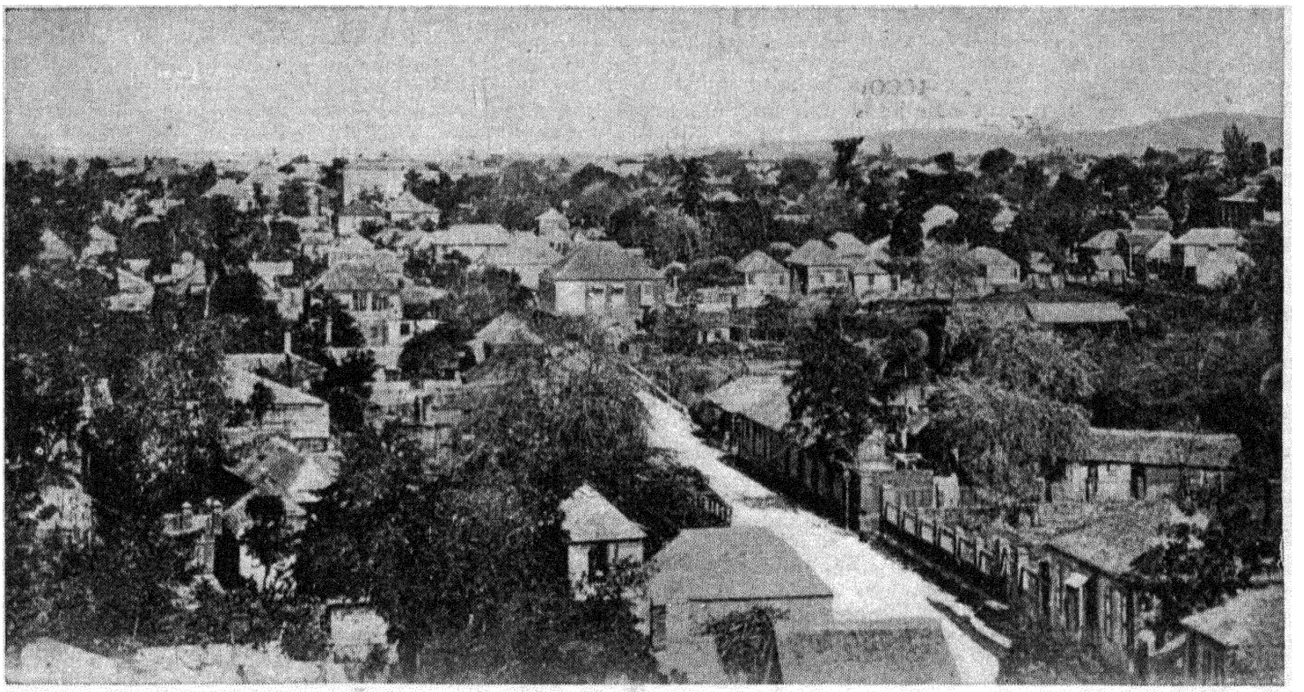
BRIDGETOWN'S PROMENADE, SHOWING GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

SCENES AT BRIDGETOWN, THE CAPITAL OF BARBADOS

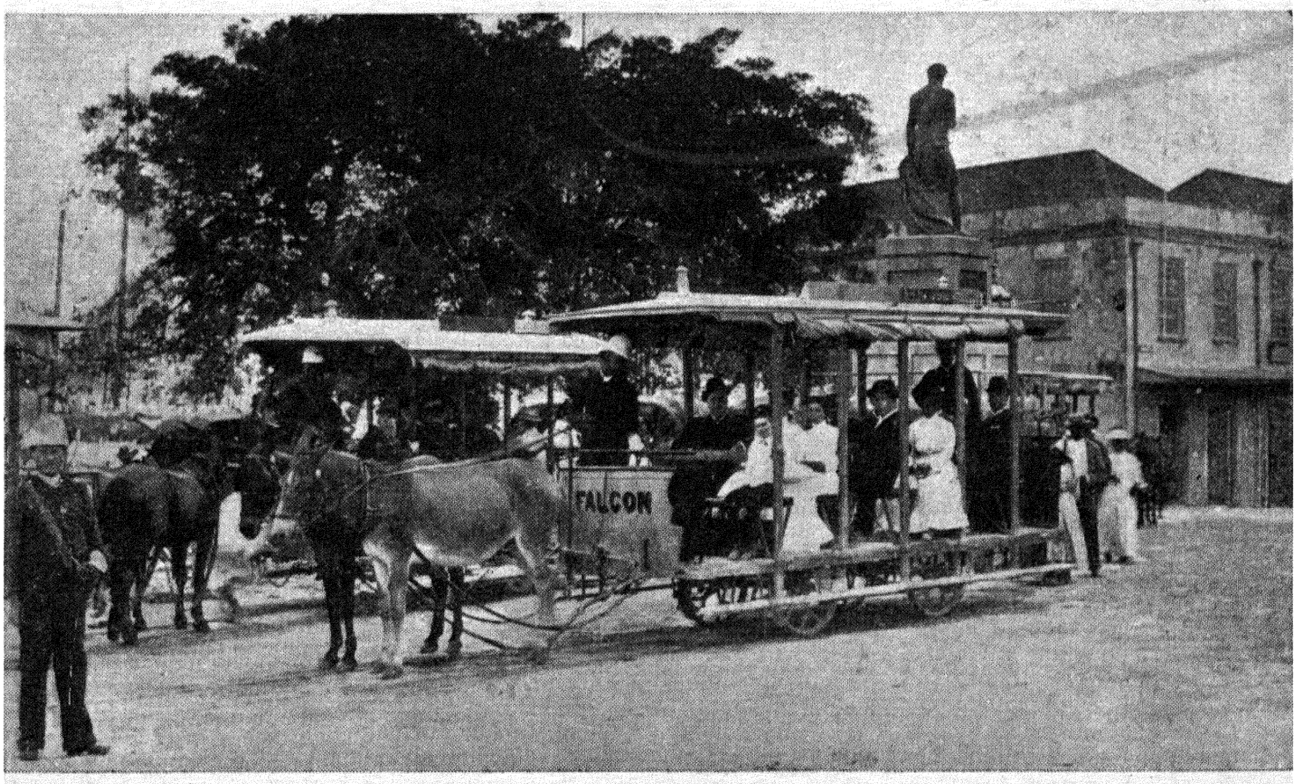
allude to the purpose and the consequences of the Acts of Navigation to which reference has been made. To understand their importance in colonial history two considerations must be borne in mind. The first is that British statesmen, watching the growth of the power of Holland, had once for all accepted the doctrine that "a flourishing marine is the sole defence of the realm." The second, that no European nation was wealthy enough to allow her rivals to appropriate the economic benefit accruing from her colonial trade. The Act of Navigation of 1651 was based upon the first doctrine, that of 1660 upon the second. The former required that all produce imported into England from Asia, Africa and America should be carried to the port of entry in vessels owned, captained, and, in the main, manned by British subjects, including in these the colonists. Now, the Dutch were at this time the carriers of Europe and America. The British West Indian trade was wholly dependent upon them. England by this Act took it into her own hands. For a long time her mercantile marine was unequal to the demands thus thrown upon it. Hence a sudden check to colonial export trade, and temporary disorganisation of industry and production in the islands. But this method of protection of British shipping brought about the result aimed at.

The growth of our merchant shipping and of our home seaports dates from the Act of 1651, and with them grew also the naval resources of the kingdom. The Act of 1660 is the historic instrument upon which was built up the mercantile system as it concerned the colonies. Its enactments cover two complementary purposes. First, certain enumerated articles, which included practically all West Indian products, must on export from any colony be consigned either to England or to some colony of England. Next, all commodities imported by any colony must be shipped from England only. The object of the first was to render England the central market for the disposal of colonial produce; of the second, to make England the source or the channel of European shipments for colonial consumption. The

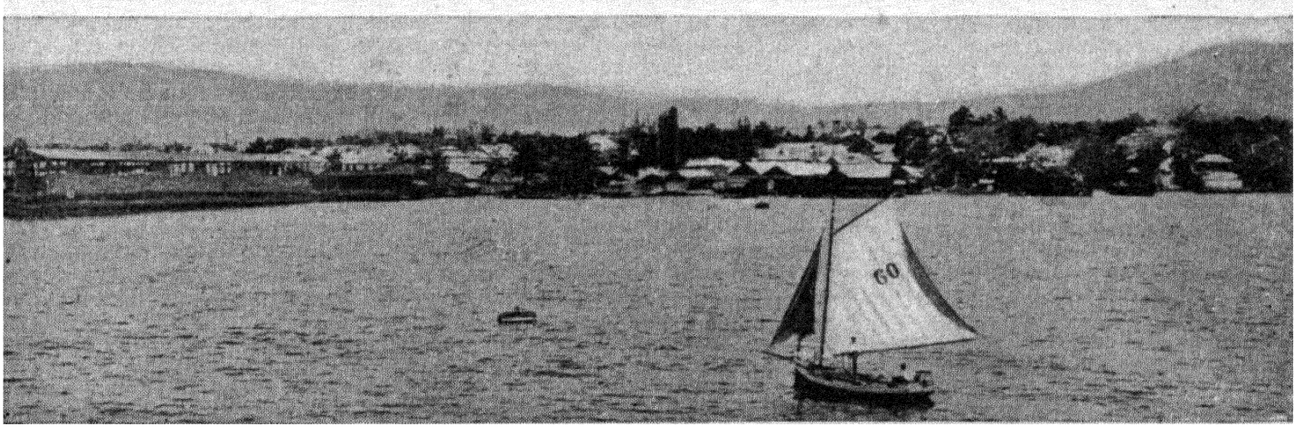
A COUNTRY LANE IN JAMAICA, SHOWING THE LUXURIANCE OF THE FOLIAGE



GENERAL VIEW OF KINGSTON, THE CAPITAL OF JAMAICA



STREET TRAVELLING IN KINGSTON: A TYPICAL TRAMCAR



THE CITY AS VIEWED FROM THE SEA

KINGSTON, THE PRINCIPAL COMMERCIAL TOWN OF JAMAICA

Acts were in reality no new departure. But the policy they embodied had not been clearly defined, and certainly not enforced, since the rise of British communities beyond the seas. It was, however, in accord with the practice of the age in colonial relations, and though naturally disliked, was acquiesced in by the islanders. The naval defeats of the Dutch in 1554 and 1664, the capture of Jamaica and New Amsterdam, and the presence of a powerful British squadron in the Caribbean Sea were visible compensations for the loss of the "free trade."

The history of the West Indies during the century that separates the English from the French Revolution is characterised by—first, the steady growth of settlement and of cultivation; second, a marked increase in negro slavery; third, recurring dangers arising from European wars; fourth, the decline of the Spanish power and the growth of French interests in the islands. Reviewing these in order, attention is first demanded by the position of Jamaica, which outstripped Barbados in population and in production. The earthquake of 1693 destroyed Port Royal, whereupon a new capital was built at Kingston, itself to fall victim to a like disaster in 1906. Jamaica was the best customer for African slaves, which indicates the reliance of the planters upon the staple crop, and explains their peril in presence of the great rising of the blacks in 1760. Kingston, as the naval station of the English fleet, and a favourite port of call, surpassed Bridgetown as a social centre.

From Jamaica adventurers went forth to Dominica, St. Vincent and St. Lucia. But the Windward Islands were, up to 1756, either tacitly allowed to be French, like Grenada and Dominica, or were practically unappropriated, save on paper, like St. Vincent. During the Seven Years War and subsequent conflicts, they passed from France to England and back again as diplomatists determined. Their settlement was slow, and belongs to the latter period of West Indian history. They are less healthy, more densely wooded, and were the home of a fiercer race of Caribs than the Leewards to the north.

THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AT NASSAU, BAHAMAS

The business of providing America with negro slaves was mainly in English hands at this period, partly as a result of the Asiento with Spain. The number annually exported from West Africa to America grew from 25,000 in 1700 to 100,000 a century later. Repellent as is the slave system to our moral sense, two facts must be recognised—that without it the agricultural development of tropical and sub-tropical America would have been impossible; and that it was obviously consistent with a fine type of citizenship in the planter class. On the other hand, the cheapness and efficiency of the negro slave tended to the supersession of white labour. The slave gang was fitted only for

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GENERAL VIEW OF ST. GEORGE, THE CAPITAL OF GRENADA

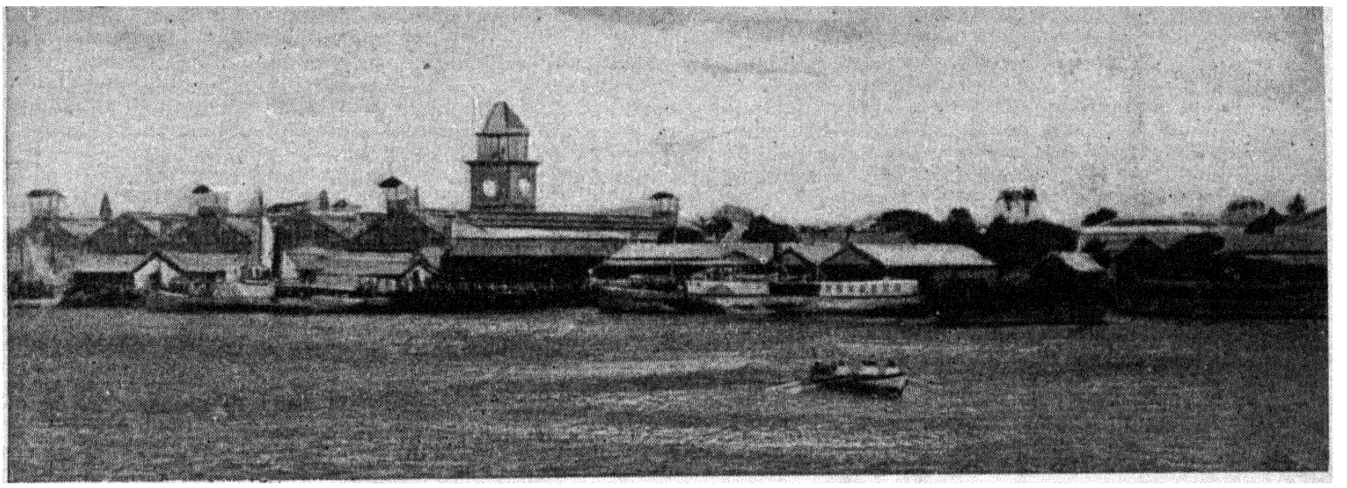
tasks that were uniform and mechanical. Experiment and enterprise were thereby discouraged. The colonies became dependent on a staple crop, and made little progress in industries which lay outside routine. The limited number of capitalist white men needful to develop the productive areas tended steadily to decrease. Hence the vigour and elasticity of Massachusetts were never reproduced in the West Indies. The economic dilemmas of the islands during the past sixty years, are a direct legacy of the slave-holding era. The fortunes of war during the eighteenth century, in spite of constant interruption of peaceful industry, worked steadily in English favour. St. Kitts became wholly English at Utrecht. In the Seven Years War Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Lucia were won for a time and restored at the peace of 1763; but Tobago, Grenada, Dominica and St. Vincent were retained to Great Britain. Havana was taken but not held.

In the war of 1778–1783, the French harried the Antilles till their defeat by Rodney off Martinique in 1782. The wars of the French Revolution gave Trinidad and Guiana to Britain. The effects of the French Revolution in the islands were for a time disastrous, for the "rights of man" proved to have a sinister meaning for planters living at the mercy of negro slaves who outnumbered them by ten or

GROUP OF WORKERS ON A SUGAR PLANTATION, GUADELOUPE

KAIETEUR FALL, THE MOST WONDERFUL IN THE WORLD

With a height of 741 feet and a breadth varying from 350 feet in the dry season to 400 feet in the rainy season, the Kaieteur Fall, shown in the above picture, is the most wonderful in the world, being five times as high as Niagara. Set in majestic scenery on the Potaro River, in British Guiana, the river at the distance of a quarter of a mile above the fall has a depth of 35 feet, while the volume of water is computed to supply 2½th million horse-power.

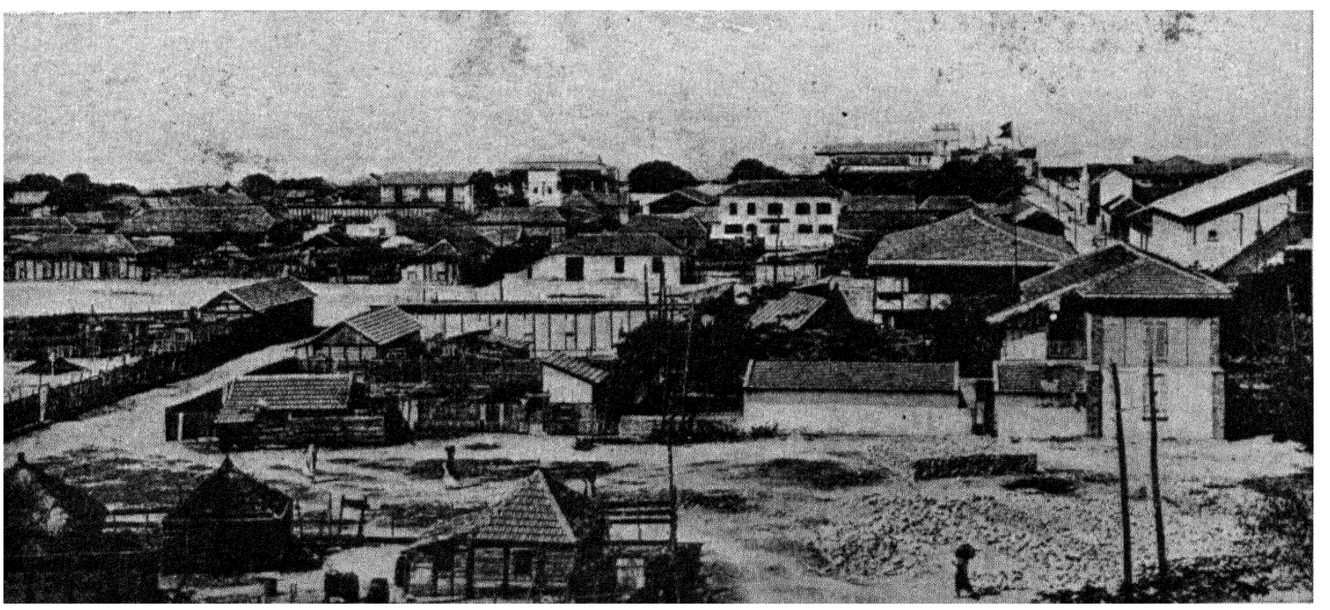


STABROCK MARKET AND THE STELLINGS AT GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA

fifteen to one. San Domingo, the wealthy centre of French sovereignty, was the scene of unspeakable horrors. Every island in which a French element existed, notably the Windwards, suffered from armed risings, with much destruction of property. Down to 1789 French interests in the West Indies increased. At that date the trade of their American colonies exceeded by a third that of the British West Indies. The prolonged struggle with France, which closed in 1815, left the ownership of the archipelago as it stood on the eve of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

The problems of the nineteenth century, therefore, have been chiefly economic and administrative. The event of first importance was the abolition of slavery. The import of new slaves from Africa was suppressed by the Act of 1807. Thereafter the extinction of slavery was only a question of time, and in 1833 the Act for the Abolition of Slavery was passed. The operation of the measure was facilitated by the proviso that slaves might be retained as "apprentices" until 1838 or 1840, and by the parliamentary grant of £20,000,000 sterling payable as compensation to the slave-owners.

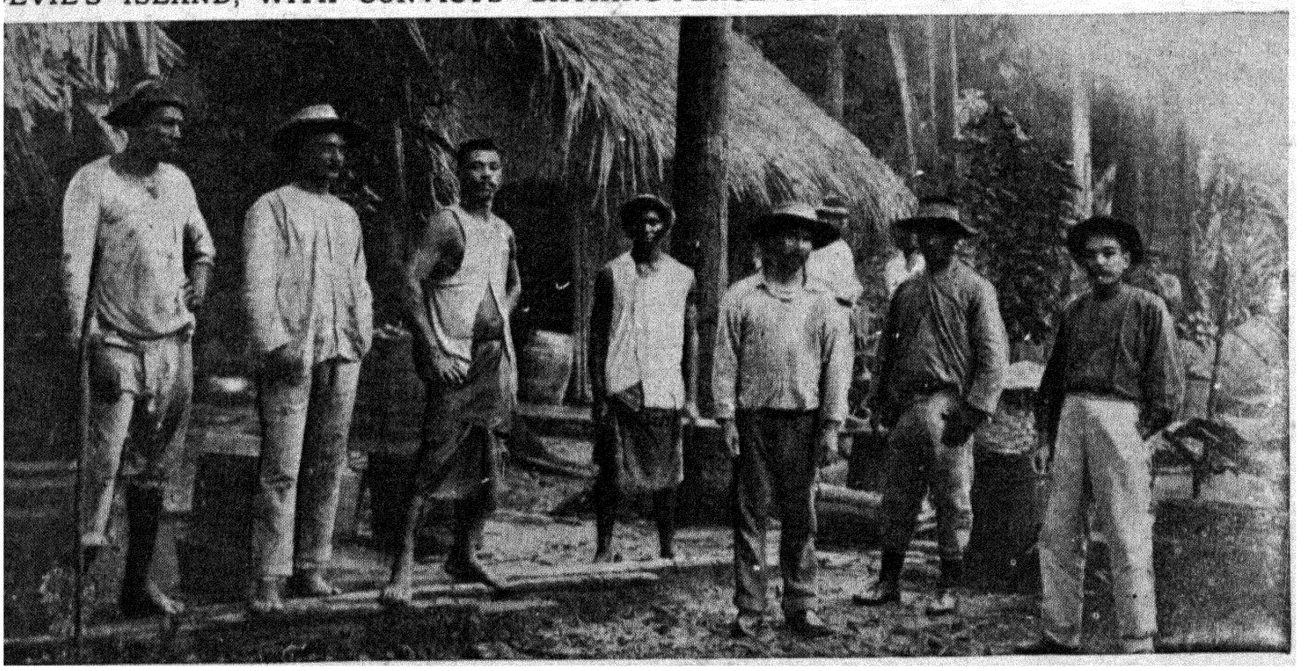
An immediate result of the Act was the search for fresh sources of imported labour. The emancipated slaves worked "in an uncertain and desultory manner." Hence during the period from 1835–1890 nearly 300,000 East Indian coolies were landed in the islands and in British Guiana. The latter colony and Trinidad absorbed an unusual proportion. The export trade of the West Indies has suffered both in British and in foreign markets from two causes. First, the free trade policy of the United Kingdom involved the abolition of the preferential position of the colonies in respect to duties on produce, and the repeal of the whole series of Navigation Acts (1846–1849). Secondly, the growth of competing substitutes for cane sugar, latterly protected by state bounties upon



GENERAL VIEW OF SAN DOMINGO, THE BURIAL PLACE OF COLUMBUS

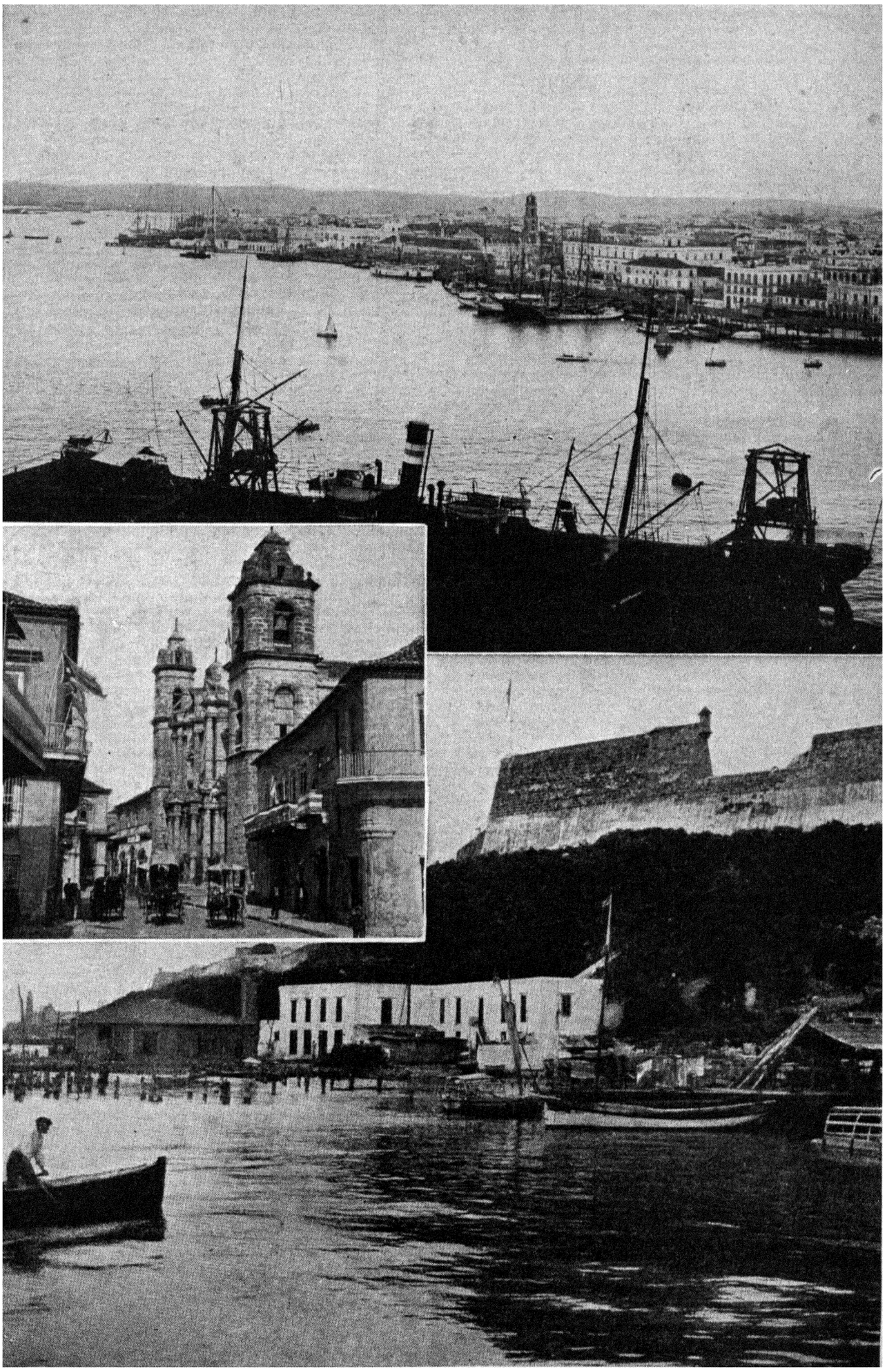
THE BUSY MARKET-PLACE AT CAYENNE, THE CAPITAL OF THE COLONY

EVIL'S ISLAND, WITH CONVICTS' BATHING-PLACE AT ILE ROYAL IN FOREGROUND



A CONVICT COLONY AT UPPER SINNAMARY

SCENES IN FRENCH GUIANA



SCENES IN HAVANA, THE CAPITAL OF CUBA

Havana harbour, seen in the first picture, with its imposing buildings overlooking the sea, is protected on the west by Punta Castle, and on the east by Moro Castle and La Cabaña, the latter being shown in the bottom illustration. Inset is the famous cathedral, built in 1764, where the ashes of Columbus rested until their removal to Spain in 1898.

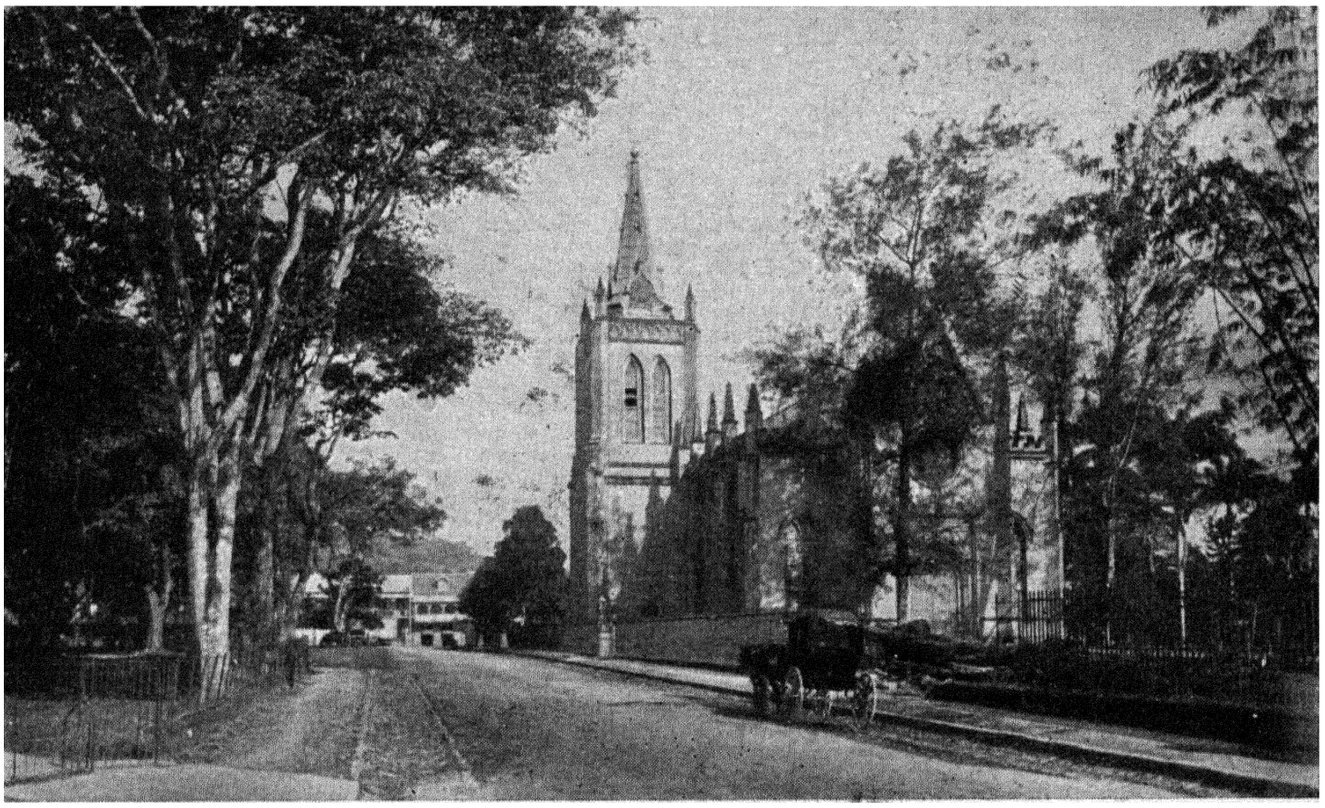
production or export, rendered the sugar industry of the West Indies steadily less profitable. The difficulty of producing and marketing other products has proved to be very great, so that the transition stage of West Indian agriculture has involved disaster to the planter, and grave embarrassment to the finance of the dependencies themselves. A turning-point has probably been reached in the agreement known as the Brussels Convention on sugar bounties, by which the shrinkage in selling prices has been stayed.

At the same time the cultivation of additional products, fruit, coffee, cotton, and especially cocoa, is perceptibly improving the economic outlook. The United States demand has become an important factor. Their imports from Jamaica, for example, are 60 per cent. of the total exports from the island. Disasters such as the great hurricane of 1800, the eruption of La Souffrière in St. Vincent in 1902, and the earthquake which destroyed Kingston in 1906, are typical of the natural calamities which beset the fortunes of the West Indian colonists. The entire elimination of Spanish rule from the Caribbean Sea and the probable completion of the Panama Canal by the United States are the factors of most serious weight in the future—economic, political and strategic—of the Central American region. In respect of government and administration the constitution of the West Indian groups bear, as we should expect, obvious marks of their origin and their history. The Bahamas have enjoyed representative government since 1806; Jamaica, for fifty years (1678–1728) was involved in an unequal struggle with the Crown before the same privileges were securely won.

Jamaica's Natural Calamities

The negro outbreak of 1865, sternly suppressed by Governor Eyre, led the planters to desire the stronger government of a Crown colony, which in 1884 was replaced by a constitution in which a representative element was, in modified form, re-introduced. An attempt at a federal type of administration for the Leewards was made in 1671, when Nevis and Antigua became in turn the seat of the executive; but it was ineffective, and the various islands retained separate

A TYPICAL TOBACCO PLANTATION IN THE PROVINCE OF HAVANA, CUBA



A STREET IN TRINIDAD, SHOWING THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

institutions until 1871, when Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Dominica (once reckoned with the Windwards), Montserrat and the Virgin Islands united to set up a common legislature with specific powers, though remaining four presidencies for local purposes. In the same way the Windwards are under one governor-in-chief, with separate administrators; but since 1876 the elective principle has been superseded in Grenada and St. Vincent, which, with St. Lucia, are now ruled as Crown colonies. The Barbados house of assembly ranks with the old Virginian house of burgesses and the assembly of Bermuda, as typical representatives of the English parliamentary principle. Its powers are still much like those enjoyed by the parliament of the Mother Country at the date of the settlement of the colony. Trinidad and Tobago have a legislative council in common, nominated by the Crown; they have never had representative institutions.

Government in the West Indies

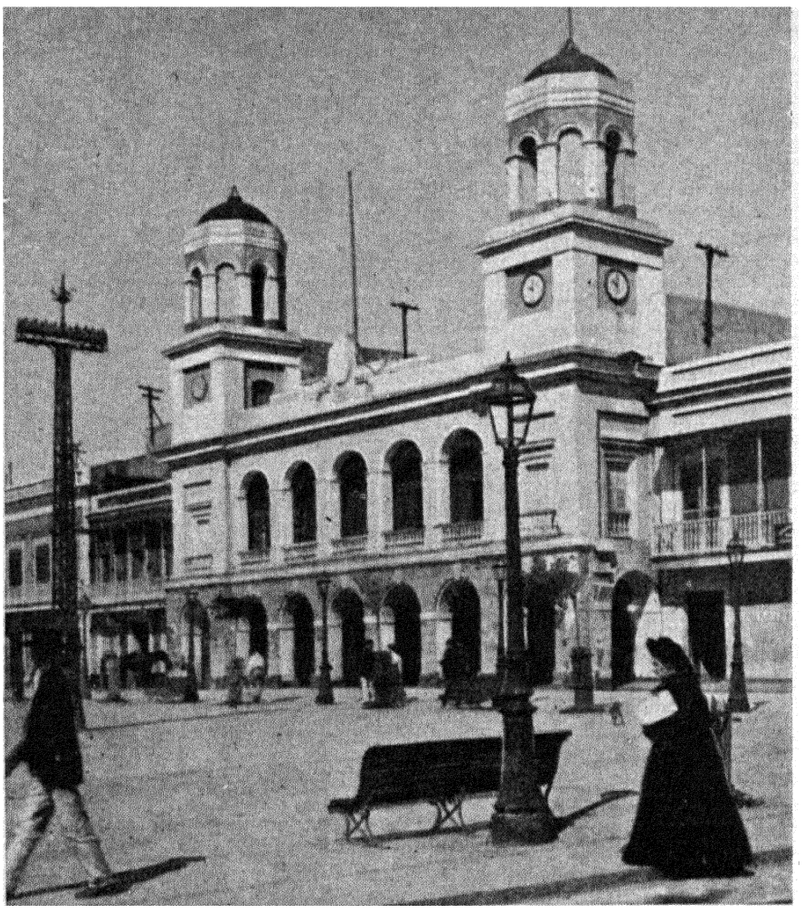
British Guiana and British Honduras, though mainland possessions, are integral portions of the West Indian sovereignty of England. Both were brought definitely under the Crown during the wars of the French Revolution. "Guiana" was the name given to the vast but undefined area to the east of the Orinoco, which infringed upon the uncertain borderland of the Portuguese Brazils. Dutch, English and French adventurers had settled along the estuaries of its great rivers during the seventeenth century.

The early attempts of English settlers, of whom Lord Willoughby of Parham deserves remembrance, came to an end with the Treaty of Breda in 1667. But planters from the English islands by degrees found their way to the Essequibo, the Demerara and the Berbice settlements of the Dutch, who made them welcome. When Holland was dragged into the sphere of French revolutionary politics, in 1796, it was obvious that her people were giving ample hostages to the naval power of Britain. Hence she lost the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and her Guiana settlements. The Barbados men promptly attacked the Essequibo and took the fort; the Dutch made but formal resistance. The conquerors made little change in institutions and forms of government; proprietary rights were respected. The Dutch settlers gained the security of the English sea-power.

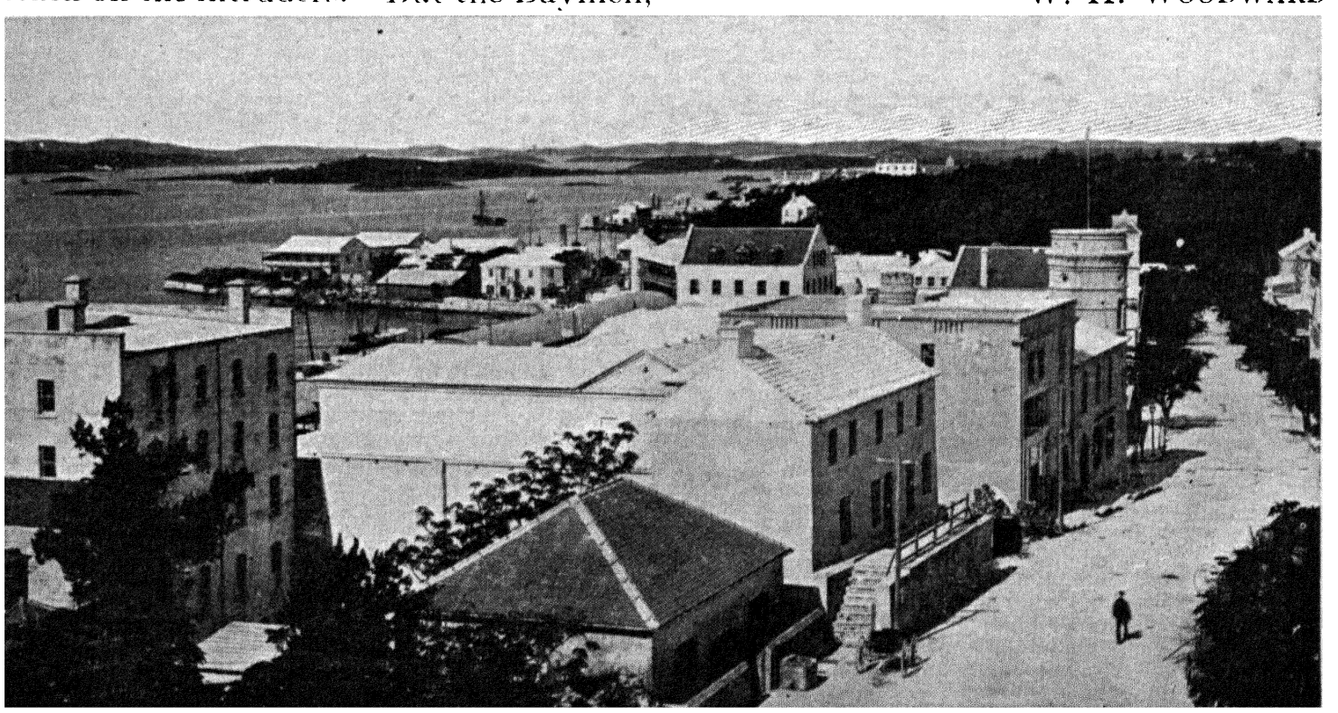
The cession was ratified in 1814. The colony to-day is of the same area as the British Isles. Its constitution is still essentially that of the Dutch era; only in a very indirect sense can it claim to rest upon a representative basis. The staple crops are sugar and cotton; and the negro and coolie elements are

unusually preponderant in the population. British Honduras arose out of settlements effected by wood-cutters, mainly of British origin, who migrated in the eighteenth century to the coast of Yucatan. These maintained a precarious independence of the Spanish rulers of Mexico, but were on friendly terms with the vigorous native stock which inhabited the mountainous hinterland. From 1756, or thereabouts, Britain began to extend her protection to the Belize Baymen, but without disputing Spanish rights of territorial sovereignty. Belize was the port of shipment for the dye-woods and other timber exported. There a form of self-government grew up. In 1798 Spain made a determined effort to put an end to an anomalous situation, and led an attack on the intruders. But the Baymen, aided by English sailors, repelled the assault and established an independence henceforward formally recognised by both Powers. In 1862 British Honduras attained the status of a colony under the governor of Jamaica, a connection which lasted until 1884. It is now a Crown colony with its own governor, and owes its chief prosperity to its inexhaustible supplies of mahogany. Most of the accessible forests, however, have been so well worked that of recent years the quality of the wood has steadily declined; but it is to be hoped that the cultivation of fruit, cocoa, sugar and indiarubber, which, as yet, is in its infancy, will be extended. In spite of the hot, moist climate, there are comparatively few epidemics, though hurricanes and earthquakes are not unknown.

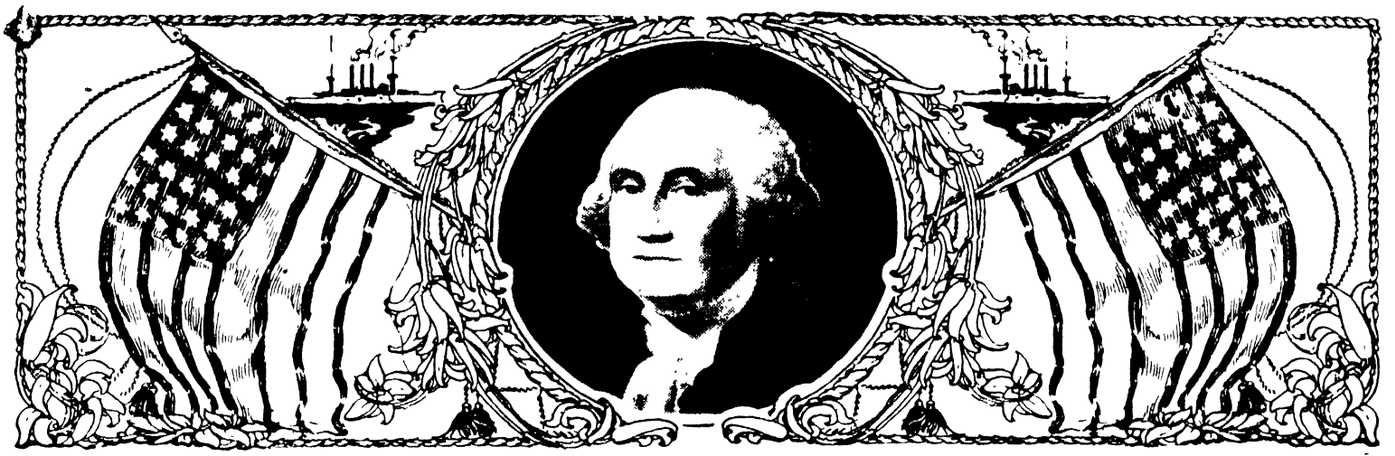
W. H. WOODWARD



THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS AT PORTO RICO



A VIEW LOOKING EAST FROM HAMILTON THE CHIEF TOWN OF THE BERMUDAS



THE UNITED STATES

BIRTH OF THE GREAT REPUBLIC

THE PRESIDENCY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

By Professor Konrad Haebler

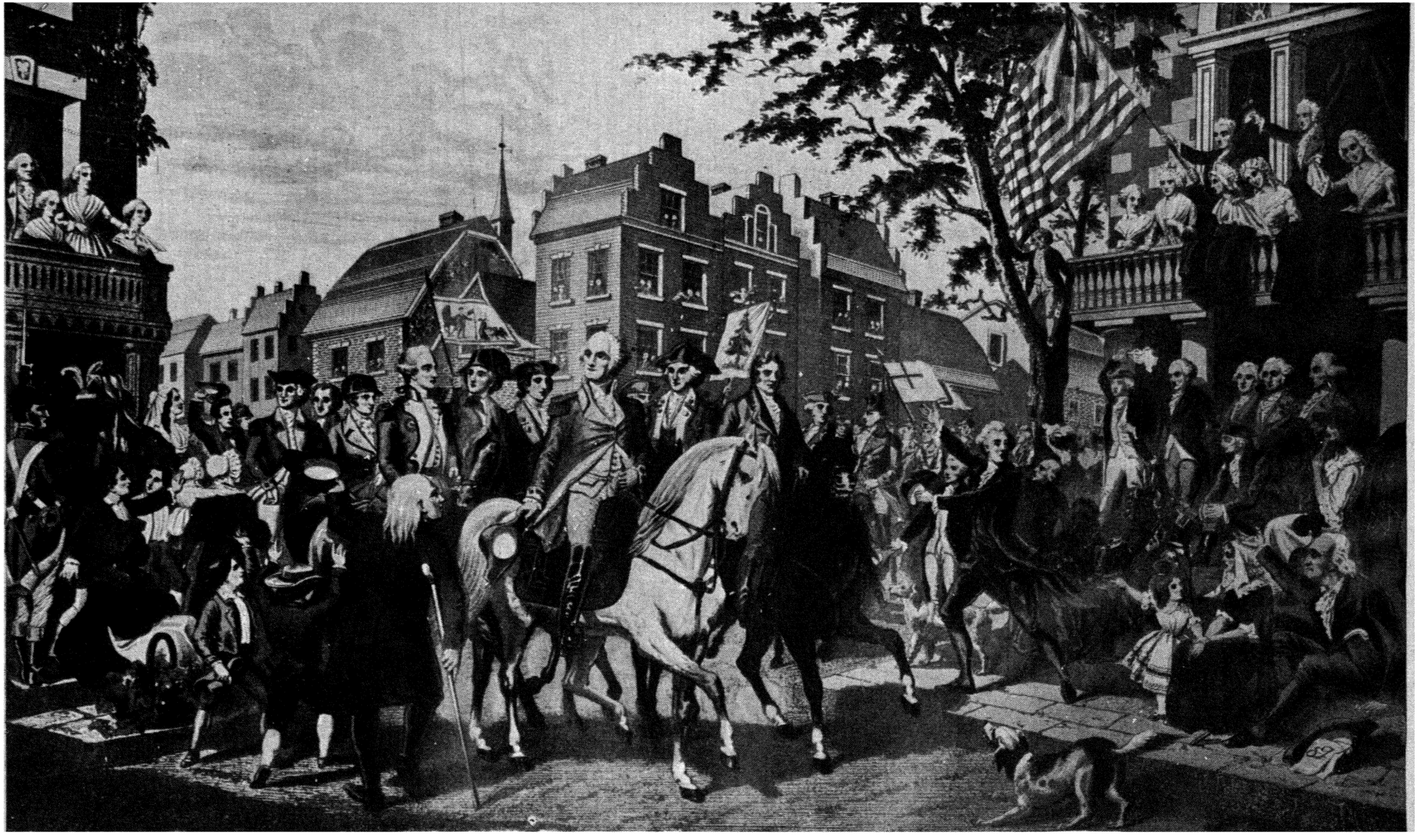
THE condition of the United States as regards internal affairs left much to be desired when their independence was recognised. The people in general were untrained for the political independence they had gained. Even some men who had for years been striving for these lofty ends and had played the rôle of party leaders in the provincial assemblies showed themselves little fitted for the task of government. They had hitherto had experience only of the negative side of political life as members of an opposition that upheld the real and supposed rights of the provinces against the governors appointed by the Crown. A vehement and radical spirit often characterised the discussions in congress, and it became the more pronounced in that it was not counteracted by the presence of a settled government maintaining an established course of procedure.

In the face of petty jealousies between the states, and the conflict of interests between the two groups of Northern and Southern states, it was no easy task to draw up a constitution for the thirteen united states. When the congress first met, in 1774, its authority was quite undefined. It was constituted, normally, by the revolutionary assemblies of the provinces, and thus lacked a strictly legal basis; and its object, its duration, and the scope of its authority were undetermined. If its course during the early years of the war, though calling into existence most stringent measures, met with no serious opposition, this was due less to its claims of authority than to the force of circumstances. The weakness of its organisation was felt by congress itself, and even before the declaration of independence it appointed a committee to place the management of the common concerns of the colonies on a definite basis. The work of the committee, the articles of confederation, was approved by congress in the autumn of 1777, and was submitted to the legislatures of the separate states for ratification. At the end of fifteen months twelve states had accepted the articles.

The First Meeting of Congress

America's Spirit of Independence

Maryland withheld its assent for two years longer. But congress had gained nothing by this definition of its authority; rather the contrary. In the closing years of the war congress sank lower and lower in the public estimation. It was to be feared that congress, and with it the idea of unity, would fall into complete discredit as soon as the war was over, and the pressure from without, causing the states to hold together, was withdrawn. This was the feeling of all clear-sighted politicians, both those who wished well to the states and those who speculated on their breaking up. It was in the full consciousness of this that Washington, before giving up his position as leader of the army—the embodiment of the union—and retiring into private life, wrote to the legislatures of the different states that celebrated letter in which he urged on them to hold together, as this was the only basis for a great future; but for the time



WASHINGTON'S FIRST ENTRY AS PRESIDENT INTO NEW YORK CITY IN 1789

The great war over and peace having been restored in the American Republic, George Washington, who had led the forces with such conspicuous success, found himself acclaimed as a national hero. His rare public appearances were marked by tremendous demonstrations; wherever he went, men and women crowded his path, bent on paying homage to the great soldier and statesman. The above picture shows his first entry into New York City after taking up the duties of presidentship the latter event occurring on April 30th, 1789.

his warning was without appreciable effect. The spirit of independence had been greatly strengthened in the various states during the war. Before the revolutionary steps of 1774 only two provinces, Rhode Island and Connecticut, had been completely republican. In all the others the representatives of the people had been controlled by a governor appointed by the proprietor or by the Crown.

The states under governors had, during the war, remodelled their constitutions on a republican basis; and they were too proud of their newly-won rights of self-government to be ready to give them up so soon for the common good. When peace and independence had been established, the important work of congress, representing the states as a whole, was considered as ended. Each of the thirteen states began to adapt itself to the new situation in the way it considered most advantageous to its own particular interests. Common concerns were meanwhile most shamefully neglected. The congress was not in a position to pay off the army, nor was it able to take over the military posts on the northern and western frontiers. The impotence of the central government created an unfavourable impression abroad. American diplomacy often failed completely in its objects on account of the discredit into which the national government had fallen.

Congress in Discredit

Even at home congress fell into discredit. Pennsylvania looked quietly on while the body representing the union of the states was driven from the capital by eighty mutinous reservists and forced to continue its sittings at Princeton. Each of the states was against all the others. New York set the example by erecting about itself a bulwark of protective duties, not only against foreign states, but, upon its own strict interpretation of the articles of confederation, against its immediate neighbours. These duties were strictly enforced with a total lack of consideration for the interests of neighbouring states. This gave rise to the question whether it would not be desirable to transfer to congress the power of regulating commerce.

It was solely because congress did not possess this power that the desired treaty of commerce with Spain was not concluded; and Great Britain, which now enforced the Navigation Act against the United States, could not be combated because, while the New England states replied by bringing in a navigation act of their own, Connecticut willingly placed its harbours at the disposal of the British; and the Southern states also declared against a navigation act, because they feared that when the New England shipowners had crushed all competition they would raise freights on the staple products of the south so high as to ruin southern industry. Old boundary disputes also cropped up again. From the beginning of the war the United States had laid claim to the territory beyond the Alleghanies; but they had not settled among themselves which state it should belong to. Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed a share on the ground that their colonial charters granted them the land from ocean to ocean.

Discontent Among the States

New York claimed all the land which had owed its tribute to their allies, the Iroquois; and Virginia claimed all the land to the "west and north-west," as indefinitely granted in her charter. North Carolina had established government in Tennessee, as had Virginia and Kentucky. Now, Virginia was at that time, apart from new acquisitions, the most populous and richest of the states, so that the small states whose geographical position precluded further expansion were little inclined to let the power of this one state increase indefinitely, as they had seen in the case of New York what dangers to its smaller and poorer neighbours would follow.

The legislature sought to find a way out of this difficulty in 1777 by making a proposal to congress that the latter should not decide upon the claims of the states to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, but should treat the whole tract as national territory, out of which new states might later be formed. The proposal was quite unsupported, and was rejected; but Maryland now made its ratification of the articles of confederation dependent on the acceptance of this proposal respecting the territory in the west. This was the real reason why this state, otherwise so faithful to the principle of union, delayed its assent to the articles of confederation till 1781.

Maryland Faithful to the Union

In the same year Virginia, following the example of New York and Connecticut, declared itself ready to abandon its claims, and was then followed by Massachusetts, North Carolina and Georgia.

The settlement of the territorial dispute led to important constitutional consequences. Hitherto congress, without power and without means, had had a precarious existence; but the abandonment by the single states of their claims to the hinterland handed over to it a region not only of great extent, but, as the flourishing settlements showed, of considerable wealth. In what form now was congress to exercise its power over this region? The proposal put forward by the Virginian governor, Thomas Jefferson, to divide the territory into ten new states, was rejected; but already in Tennessee and Kentucky communities of such strength had sprung up that soon after the definite constitution of the United States they succeeded in getting themselves admitted as constituted states.

Jefferson's Proposal Rejected

But, on the other hand, the land north of the Ohio was placed under the direct control of congress, partly that it might have the means of paying the interest and capital of the war debt by the sale of land, and partly that it might be able to give the soldiers discharged at the close of the war an opportunity of establishing homes for themselves under favourable conditions. All that was laid down for the constitution of this region was that the rights of individuals, and the religious liberty common to the constitutions of the thirteen states, should be maintained. In other respects also congress was free to arrange the provisional government as it saw fit, thus excluding slavery from the territory and making possible the gradual organisation of these new territories as commonwealths of the union.

This procedure did little to increase the consideration in which congress was held; but it was of much more importance in that it afforded an example of an extensive territory actually ruled by a central authority. The most enlightened politicians—and before all others Washington—were convinced that the only remedy for the unmistakable stagnation existing in the United States was complete unification. Government by congress was a shadow. The future of America, as was even then recognised, lay in the development of its boundless resources. This was impossible so long as the petty jealousies of the states continually acted in opposition to the common interest—to-day encouraging the British to cripple the American carrying trade, to-morrow giving the Spaniards an opportunity of closing the mouth of the Mississippi against the Southern states. A first attempt to entrust to congress the supervision of the trade interests of all the states led to such a wonderful confusion of claims and admissions that nothing useful could be accomplished, and the attempt failed. But it was from this direction that the impulse came to which the constitution of the United States owes its origin.

Washington's Plan of Development

Washington took a lively interest in the economic development of the country, as in all other political questions. Before giving up his post as commander of the army he made a tour in the north to see for himself what communication there was by water between the Hudson and the Great Lakes. After his retirement into private life he took great interest in the project of making a waterway from Chesapeake Bay, through the Potomac, to the Ohio; for, as he well saw, community of interest was the best means of holding the states of the union together. The canal project rendered an understanding among the different states of the union necessary, and, after a meeting of delegates from the four states directly concerned, had been agreed to in principle. It was proposed to invite delegates from all the states to this convention, and to consider, not merely the projected canal, but the economic and especially the commercial needs of the United States.

Convention of Annapolis

Thus originated the Convention of Annapolis, which met in September, 1786. It produced no tangible results; but it passed a resolution, attended by the weightiest consequences, that congress be requested to summon a new convention to deal, not merely with commerce, but with everything bearing on the national welfare and particularly on the form of government of the United States.

Congress was not indisposed to comply with the request of the Convention of Annapolis; but before it had done so the news was spread abroad that Virginia had already chosen its delegates for the new convention, and that Washington had consented to act in this capacity. The popularity of this name worked wonders; in a short time four other states nominated their delegates, and congress, at the instigation of Massachusetts, hastened to

send out invitations to a convention which was to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. The convention, whose work was the constitution of the United States, comprised fifty-five delegates, representing twelve states (Rhode Island not being among them). At the first sitting Washington was elected president. The proceedings were secret, and were not binding on the states represented. But it was exactly this knowledge, that their work could become law only after having been approved by congress and by the states, that gave the delegates the courage to put aside all timid compromise and bring forward a thoroughly new constitution on an essentially altered basis.

The majority of the delegates, though they did not openly express their conviction, knew well that the object of their assembling was to strengthen the union of the thirteen states, and place it on a firmer basis; but as the sittings proceeded, new groupings were formed among the members, and the final resolutions of the convention were the result of a long series of compromises. No dogmatic policy was

Virginia's Scheme for Reform

pursued; but by mutual concessions the interest of all groups in the work of the constitution was maintained, a circumstance that bears witness to the great political wisdom displayed. Virginia, which had largely given the impulse that led to the assembling of the convention, was now the first to bring forward a definite scheme.

Governor Edmund Randolph laid before the convention a plan, worked out in the main by James Madison, to establish a more effective central government. Congress was to be elected by a direct vote throughout the United States, in order that expression might be given to the sovereignty of the people. Following the example of most of the states, it was to consist of two houses. The lower house was to be directly elected; the members of the upper house were to be chosen by the lower house from persons proposed by the state legislatures; in both cases the number of delegates was to be proportioned to population and to the amount contributed to the revenue. Further, in both houses a motion was to be carried by a majority of members, not by a majority of states, as hitherto; and a bare majority was now sufficient, whereas a two-thirds majority had often been required before. Finally, congress, in addition to its power of deciding all matters of common concern, was to have the right of vetoing any resolution of a state legislature dangerous to the interests of the union.

This scheme was, as a whole, too centralising to be acceptable to the anti-Federalists. But its essential feature, the

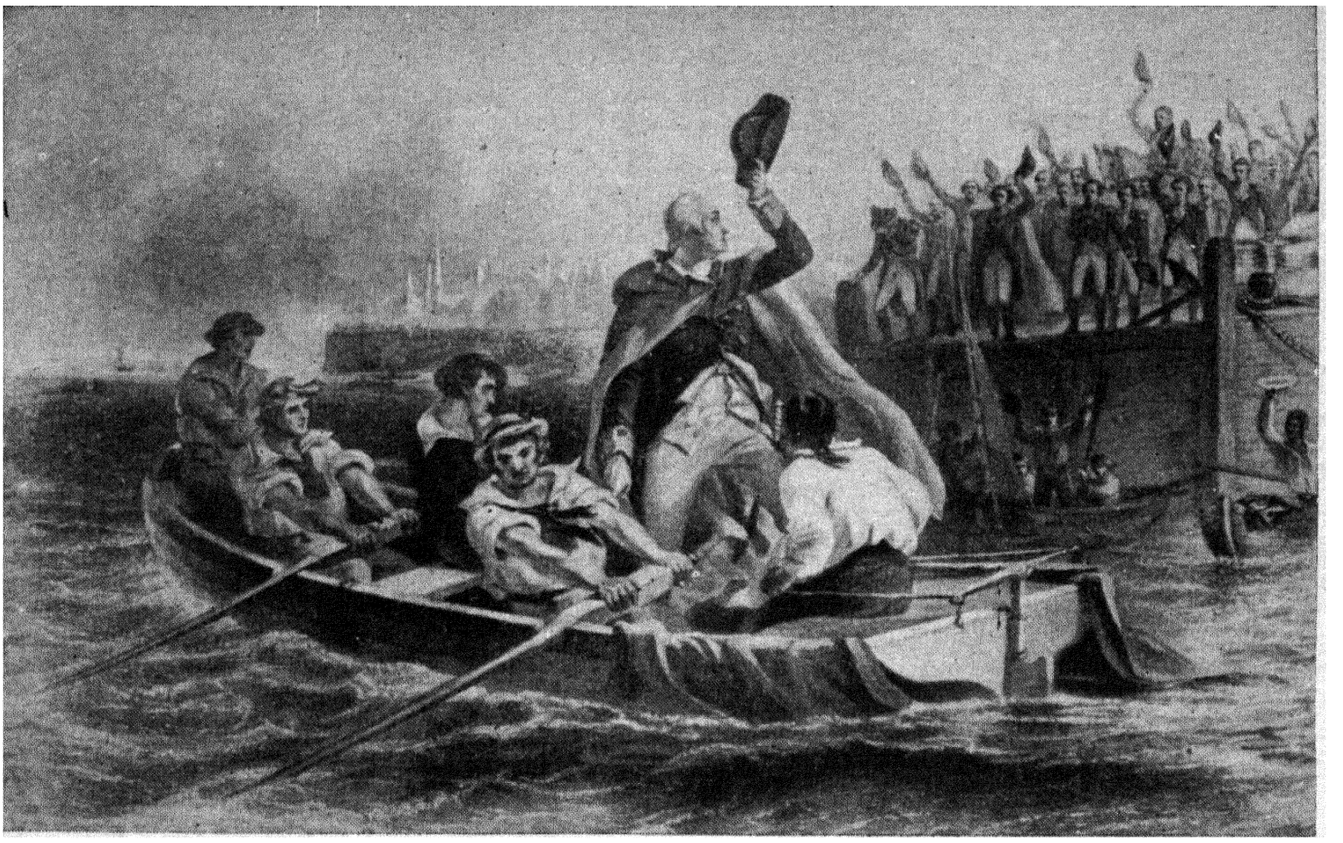
The Negro and Indian Problem

formation of a bicameral legislature with a different basis of representation for each chamber, was saved for the future constitution by one of those statesmanlike compromises. The anti-Federalists had urged a scheme called the New Jersey Plan, according to which all the states, large and small, rich and poor, were to be represented by the same number of delegates in each house. By a third plan, suggested by a member from Connecticut, it was finally concluded, by way of compromise, to apply in the upper house the anti-Federalist theory of equal representation of the states, and to form the lower house according to the federalist scheme of apportioning representatives among the states according to population. Equally significant was the agreement that in both houses a vote should be allowed to each member, and not, as formerly, to each state delegation. The choice of delegates on a population basis led to further differences of opinion. What was to be taken as the population of a state? In deciding the number of delegates to be elected by each state, were Indians and negroes to be included in the population?

This question at once renewed the dissension between north and south, and would perhaps have seriously hampered the convention had not the parties agreed to a compromise based on the precedents of 1783; and now, when the southern representatives wished the negro population to be counted in full in settling the number of delegates for each state, the northern opposition finally forced the south to be

Five Negroes Equivalent to Three Whites

content with the system of counting five negroes as equivalent to three white men in the apportionment both of direct taxes and of representatives. The principle that congress should have complete control of all matters connected with foreign trade had been generally recognised as the chief reason for the meeting of the convention. It was therefore considered right that the convention should come to a final decision on the



WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO HIS GENERALS

It was Washington's intention at the end of the American War to retire to the seclusion of his country estates at Mount Vernon, and the above picture shows the famous soldier and statesman taking final leave of his generals with this intention, a resolution which the new American nation, having need of his services, would not allow him to fulfil.

From the painting by Matterson

point. But the subject of slavery was involved in the matter, and the question was raised whether congress should have the power of prohibiting the slave trade.

Many states were opposed to the continuation of the traffic; but in the face of the great division of interests in the congress a compromise was once more agreed upon. The Southern states consented that congress should, after a period of twenty years, have power to abolish the slave trade, and the Northern commercial states consented that congress, acting by the vote of a majority instead of by the vote of two-thirds, should have exclusive control of commerce between the states and between other nations.

After a series of far-reaching regulations had defined the authority of congress and of the several states, the form of the executive had still to be decided on. Despite the prevailing anti-monarchical spirit the idea rapidly gained ground among the members of the convention that a single person should be placed at the head of the government. But the question as to how this person should be elected gave rise to endless discussions, during which the half-finished work was more than once endangered. It was finally settled that the president of the United States should hold office for four years, but be eligible for re-election; and that he should be chosen by colleges of electors specially constituted for the purpose. The composition of the colleges of electors was left to the separate states. It was not until 1868 that the practice of choosing the electors by the direct vote of the people became general.

The Convention of Philadelphia had done all its work with a feeling that it was binding on no one. This helped it, especially at first, over many difficulties.

Triumph of the Federalists

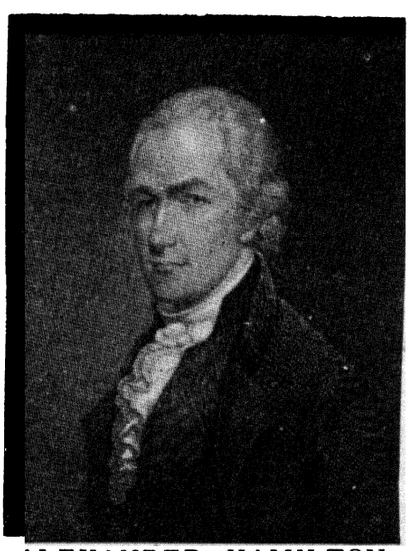
But though two delegates from New York ostentatiously retired in the course of the proceedings, and at the close three more—two from Virginia and one from Massachusetts—refused their signatures to what had been the result of months of discussion, the majority were quite well aware that the current of public opinion in the young nation went with them. The subsequent treatment of their proposals showed that they were not mistaken.

On September 20th, 1787, Washington laid before congress the work of the convention. The anti-Federalist party would have liked to neutralise by it the proposal to reconsider the constitution in congress, and, if need be, to alter it.

But the Federalists, by an overwhelming majority, carried their proposal that the work of the convention should at once be submitted to the different states without change. The first state to decide in favour of the new constitution was Delaware, whose convention accepted it unanimously on December 6th. Delaware was followed in the same month by Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by Georgia and Connecticut in January, and by Massachusetts, after heated debates, in February, 1788. According to the old articles the consent of every state was necessary before a new form could be established. This constitutional requirement was ignored, and by procedure quite analogous to that of revolution it was provided that the new constitution should be in force upon ratification by only nine states.

Washington Elected President

Efforts were also made to qualify the several ratifications by conditions directed to securing more explicitly the civil rights of the individual. But Washington rightly pointed out that to impair what had just been accomplished was equivalent to rejecting it; that the constitution itself afforded the means by which it could be supplemented and improved; and that the proper course for those states whose wishes the constitution did not meet was to use these means to amend it. These arguments told in Massachusetts, and were not without effect on other conventions; and by June, before Virginia had come to a decision, nine states had agreed to the new constitution. Arrangements were then made for the presidential election in which, on January 7th, 1798, all the states, with the exception of New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island, took part. The sixty-nine electors chose Washington as first president of the union. Without doubt the United States possessed no citizen, other than George Washington, in whose hands they could place their fortunes with equal confidence. He combined the tact of a man of the world with an unselfishness that had stood every test, and a firm faith in the future of his country, to whose service he devoted his intellectual talents and his wide practical experience. His unsought elevation to the position of president was but the just reward of his long public services.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON
Founding the National Bank and forming the protective tariff of the United States, he died in 1804 from a wound received in a duel with a political opponent.

Throughout the Revolutionary War he had kept himself independent of party; and he wished to remain so now that he was the chosen ruler of the nation, and to unite all its forces around him in common activity. But experience soon taught him how impracticable this high ideal was. The struggles about the constitution had led to the establishment of sharply defined party differences. These naturally manifested themselves among the men Washington had chosen as his fellow-workers. The most pressing task that lay before the new government was the re-establishment of the credit of the United States, and with it their repute both at home and abroad. In finance Washington had at his disposal a great force in Alexander Hamilton, a leading member of the convention, and so keen an advocate of a strong central executive that he was the recognised head of the Federal party.

His first measures, the funding of the debt of the United States, and the assumption of the debts of the separate states by the union, were in accord with his expressed centralising tendencies. The objection his opponents made to these measures was that they gave an opportunity to the rich merchants of the north of carrying on a profitable if not particularly honourable business. The merchants bought up great quantities of the practically worthless bonds issued to cover the debts of the different states, and made great profits when these were taken over and redeemed by the central government. In order to provide the means of carrying out these financial operations Hamilton now proposed a tax which he admitted would remind every citizen of his connection with the union by touching him in his most sensitive spot, his pocket; but in this he appeared so clearly as a party politician that the anti-Federalists at once declared themselves against him, and so bitter was the opposition that a revolt against the authority of the union broke out in the west. This turn of affairs made it necessary for Washington to put an

imposing force in the field to crush the rising; and also afforded an opportunity through which the power of the central government was early demonstrated.

Washington as Politician

According to his political convictions, Washington was a Federalist, but not in the party sense in which Hamilton was. Thus he was able to choose as one of his Ministers the man who afterwards became the leader of the anti-Federalists—Thomas Jefferson. When the latter returned from his position as Minister to France, Washington offered him the post of Secretary of State, which Jefferson accepted. He helped Hamilton with his plans for the assumption of the state debts by the national government. But just as Hamilton was a "Northerner," Jefferson had unconsciously become a "Southerner"; and Hamilton had to buy his support by inducing his own party to agree that the future capital of the union should be situated in the south, on the Potomac.

The unfortunate thing about the party system was that the parties were not based on ideal principles and firm convictions, but were divided chiefly by conflict of interests. Thus it was that the union was always geographically divided into two hostile camps, the interests of the commercial Northern states being always different from those of the agricultural south. The opposition between Federalists and anti-Federalists had justification and significance only during the struggles about the constitution.

After the constitution had been completed and put into operation, these party names had less significance, for in reality the predominant party was always more or less Federalist, while the Opposition made use of the decentralising tendencies of those who held out for the rights of single states as a cloak to cover its own selfish aims. Washington was very desirous of retiring to private life at the close of his four years' term of office; but at the request of all parties he consented to hold the presidency for another four years, and was once more unanimously elected. This was a piece of good fortune for the young nation; for this period brought difficulties that were overcome only by Washington's tact and foresight. The friendship of France was still an important factor in United States politics; the more because the Revolution tended to establish political conditions in many respects analogous to those of the United States. But these conditions became critical when the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic involved France in war. The Southern states, which had been so eager for the French alliance in 1782, were now intoxicated by the high-sounding and revolutionary phrases of the French Republicans, and were eager and ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their struggle against the despots.

America's Friendship to France

But this would have been bad policy for the United States; for their economic connection with France was slight, while the prosperity of the Northern states was largely dependent on trade with England. For this reason Washington declared the strictest neutrality. The French Republicans, it is true, took no notice of this, and their diplomatists showed the same bold assurance that those of the United States had formerly shown. The French plenipotentiary held himself justified in enlisting soldiers and fitting out privateers in American towns, as he was received with tumultuous applause by the people, not only in the south, but even in New York. But Washington did not deviate from the path he had chosen, and when he was forced, by the tactless behaviour of the French Minister, to maintain the dignity of the American nation against him, the mass of the people was united in supporting the president.

England's Drastic Measures

The position of the government of the union would have been much simpler had it not, at the same time, had to maintain certain claims against Great Britain. The British still held a number of posts in the west under circumstances which laid them open to criticism; and the regulations by which they endeavoured to check the trade of neutrals with France, and to monopolise all trade with their own land for themselves, injured the business of the United States in many very different respects. But it was difficult to remedy this completely so long as the war between France and England lasted. Washington succeeded in gaining partial relief by an agreement arranged by John Jay; but many sources of annoyance remained untouched, and succeeding presidents had for years to contend with these difficulties.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE REPUBLIC
UNDER THE VIRGINIAN PRESIDENTS

AT the close of his second term of office, Washington emphatically declined re-election, so that a new head of the state had to be chosen. In this matter the Federalist party began to dig its own grave. Hamilton indulged in electioneering tactics in order to keep John Adams, who was personally unacceptable to him, out of the presidency. He failed in this; but the factional controversy within the Federalist party made possible the election of an anti-Federalist president in 1800.

The United States now seemed to be drifting, much against its inclinations, into war with France. The Directory, by its insolent proceedings, had forced the United States to discontinue diplomatic relations; and under the favourite pretext of searching for contraband, it carried on a more vigorous war against American commerce than Britain had ever done. Then the Federalist party collected its strength, and demanded a resolution declaring war on France; but before war had been formally declared, Adams took advantage of the first slight signs of concession on the part of France to effect a reconciliation. This was a severe defeat for the Federalists, and it was made worse by the fact that at the same time they took a disastrous step in home affairs. To guard against foreign agitation in the country, they introduced a severe law against this, and against insults to the government, which they carried in spite of vigorous opposition. The anti-Federalist party considered this the height of illegality, and the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia held sittings to protest against it.

Federalists' High-handed Policy

During these sittings the famous resolutions were passed in which the champions of the rights of single states claimed the right of actively resisting illegal resolutions of congress. The resolutions had no immediate significance, but later they served as a basis for the arguments of secessionists. The new presidential election placed Jefferson at the head of the government. As the result of mismanaged electioneering tactics on the part of the anti-Federalists, Jefferson and Burr, who had been selected for the vice-presidency, received the same number of votes. The unscrupulous Burr would gladly have displaced Jefferson; but the Federalists who helped him in his attempt only succeeded in gaining contempt for themselves by their efforts. Jefferson emerged from the contest doubly victorious. His government gave proof that acting in opposition is a very different thing from leading a government.

Jefferson in the White House

The policy of the government was still determined by its relations to the belligerent Powers in Europe. Ever since the Declaration of Independence there had been differences between Spain and the United States about the free navigation of the Mississippi. This had been conceded by England to the United States at the Peace of Versailles; but England had at the same time given up Florida to Spain. Thus the mouth of the Mississippi became exclusively Spanish, and the government at Madrid unconditionally refused to allow foreign ships to pass through its territory. It was only in 1795, after protracted negotiations, that New Orleans was declared a free port for American ships.

Almost immediately after this negotiations were begun which led to a further change at the mouth of the Mississippi—the cession of Louisiana to France by Spain. The union government had several times considered the best means of meeting the danger that the territories on its boundary, Louisiana and Florida, might pass from the weak hands of Spain into those of England or France; and Jefferson did not delay coming to an understanding with the new owner of Louisiana upon their neighbouring relations. In so doing he made the surprising discovery that the First Consul, Napoleon, was by no means

Annexation of Louisiana

disinclined to rid himself of this territory, which possessed but doubtful value for him. Now, Jefferson had not the least doubt that the constitution did not permit him to acquire new territory for the union; but he had no thought of letting slip such an exceptional opportunity of extending and securing the boundaries of the union. He therefore gave his unqualified approval to the act of his envoy, who purchased the territory in question from France for something like £3,000,000. Of course, there was very considerable opposition, especially on the part of the Northern states, which feared their trade would suffer by the opening of the mouth of the Mississippi; but Jefferson's enemies were not so blind as to think seriously of annulling this profitable transaction.

Jefferson's Profitable Transaction

In the autumn of 1804, Jefferson was elected to the presidency for a further term of four years. During his second term of office the political situation was graver. As Napoleon more and more revealed himself, so the Old World became more and more plunged in war. The United States were affected by it, as each of the sea Powers, Great Britain and France, persistently harassed the commerce of the citizens of the union with that of its enemies. In this the attitude of the British may have been more unfriendly than that of France, though both nations captured American ships almost in their own harbours. But the old leaning of the Southern states towards France, and Jefferson's enthusiasm for that country, were responsible for the union government's directing its anger chiefly against Britain.

From the time of the War of Independence the idea had survived that the interruption of commercial relations was a specially effective and dangerous weapon against that Power. As those on the American side who would suffer most from this were the commercial Northern states, the party of the Southern states, then predominant, immediately carried the proposal of an embargo of several months' duration. But in reality it was only American trade that suffered seriously from it; for even in American waters Great Britain was supreme, and so was able to protect an illicit trade which almost compensated for the loss of the regular commerce. The complaints of the north, continually becoming louder, were not without effect on congress. Jefferson himself was considering the removal of the embargo; but towards the end of his term of office he had lost control over congress to such an extent that his opponents carried its immediate repeal greatly against his will.

Great Britain Protects Illicit Trade

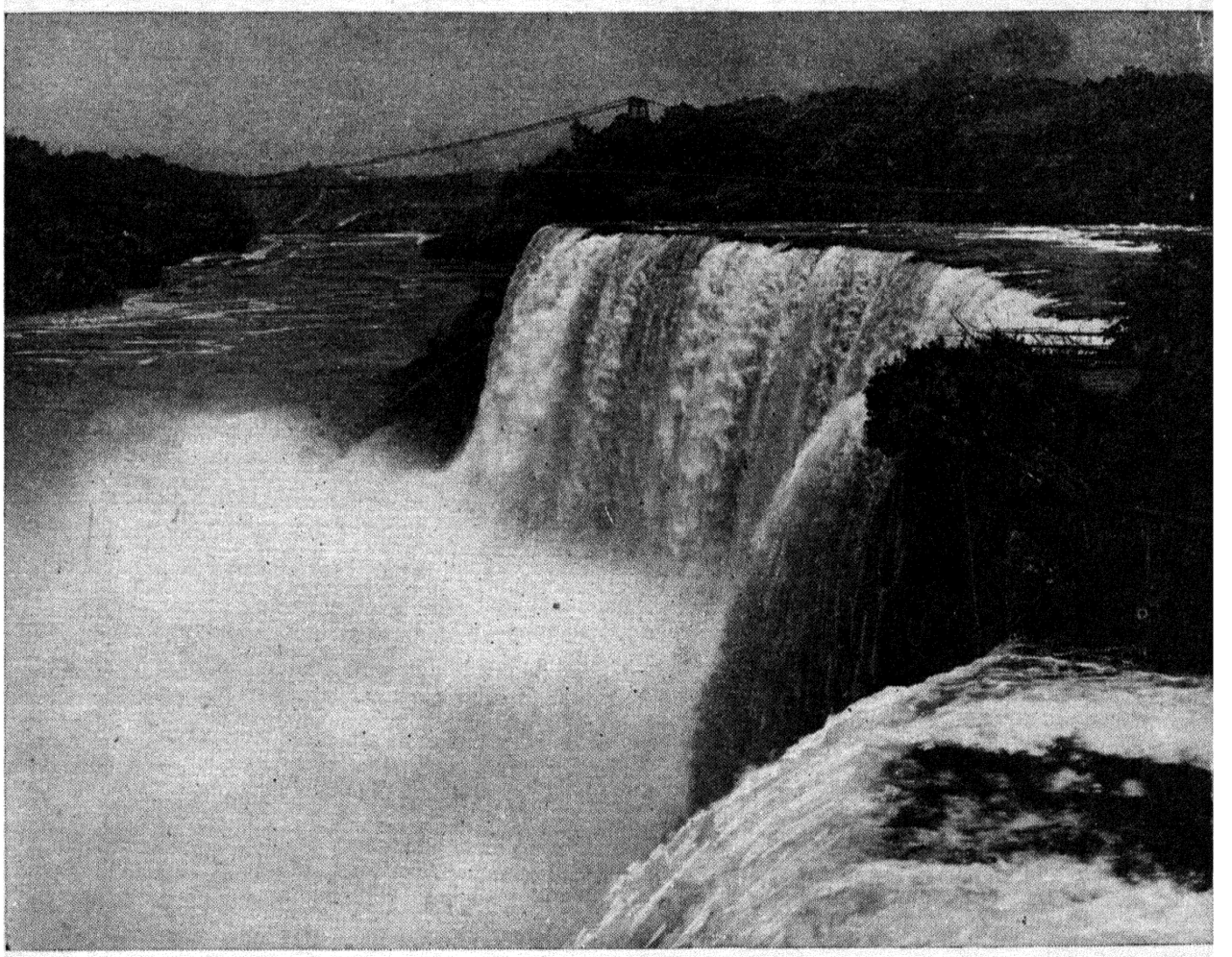
The change in the presidency made no change in the situation either at home or abroad. Madison, like Jefferson, was one of the leaders of the southern party, that championed the rights of the separate states; but, like his predecessor, he was forced more and more towards the Federalists by the duties of the office he had taken up. One thing was unmistakable—that his personal influence over the southern party was appreciably less than that of his predecessor. On becoming president he had found relations with Great Britain and France unchanged.

Great Britain did not respond to the removal of the embargo by any serious attempt to remedy the grievances complained of by the Americans; on the contrary, the negotiations entered upon ended in her rejecting all the American claims and refusing all concessions until the United States should take up a more decided attitude towards France. Now the latter deserved no consideration from America. Her attitude was quite as unfriendly as England's. But on account of the traditional friendship between France and the union, ever kept alive by skilfully turned phrases, the government could not make up its mind to buy British friendship by a change of front towards France. Thus negotiations were continued with both Powers on the subject of the abolition of the regulations which crippled the trade of neutrals; but the Americans still had to put up with their ships being treated as hostile by both sides, without daring to make reprisals. In this dilemma help came to the government from a quarter whence it was least expected.

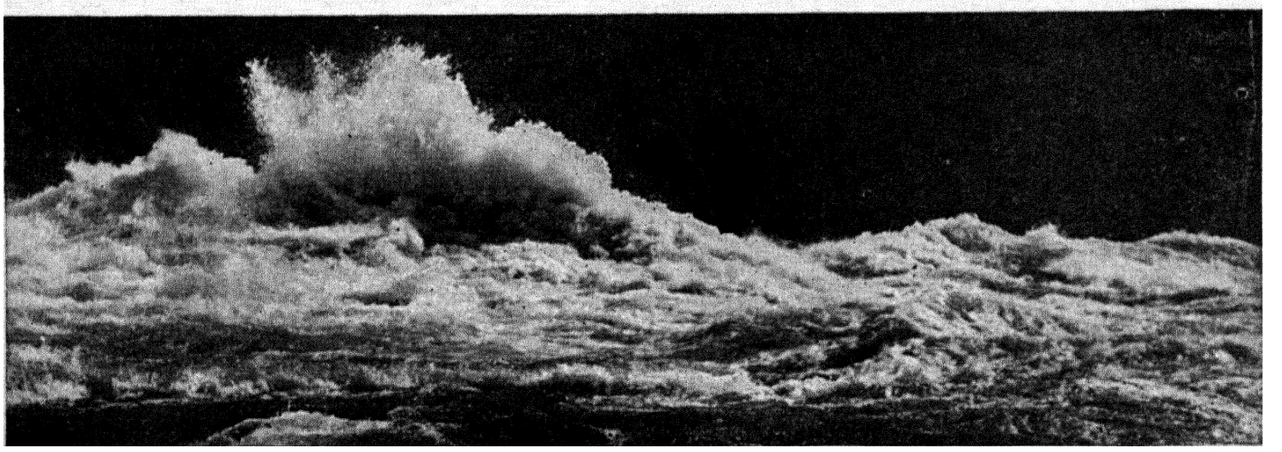
French or British Friendship?

In the south there had formed within the anti-Federalist party a new group that held more firmly to the one-sided policy of the party. The leaders of this group, Clay and Calhoun, were intoxicated with pan-American ideas, the first aim of which was the conquest of Canada. Accordingly, they threatened to withdraw their support from Madison in the forthcoming presidential election if he did not adopt a more energetic policy against Great Britain. Now, Madison's ambition was to serve

A VIEW OF THE NIAGARA RIVER ABOVE THE FALL



THE FAMOUS HORSESHOE FALL, WITH A DESCENT OF 158 FT.



THE RAPIDS BELOW THE FALL

Photochrome

SCENES OF THE WONDERFUL NIAGARA FALLS

6211

two terms as president, like his predecessors; and to this desire he sacrificed his love of peace. On April 1st, 1812, he renewed the trade war by an embargo; but as the north was not inclined to a war policy, or willing to bear its expenses for the south, the embargo was weakly enforced, and once again remained ineffective. The war party, however, was insistent, and Madison yielded. As if in mockery of the American plans, the abolition of the decrees pressing hardly upon the trade of neutrals was consented to exactly at this time by both Great Britain and France; but before definite news of this could reach America the pliant majority of the congress had decided on war against England, and declared it on June 18th, 1812.

War Declared Against Great Britain

If the War of Independence, in spite of the community of interests then existing, had exhibited the military resources of the union in a very unfavourable light, still more so did this war, which the Northern states stigmatised as a party war of their opponents. It is possible that the British Government for a time cherished the hope of breaking up the union and forming the Northern states in a separate union friendly to England. This charge against the Northern states has been founded chiefly on the proceedings of the Hartford Convention. But this assembly, in which, moreover, only Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts were officially represented, did, in reality, no more than the Southern states had done against Adams by the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. It claimed for the several states the right of refusing to recognise as binding unjust and pernicious resolutions of congress, and maintained the principle of opposing such resolutions, if need be, by force.

But it did not consider that such a necessity had already arisen, and, though refusing to take active part in the war, had no thought of entering into separate negotiations with the British. The course of the war showed how little preparation had been made for it, and how small was its popularity on the whole. Madison had announced that his plan of campaign was to maintain the defensive on the coast, but, by energetically taking the offensive in the north, to try to add Canada to the possessions of the United States. But he was unable to obtain the means of doing this. The recruiting and enlistment resolved on by congress proved totally inadequate; even the militia avoided service as much as possible.

Madison's Plan of Campaign

Matters were made worse by the apparent incapacity of the generals, and the first campaign ended in most disgraceful losses, which were only partially retrieved by the two which followed. The war of defence on the coast also brought to light a melancholy state of affairs. In privateering the ships and seamen of the Northern states proved themselves no despicable opponents, as they had already done in the War of Independence, and it was owing to their bravery in many encounters between single ships that the union government turned its attention more seriously to the creation of a navy.

But where the British appeared with fleets and not with single ships, they scarcely ever met with serious resistance. This many coast towns found to their cost in the first two campaigns; and in 1814 the British landed on the shores of the Potomac and captured and partly burned Washington, the capital of the union, without once having to fight a serious engagement. The union government was broken up and had almost ceased to exist. In this state of affairs the union received unexpected help from the south. Already in the War of Independence both British and Americans had called in the Indians to their aid, but with very different results. Even when the Americans offered the greatest inducements, the redskins did not forget the bad treatment they had received in the past, and still received from the British colonists; thus they were reluctant and untrustworthy allies.

Washington Captured and Burned

The British, on the other hand, stepped into the shoes of the French in Canada, and to some extent maintained their wise Indian policy. Besides this, even long after the War of Independence, the British held posts in the west, and thus kept in touch with the Indians, against whom Washington had already had to wage a war of several years' duration, in which, after repeated severe losses, success was attained only by the employment of overwhelming force. In the war of 1812 the Indians took the British side in large numbers. The warlike eloquence of Tecumseh, which spread from the northern lakes to Florida, gave rise to the scheme of a general Indian rising. In the north the project led to no very important results; but in the Southern

and South-western states a rising of the Creeks threatened to become a serious danger to the Americans. It was here, in the south, that Andrew Jackson fought his first battle. He had decidedly military talents, and he was able, with the comparatively small means at his disposal, to combat the danger, in spite of the secret support the Indians received from Florida.

These struggles attracted the attention of the British to the southern and western boundaries. Knowing well the importance of the mouth of the Mississippi to the Americans, who were rapidly spreading westward, they resolved to try to gain a footing there. The boundary of the Spanish possessions in Florida had long been a subject of dispute between Spain and the union. The Spaniards could not deny that New Orleans was a part of Louisiana; but otherwise they laid claim to the east bank of the Mississippi, while the United States strove to get possession of both banks, and were not disinclined to purchase, if necessary, all West Florida. The British took advantage of this uncertainty of the boundary.

Serious British Defeats

They landed at Pensacola and used this Spanish town as a base for their attacks. But they found their match in Jackson, who held command on this boundary. He was as little restrained by international rights as the British. He took for his headquarters Mobile, which was also Spanish, and from this base attacked Pensacola so successfully that the British were forced to abandon it and withdraw to their fleet. New Orleans was the next object of the British attack; but Jackson fortified and defended it successfully, repulsing the British with heavy losses on January 8th, 1815. After this they had no desire to try conclusions with him a third time.

Before these successes became known, peace had been concluded at Ghent, on December 24th, 1814. The frivolous origin of the struggle, and its still more disgraceful course, gave the Americans little claim to favourable conditions of peace. But the political situation in Europe came to their aid once again, and they reaped where they had not sown. Negotiations were entered upon during the second year of the war, and anxiety on account of a menacing grouping of the European Powers caused Great Britain to drop the imperious tone with which she had at first repulsed every approach. As there were scarcely any real points of difference, peace was quickly concluded, and, considering the situation, the Americans could demand nothing better than the re-establishment of the *status quo*.

An immediate consequence of the conclusion of peace was the acquisition of Florida by the United States. Madison was not

Florida Ceded to the Union

destined to accomplish this rounding off of United States territory. This was left to his successor, Monroe, who was especially fitted for the work, as, on account of his diplomatic missions to the courts of Europe, he knew all sides of the question better than any other. The war had shown that Spain was not able to defend the few localities from which her officials were supposed to rule Florida; it was the continual complaint of the Americans that Spain was quite powerless over the country, and that her province was the haunt of all criminals from the neighbouring states. Troops of filibusters had established themselves on some of the islands off the coast, and, under the pretext of fighting for the freedom of the Spanish colonies, they made piratical attacks on both Spanish and American vessels.

The union government was forced to take action here, and, having once begun to establish order in Florida, found it difficult to determine how far it ought to go. On land the Seminoles were as great an annoyance to the neighbouring states as the pirates by sea. They had been furnished by England with money, powder and officers during the war; and here the Peace of Ghent put no end to the strife. Finally, Monroe entrusted the subjugation of the Seminoles to Jackson, and when the latter interpreted his task as the conquest of all Florida the government placed no hindrance in his way.

On the contrary, it tried to justify his action by diplomacy. This pressure sufficed to bring to the desired conclusion the

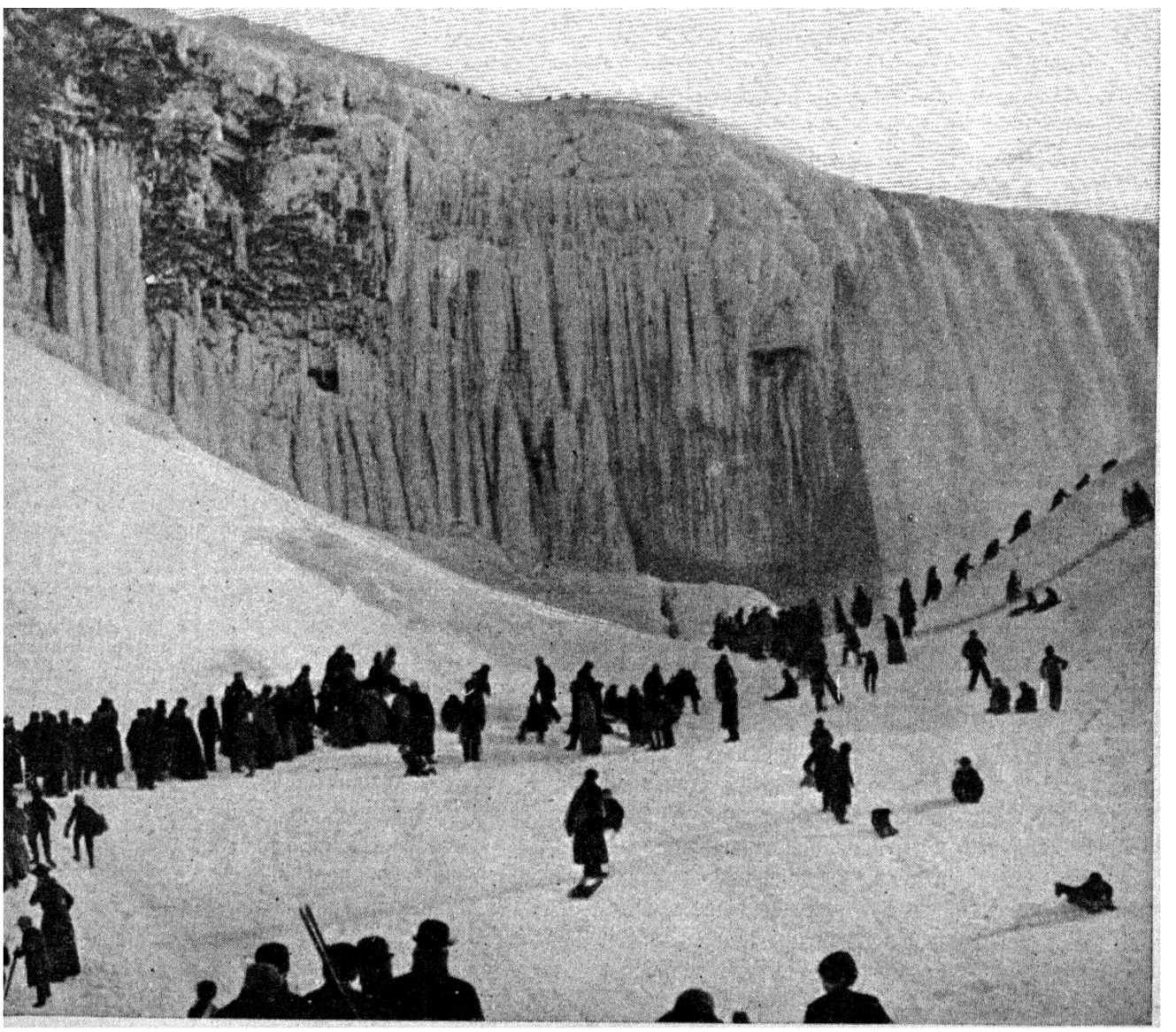
Monroe's Brilliant Régime

negotiations with Spain which had been pending for years. In October, 1820, Spain ceded to the United States, for the sum of £1,000,000, this territory, which had really slipped from its grasp long before and had for long been of no real use to it. This removed from the path of the United States the last obstacle to the completion of their territorial development in that direction. After the acquisition of Florida nothing remained that was likely to involve the

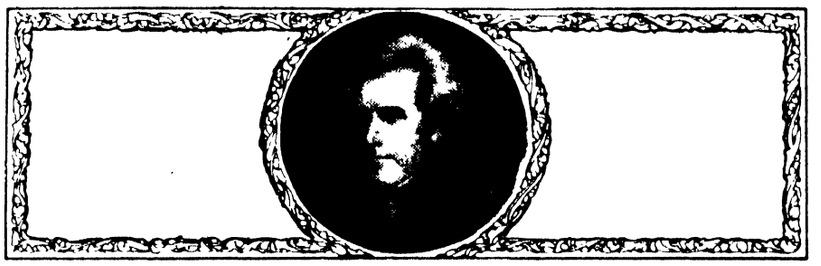
United States in diplomatic complications with foreign Powers. A long period followed, during which their rulers had leisure to devote their whole attention to the development of the country, which made such progress as exceeded the wildest hopes of the founders. As early as 1806, Jefferson had been able to announce that the revenue of the government exceeded its expenditure, and the complications of the following years caused but a transitory interruption of this favourable state of affairs. By reason of the rapidly increasing immigration the population increased enormously and spread itself over a larger and larger area. By 1818 nine new states had been added to the thirteen original ones, and further admissions to the union were impending.

Besides this, in Monroe the nation had the rare good fortune to have at its head a president who was not merely a party politician. Monroe was the last of the great Virginians, and was elected as the candidate of the anti-Federalists upon a platform essentially Federalist; but the division between the old parties had completely disappeared, the all-powerful organisation of the Republican party had gained complete control of the political situation, and now within that party were gradually being formed those sectional and personal factions which were to become the nucleus of future parties.

Monroe followed Washington's example in not limiting the choice of his advisers to one faction, but rather in seeking to enlist in the service of the state the most capable men of all groups. It is true that he could not crush out the dangerous germs of discord which had their origin in the great economic differences in the development of north and south; but it was a distinct advantage to the land that a serious attempt was once more made to further its general interests.



THE NIAGARA FALLS ICE-BOUND Underwood



THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON

IT has become customary to regard the recent history of the United States of America exclusively in the light of the struggle over slavery; but this process is not in this case so accurate as when applied to the last four decades of the history of Brazil. The abstract question whether slavery was admissible or justifiable had, indeed, been debated, and in some communities negatived, even at the time of the cessation of British rule in the American continental colonies, and was thereafter discussed quite continuously by individuals and corporate bodies.

Nevertheless, the government of the United States, as such, had, far into the nineteenth century, regarded the enslavement of negroes as a legal institution wherever established by commonwealth enactment; and thus the struggle between north and south could never turn upon the legality of slavery, but only upon the ethical status of the institution.

The Legal Status of Slavery

It was not only a defensive struggle for the protection of certain purely economic interests, but it also by degrees assumed such a character that the preservation of slavery seemed to become a *sine qua non* to the south as clearly as did the destruction of the preponderance of the slave-holding Southern states appear essential to the beneficial progress of the north.

A government in which a man's vote upon national affairs was relatively influential in proportion to the number of slaves within his commonwealth; which allowed to a slave-holder the unrestricted pursuit of his slaves even into states where the institution did not exist; a government, finally, which permitted slavery in the small federal district over which it exercised direct control, and in certain of the territories governed by congress—such a government naturally entertained no doubts as to the legal status of slavery. In the Northern states, for reasons of climate, topography and industrial development, slavery naturally was not very widely spread; in Massachusetts, in fact, soon after the adoption of its constitution in 1780, slavery was made impossible by judicial decision. In New York, on the other hand, it was to be found for a half-century more, and similar conditions prevailed in other Northern states. The slave trade, which was more universally and less reservedly condemned than slavery itself, was vigorously carried on not only legally during the twenty years fixed by the constitution after the adoption of that instrument, but also illegally, far beyond that period, and that, too, by the very merchants who were otherwise fully conscious of the industrial antagonism between north and south.

Slave Traffic Universally Condemned

By the terms of the constitution a measure became law if passed in the house of representatives by a majority of the members, who were apportioned among the states on the basis of population, and in the senate by a majority of the members, who were apportioned equally among the states. As long as the conflict was undecided, a serious danger to both parties lay hidden in this complex system of representation. In the house of representatives the Northern states, owing to their larger population, possessed from the beginning a small majority.

Nor could this be affected by the constitutional concession to the southerners by which, in computing population for purposes of representative apportionment, five slaves were made to count as three inhabitants. In spite of this, the majority grew; for, notwithstanding the importation and the rearing of slaves, the Southern states were unable to keep pace with the increase of population of the north. Thus the only protection of the south lay in the senate, whose membership consisted of two senators from each state, and not of state delegations, varying in size according to

Slaves as Factors in Politics

the population of each state. The south, if industrially and politically it was not to be handed over to the north, was compelled to find means of maintaining a balance in the senate. The New England states had, indeed, before this, in the most undisguised fashion, paraded their own sectional arguments and interests as a justification for possible separation. And even after the establishment of the constitution and the later accession of Jefferson, a perverted federalism was for some years vainly used to further certain of their interests. But after the Hartford Convention the entire policy of the north-eastern group, drawn together by similarity of interests, left no room to doubt what the south would have to expect when once it should no longer be able, of its own weight, to counterbalance the self-centred industrial policy of the Northern states.

Northern and Southern Conflicts

Thus the "planter" states had to guard their common life interests against the "industrial" states. These interests, indeed, were not exclusively bound up with the maintenance of slavery. Nevertheless, this institution, so essential to their industry, furnished an outward, visible sign which became more and more a distinguishing mark of the section. Later, the Northerners complacently made the alleged evils of an institution which they themselves had once by no means despised a pretext for attacking the south, while in reality they were seeking to protect their own political and industrial interests.

At the time when the thirteen North American provinces had joined together in a federal union, the industrial opposition of the planter states to the commercial and manufacturing states was by no means so marked as to enable one to speak of a majority of either of these groups. Later, however, the division assumed from year to year a more definite character. It was probably not a mere accident that in the nine new territories received as states into the union up to 1818 —as in the case of the thirteen original states—the states with an essentially free, industrial and agricultural population exactly balanced those in which plantation industry and slave labour were predominant. This balance seems to have been threatened for the first time when Missouri applied for admission into the union, on which occasion it was proposed by certain Northerners to make the prohibition of slavery a preliminary condition of such admission. The question was, indeed, still an open one; for although, according to the North-west ordinance, slavery was to be prohibited in the territories north of the Ohio, no definite limit in this respect had been as yet fixed on the other side of the Mississippi.

Slave Labour on the Plantations

From its natural conditions and the manner in which it had been colonised, Missouri was evidently marked out for another planter state. Accordingly the representatives of these states in both houses protested energetically against the resolution, and, in conformity to the doctrine of public law, which from the beginning had recognised slavery as an institution exclusively within the jurisdiction of the states, demanded that the question of slavery should be left to the decision of the new state in its constitution, and that under no pretence should congress be allowed to reserve to itself the right of attaching to the admission of a new state such conditions as it might determine. On the other hand, the north in reality was not concerned merely with the question whether there were to be slaves in Missouri or not—a matter, indeed, of complete indifference to the great merchants; their real apprehension was whether, by surrendering this territory to the southern interests, the latter might not thereby acquire in the senate such a decided preponderance as might possibly be used in a manner hostile and damaging to the north.

Rising Power of the South

Hence as long as there was danger of such a majority the north offered an obstinate and energetic resistance; but this at once disappeared when the territory of Maine likewise applied for admission to the union, whereby a check might be afforded to the north against the rising power of the south. In this connection, what is known as the Missouri Compromise was effected in 1820 and 1821, which, on the one hand, admitted the two territories into the union without conditions and recognised the inability of congress to impose such conditions, and, on the other hand, fixed the boundary between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding territories west of the Mississippi at 36° 30′ of latitude.

The acuteness with which this Missouri question was fought out by the two parties was in some measure due to another matter—the development in the same years of another approaching conflict of

interests between the north and the south. We have already stated that New York, before its acceptance of the federal constitution, had, for the purpose of supporting its young industry, surrounded itself with a system of protective tariffs. As this policy was gradually approved, and as industrial centres began to appear in all the states of the north-east, the desire for protection by the laws of the union became more general. This desire also found adherents in the states of the north-west, in which the farmers were principally engaged in wheat culture.

To the south, on the other hand, free trade seemed a distinctly beneficial policy; for whereas the productions of the Southern states were limited to a small number of commodities which were exported as raw products, they drew the whole of the manufactured articles they required from abroad, and could therefore view only with displeasure a protective tariff which rendered the competition of foreign countries in their markets more difficult, and which increased the cost of all articles which to them were indispensable. It was, moreover, doubly annoying to them, not only that they had to support, as they argued, by means of a protective tariff, the industry of the Northern states, which formed the principal factor in their rapid increase of population, but also that, by the exclusion of foreign competition, they should render themselves directly dependent for all manufactured articles upon the states of the north.

Southern Struggle for Free Trade

Nevertheless, in 1824, a bill was passed in both houses of congress, by a majority of a few votes, according to which a moderate protective tariff became a law of the union. This, so far from terminating the struggle between free-traders and protectionists, did not even produce a temporary pause in the agitation; for while the north fought for a further increase of tariffs, the south contended for their abolition or modification. Monroe, on retiring into private life in 1825, after the completion of his second term of office (1821–1825), was justified in reviewing his work with satisfaction. The reputation of the government had been strengthened at home and abroad, the industrial development of the country had been led into appropriate channels, and its financial condition had been placed on a satisfactory basis. These conditions remained unchanged also under his successor, John Quincy Adams (1825–1829), during whose administration both the favourable external development and the unfortunate internal conflict continued.

John Quincy Adams, the candidate of the Northerners, was far from seeking to conduct his office in a sectional spirit; but the Protectionists returned to each successive congress with increased majorities, and the political situation seemed to them to be a justification of their efforts. Great Britain was still the principal purveyor to the United States, with an annual importation of five million sterling. Instead, however, of treating the commerce of so important a customer with consideration, Great Britain once more resorted to a strict application of the navigation acts, refused the conclusion of a commercial treaty, and endeavoured to exclude the Americans completely from the trade of her West Indian possessions. Hence a protective tariff against British manufactures became a measure as much of political as of industrial necessity. Signs of vigorous opposition, however, became more and more evident among the southern minority and in various fields of political action. Indeed, on one occasion during Adams's presidency the authority of the national executive was directly assailed.

Protectionist Majority in Congress

Georgia, in order to rid itself of the remnants of its Indian population, had concluded a treaty with Creek chiefs which turned out to be an undoubted violation of the law, the contracting parties having acted without any authority on behalf of their whole tribe, and, moreover, having unmistakably been bribed. In spite of this, the governor and the state legislature not only upheld the treaty against the president, but also against the judgment of the United States Supreme Court; and they furthermore expressed themselves in so defiant a manner against the national authorities that the constitution was held up almost to contempt. Finally, they not only succeeded in their expulsion of the Indians, but also were countenanced and aided by President Jackson in his delinquent omission to enforce the decision of the federal Supreme Court.

Georgia's Illegal Treaty

In these proceedings the doctrine of the sovereignty of the separate states had been much used; immediately afterwards it

was applied in a still more forcible manner by another of the Southern states. Already, in John Quincy Adams's time, South Carolina had declared its absolute unwillingness to submit to the policy of increased tariffs; it had, however, for the moment contented itself with a protest, since a presidential election was imminent and the choice was expected to fall on a man who, it was hoped, would consent to the abolition of the protective tariffs. Andrew Jackson, the hero of the war against the Seminoles and the victor of New Orleans, having at the previous election obtained a plurality of votes, asserted that he had been defeated solely through an unworthy manœuvre concerted between Adams and Clay when the election of president was thrown into the house of representatives. There was no doubt that he would be the favourite candidate at the coming election; for by his doctrinaire impartiality Adams had managed to estrange even his friends.

Opposition of South Carolina

Jackson being a pronounced Southerner, the party of the south expected that the administration of a general so high in popular favour would not only abolish the protective tariffs, but would shape its general policy decisively in the interests of the Southern states. Jackson's election, which followed with a crushing majority in 1828, did undoubtedly produce a radical change in the history of the United States; but, in spite of this, the champions of southern rights did not realise their fulfilment of their ultimate expectations.

Jackson was a man of thoroughly honest and well-meaning character, and one who, as the south found to its cost, valued the welfare of the union much higher than might have been expected after the eccentricities of his earlier career. It seemed true that his intellectual acquirements were not equal to the important task which the administration of the government imposed on him. The very fact that he entered the White House as the chosen of the masses was, in this sense, an omen of failure; for he was neither able to gauge the true motives of the bold demands made upon him by demagogic leaders, nor capable of holding himself aloof from them in a dignified manner. While showing himself too readily accessible to influences operating through irregular channels, he must also be blamed for having during his presidency given recognition to that fatal system under which a newly elected president might feel free to reward his faithful adherents with promotion to lucrative offices of state.

Overthrow of the National Bank

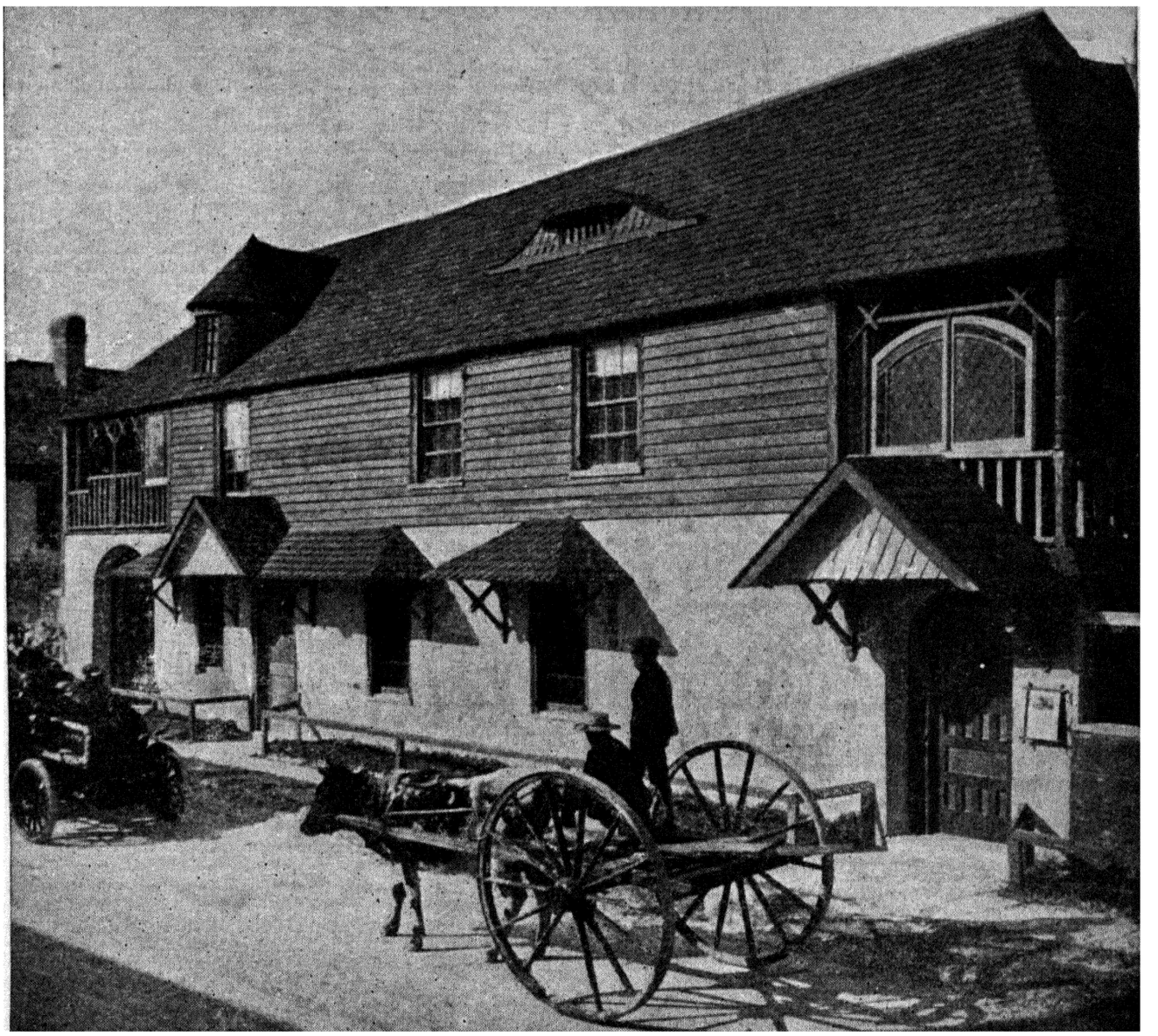
But, on the whole, Jackson, in his administrative policy, allowed himself to be guided by that healthy commonsense which was so characteristically his own. The hatred with which he pursued the United States Bank, which he hampered in an autocratic fashion, and finally overthrew, was undeniably short-sighted from the point of view of public finance, and led to a financial crisis in which business men sustained heavy losses. But the ideal which controlled him in this course of action was perfectly reasonable and justifiable in the views of Jackson and his associates; for, as then organised, the bank was charged with being little else than a support for some of the wild speculations and questionable enterprises which characterised the times.

In regard to the tariff question, Jackson had cautiously refrained from interfering in any particularly incisive manner. Congress, in fact, continued the system of protective tariffs, in its main features, in the year 1832, although somewhat reducing certain especially unpopular duties in order to deprive the Opposition of its weapons of attack. Most of the Southern states quietly accepted these facts, although they had, without exception, voted with the Opposition, or were satisfied with merely formal protests.

Jackson's Healthy Administration

In South Carolina, however, the anti-protectionist movement had begun to assume a more and more radical character. The constituent convention of the state finally declared explicitly that the tariff enactments of 1828 and 1832 were not binding within their territory, and fixed February 1st, 1833, as the date after which it would treat the tariff as abrogated unless congress should before then remove the difficulty.

Although Jackson, in the earlier stages of his career, had not taken too strict views as to the obedience due to the central authority, yet now, when placed at the head of the union, he entertained no doubts as to the criminality of all resistance to its laws; and he, rough-and-ready soldier that he was, would have much preferred to overcome with the sword any such resistance. Nevertheless, in spite of the strength of his personal impulses, his course of action



THE OLDEST HOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES, BUILT BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1564

Begun by the Huguenots and finished by the Spaniards, this old house in St. Augustine, Florida, has stood the wear and tear of nearly 350 years. It once housed the picturesque monks of St. Francis, who only vacated it when Sir Francis Drake and his band of adventurers burnt and sacked the little town. Of all the houses, it alone remained, and, with the exception of the wood finish, which is quite modern, it is the same to-day as it was in those troublous times.

with reference to South Carolina proceeded in legal channels; for after that state had defiantly rejected his advice and persisted in its illegal resolutions, his supporters introduced a bill into congress by which the federal executive was charged with the power and duty of providing, under certain circumstances, for carrying into effect the laws of the union by force of arms.

It might, undoubtedly, have been fortunate for the future development of the United States if the conflict had at that time been thus decided. In spite of secret support in certain circles of Southerners, South Carolina at that time stood almost alone; and its cause was undoubtedly a bad one. No one could have been found more fitted for defending the national idea by force of arms than Jackson, who himself belonged to the party of the south, and personally enjoyed uncommon popularity. If South Carolina had at that time been forced into obedience, the conflict between national and state sovereignty might possibly have been decided as early as 1838, and the War of Secession would have been rendered less probable.

The national element and the Northerners had neither the courage nor the indiscretion to take up the gauntlet thrown down by South Carolina. The dispute was settled by an arrangement which left the real question at issue an open one, and therefore, though it secured an immediate victory, was considered by many as really a compromise of the authority of the union. The basis on which an agreement was effected was a law in favour of a gradual, moderate reduction of the duties; this was first passed through congress, so that South Carolina was enabled to withdraw its Nullification Ordinance, while the "Force Bill" which was passed was thus rendered aimless before even it became law.

Jackson, more conspicuously than the majority of his predecessors, during two terms of office (1829–1837), asserted his position at the head of affairs, though he was the last president for a considerable time who maintained himself as the really controlling force in national politics. Thus there appeared a marked tendency towards a presidential, as distinguished from a parliamentary, form of government. The regularly recurring change of the presidency, however, has operated to weaken the president and to harm the state, especially because almost all the presidents, from Jackson's time, adopted his method of removing officials in order to appoint their own adherents to the vacant posts. This system could not fail to exercise a most damaging effect upon the conscientiousness and honesty of civil servants ; capacity for an office being measured, not by personal experience or fitness, but by the services which the individual might have rendered to his party or to the person of the president.

Evils of Party Systems

Hence it tended to lead to the disappearance in official circles of the stable or conservative element. The commercial spirit, which from the beginning had attained considerable development in American life, seemed now about to invade also the governing classes ; and thus by degrees large elements in the nation became habituated to have some regard for those principles according to which tangible success is the sole measure of all things.

In the eyes of professional politicians, however, these defects were amply balanced by the advantages which party organisation derived from general recognition of this political standard. The system had first been put into operation on an especially extensive scale in the state of New York, and under its influence not only had a distinct line of separation been drawn between different parties, but it had produced, always with a view to the immediate spoils accruing from a victory, a strict party discipline, in which every difference in the views of separate members or groups within the parties was made to give way unconditionally to the "platform" put up in the name of the whole party. Similar processes were next repeated on a far greater scale when this system of plunder and exploitation began to invade the administration of the federal government and produced that party system by which the United States is still distinguished.

The Downfall of the Federalists

The great party in the country whose fame became historical was that of the Democrats. It embodied in the fullest sense the views of the founders of North American independence. The latter, indeed, had created the constitution of 1787 merely as a preventive measure against the threatening tide of evils which had been the outcome of excessive decentralisation ; by its means they had endeavoured to solve the difficult problem of combining an effective central authority with the highest possible amount of unrestricted liberty.

The Federalist party took its rise during the transactions connected with the drafting of the constitution, and its importance was largely temporary. Finding no support among the masses of the population, and being incapable of creating such support, it soon became disintegrated, its distinctive theory was adopted by its opponent, and after its apparently unpatriotic opposition to the war of 1812, it sank into insignificance. On the other hand, the Republican party, later known as the Democratic-Republican, and then as the Democratic party, arose by a quite natural process of evolution from the party of the anti-Federalists, whose principal demand—the unlimited sovereignty and the freest self-government of the separate states—it still recognised as a chief principle. The Democratic party was originally by no means the party representing the interests of the Southern states, though men from the Southern and Central states certainly did, from the first, play a leading part in it.

Evolution of the Democrats

It was the abnormal preponderance of sectional influences, earlier discountenanced, which, in the second phase of the development of the Federalists, weakened permanently the power of that party, while the Democrats, representing a progressive, nationalist and conservative policy, grew steadily in strength. It is true that, certainly as early as the insubordination of South Carolina, that party, having completely overthrown its opponent, had become divided into two wings with quite widely divergent views. But the Radical-Democratic faction of extreme state sovereignty principles, which gave the first proof of its strength during that conflict, formed

at that time a minority of little importance. The vast majority of the southern politicians repudiated its claims, not only from tactical reasons, but because they believed that these claims endangered the continued adherence of the northern section of their party, and also because they viewed them in the same light as did their northern confederates—namely, as a departure from the genuine traditional dogma of their party.

In their capacity of champions of the interests of the separate states the Democrats were opposed to the high tariffs which, though largely in the interests of the commercial and industrial north, were cast upon the whole union. They demonstrated, however, by the policy of their members who were elected to the presidency that they were by no means unconditional free-traders, although free trade was as increasingly essential to the interests of the Southern states as was protection to those of the north. They insisted only that the system of tariffs should remain subordinate to the administrative and fiscal needs of the union. They demanded that whenever the surpluses derived from the duties began to accumulate—and this happened a number of times in the first half of the century—those duties which were essentially beneficial only to certain sections should be lowered to such a rate as would make their net return correspond to the actual needs of the United States. The hostility of the Democrats to the United States Bank had its origin in a similar source. This bank, in the hands of their political opponents, was considered a dangerously demoralising force which was supposed by them to be operated solely in the interest of northern speculators. It had actually only a short existence.

Democrats Opposed to Tariffs

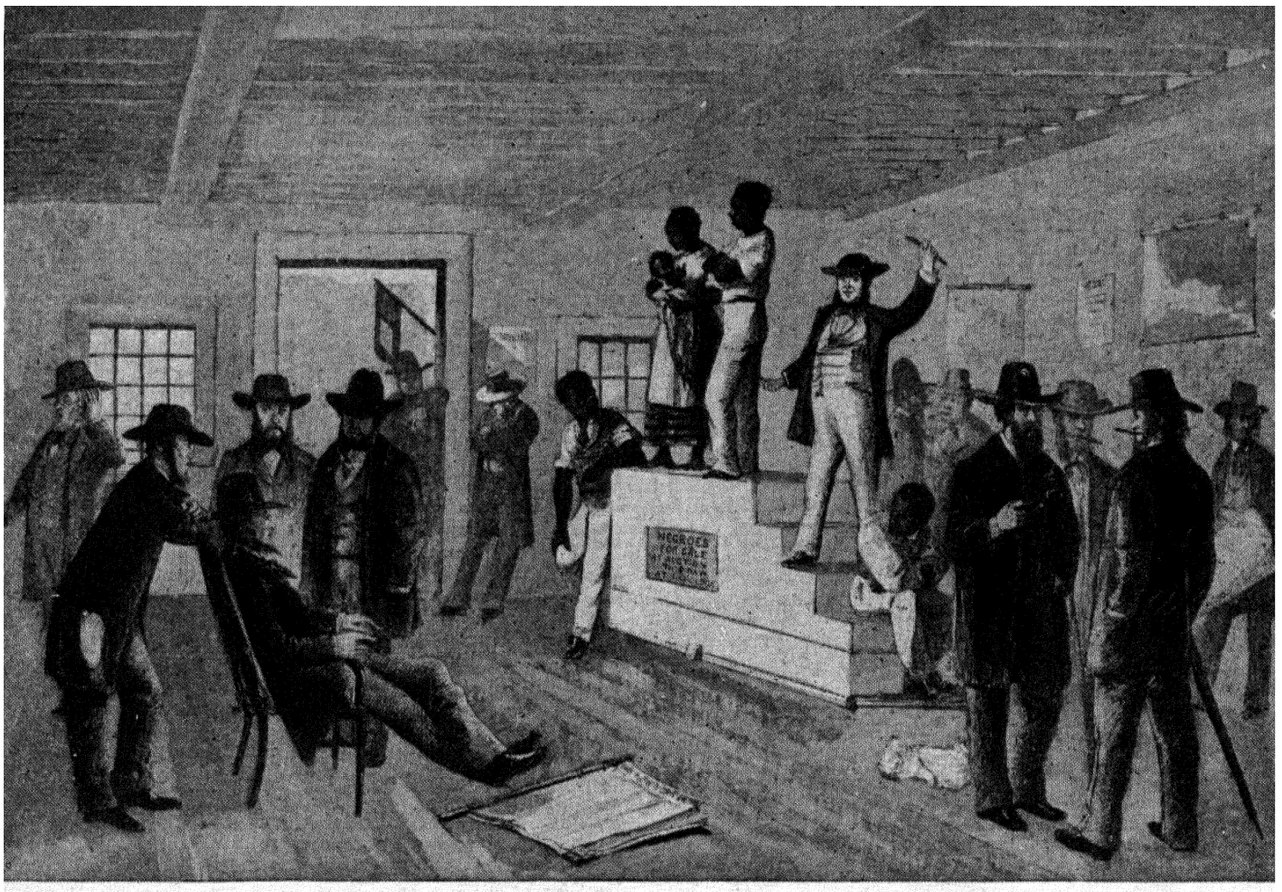
The withdrawal of the government moneys from the national bank, and their distribution among a large number of local banking concerns organised under state laws, produced temporarily an unhealthy speculative fever which of necessity was followed by an extensive crash. Accordingly, under Jackson's successor, the bank was replaced by an independent treasury established as a branch of the federal government. By this significant measure the bank question was made a dead issue in party politics.

The opponents of the Democrats were at first thoroughly disorganised. All opposition disappeared in the collapse of the Federalist party, and thereafter any possible opponents were long unable to form a platform which might have effected a reunion of the scattered elements. The interest in a strong central authority could no longer be used as a distinctive party programme, even in the north, and the question became so far immaterial that the new combination of politicians, who appeared under the name of "Whigs," were willing, as had been the Democratic-Republicans earlier, to assign the furtherance of works of general public utility, such as canals and public roads, to the government of the union and not to the separate states. In addition to this the protective tariff and contemporary financial questions formed points on which the new party was able to announce its attitude. It regarded as its principal task, however, merely the maintenance of an unconditional opposition to the Democrats, and it thus became substantially a party of negative opposition, with no positive programme.

The Rise of the Whigs

From this arose the introduction into electoral contests of vigorous discussions with reference to the personalities of candidates, and from it also arose a tendency to minimise the discussion and explanation of political principles. Such features of the political situation serve to make easily explicable the strong control secured and maintained by Jackson and his followers. Even at the end of his second term of office Jackson was still so high in the popular favour that his designation of a successor amounted almost to a nomination. By an overwhelming majority Martin Van Buren was elected to the presidency (1837–1841). A northern Democrat from New York, where the organisation of the party and the comprehensive accomplishment of the policy of plunder were regarded as particularly his work, Buren made good his assurance to continue in all respects the policy of his predecessor.

Van Buren Succeeds Jackson



SELLING SLAVES BY AUCTION IN VIRGINIA

NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN DISPLAYED FOR SALE IN NEW ORLEANS

During the days of slavery in America scenes like these, which are from sketches of the time, were common. In such colonies as Virginia, where, on account of the tobacco plantations, an enormous amount of slave labour was required, a flourishing trade in the traffic was conducted. It was the usual custom to exhibit the unfortunate negroes, well dressed and groomed, outside the sale-rooms early in the morning, so as to attract the attention of possible buyers. Prices fluctuated with the credentials of the slave; a good specimen would fetch £300, an inferior one £10, or less.

THE BEGINNING OF ABOLITIONISM
AND THE EXPANSION TO THE PACIFIC

THE inheritance which Van Buren now entered upon was by no means a wholly pleasant one. Jackson's financial policy had let loose a flood of wild speculation which directed its aims principally upon the still undeveloped treasures of the Far West. In the course of a few years many millions had been spent on the purchase of lands in the still unopened western territories, and the value of these lands in a short time increased tenfold.

In spite, however, of the marvellous expansion of the means of communication and the rapid growth of settlements, years had to be spent upon the land before these imagined values could be realised by actual development, and these years had not entered into the calculations of those who were the last to find themselves loaded with mortgages. Accordingly, when the money scarcity from which Europe had been suffering affected sympathetically the United States also, these fictitious land values began to drop, and this, coupled with such administrative steps as the "Specie Circular," led to the general crash which dragged all enterprises, real and fictitious, down with it into the vortex of general financial confusion.

Ruinous Financial Policy

Now, although the government was almost, and Van Buren himself entirely, free from blame in these transactions, the popularity of the latter and the reputation of his party could not escape a decided shock. As early as 1837 there were signs that Van Buren would have little chance of securing a second period in the presidential office. Nor, indeed, did he secure this in spite of all the artifices of the administrative machine and the party organisation, both of which he, like no other, knew how to manipulate in his own interest. He did not, at all events, succumb because the platform of the Democratic party was rejected or because it was possible to bring out another giving promise of greater vitality. It became, however, at this time once more apparent how thoroughly the principles of the Democratic party coincided with those of almost the entire people; so that the election of 1840 was significant because of the conflict of personalities rather than because of any popular decision upon questions of public policy or political theory. Even in the time of Jackson a small but active band of idealists had called into being a movement the final aim of which was the abolition of slavery.

Superiority of the White Man

Its first steps on this road, to be sure, had been in no way precipitate. But the very appearance of a party which desired, even if from mere principle, to recognise the negro slaves as men and citizens with equal rights aroused wide-spread regret and indignation, both in the south—where such chimæras were usually passed over with laughter—and in the north. The north, almost without exception at that time, shared in the aristocratic consciousness of the superiority of the white skin—a consciousness which in the slave states caused even the most miserable to look down with contempt upon a black man. Among the rich merchants and shippers this feeling was stimulated by their personal and business relations with the large landed proprietors of the south, from whose industrial requirements the north to a large extent derived advantage.

The Central states were less bound by considerations of self-interest. There, too, slavery was legal according to the state laws, but the natural conditions were not especially favourable to slave labour. The population consisted mainly of small independent landowners; and their neighbours, the adjoining "free" states, took care that this element should grow larger from year to year and exert a greater influence on the legislatures. But wherever slave labour was compelled to enter into direct competition with free

Slavery Legal in the Central States

labour it was perceptible, even to the dullest comprehension, that it could not prevail against the latter for any length of time.

Thus we find that only a small part of the population carried on the slave trade in the true sense of the word. What the planters really engaged in more especially was the business of rearing negro slaves. Owing to hard labour and inconsiderate treatment, the naturally high rate of increase of the actual labouring population among the negro slaves had fallen very low. The general course of industrial development, however, was tending in such a direction as to make slave labour relatively less and less profitable, so that the slave-holders could acquire wealth and maintain their position only by constantly extending and enlarging their industries. For this purpose, however, they needed a constant supply of fresh slaves. The slave trade with Africa having been almost suppressed by severe prohibitory laws, the idea arose of producing this urgently needed material in the country itself. Naturally, the Central states, in which slave labour did not yield sufficient profit, and which, moreover, were affected by the proximity of the industrial north, became the chief field of operations. Here an abolitionist movement at most could have effected only a change in the object of their commercial activity, but could not have destroyed the commerce itself. Hence although the movement was watched with anxiety, no very serious fears about it were entertained.

Dearth of Slaves

But even in the north, amidst a population almost exclusively free, the movement met with nothing but bitter opposition. Here the advantages and disadvantages of the slave trade were known only in name, but all the ire of true-born Americans was poured out upon those who proposed to make the despised negro, who was hardly considered a human being, a living member of a state whose constitution all parties never tired of proclaiming as a sacred and inviolable possession. The mob, easily roused, made short work of those who dared to avow themselves Abolitionists. Excesses occurred in different places, in which the lives and property of the opponents of slavery were threatened; but after a time the agitation of the extremists gradually subsided, and its character became radically different. In congress affairs took a different turn, for there was in that body an overwhelming majority that would have nothing to do with the movement. It was by no means composed exclusively of parties having direct interests at stake, although the radical wing of this majority assumed, perhaps, the most uncompromising attitude towards the Abolitionists.

Murmurings of Emancipation

The majority, moreover, was so large, and kept its ranks united for so long, partly because certain features of the abolitionist movement were unquestionably opposed to the constitution. In the latter, indeed, the word "slave" was not actually expressed, but by it all citizens of the union were in clearly expressed terms guaranteed the enjoyment of the whole of their property, and that not only in the state in which such property might be situated, and where by the constitution of such state it might be recognised, but unconditionally in all states of the union. In so far, then, every state law which aimed at preventing a slave-owner from migrating with his slaves from one state to another was considered by the extremists as being in a strict sense a violation of the constitution. This view found partial expression in the laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves which were established by the federal government and enforced upon the states. From this point of view as well, the abolitionist movement, however justified from a moral standpoint, was, in its opposition to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, directed against both the law and the constitution.

Drastic Laws Against Slave-holders

Whatever help the abolitionist movement received in congress must be ascribed to John Quincy Adams, who was untiring in bringing before it petition after petition directed against slavery. On the other hand, congress endeavoured to resist this flood of petitions by measures which were branded with the name of "Gag Laws," and which brought their originators into moral discredit. Aside from the vital matter of the freedom of petition, the secondary cause for which Adams professed to be fighting was not ripe for solution, since it could be dealt with conclusively only by adding an amendment to the fundamental law of the land.

The way in which Adams conducted his campaign served only to accentuate already existing differences instead of conciliating them, and to rob congress

of precious time which it required for other more urgent affairs. Even before the middle of the century the entire development of the union left no doubt that throughout the United States the days of slavery were numbered. In a large number of the states, without being proscribed by their constitutions, the institution had nevertheless become quite extinct. In others, in spite of the extensive protection it enjoyed under the laws, it was undergoing a slow but steady decline; and even in those states whose whole industrial existence was dependent on it, it continued to occasion discussions which rendered even its most zealous defenders personally sensible of the shortcomings of the whole institution.

Hence slavery seemed doomed in time to die out gradually and disappear. In the natural course of things the process of decay would, however, have been so slow that America would have groaned under the evils of slavery long after the rest of the world had shaken off its fetters. But the movement which in our century led to the abolition of slavery over the greater part of the earth's surface could not have failed, from the mere consideration of their own advantage, to influence the United States, even if the latter had not found the moral courage to rouse themselves for a decisive effort. From the manner in which it was fought out, the struggle against slavery not only exemplifies the victory of a lofty ideal, but also affords a proof of how this ideal, through the admixture of political and material interests, had lost much of its original purity.

Loosening the Fetters of Slavery

Throughout the whole struggle against slavery the Southern states were acting on the defensive. They were in the position of defenders of a besieged fortress, who, however well provided for the moment with all the necessary material of war, were yet able to calculate with almost mathematical exactness the date on which they would have to surrender. Their natural shrewdness impelled them to make attacks and sorties in order to procure means for prolonging their resistance; but the ultimate defeat of their opponents lay entirely beyond their power.

The Northern states were able to carry on the struggle under the firm conviction that time, at all events, would finally bestow on them the victory. Meanwhile, they not only steadily grew in strength internally, but they were constantly being joined by new allies—the territories, not yet admitted to the union, which afterwards grew into states. It was an open secret that even in the states and territories in which slavery was still unrestricted it had found a dangerous competitor in free labour: the frontier farm life offered such ample opportunities for the development of the individual that slavery could hardly have achieved a complete victory in the newly constructed states. Sending settlers from the states which strictly protected slavery to the western territories did not help matters, for there, under the favourable influence of the local conditions, a portion of them were led to adopt free labour, while it was beyond the powers of governments or magistracies to keep out free settlers.

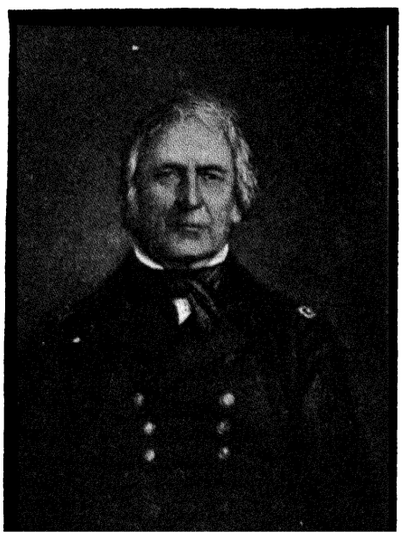
Free Labour versus Slave Labour

The matter, moreover, gained further importance from the fact that efforts continued to be generally made to maintain in the senate an exact balance of the geographical divisions of the country as a check upon the house of representatives, in which the north retained a decided preponderance, by making the admission of a state belonging to one party always depend on the simultaneous inclusion of one belonging to the other side.

The slavery struggle acquired its peculiar complexion from the fact that during almost the whole time the agitation was carried on under the leadership of men who in some aspects were standing on the defensive. These were not, however, always Southerners whom the Democratic party sent to Washington as presidents. Nevertheless, northern Democrats could only hope to attain the highest office in the state by so adapting their democratic creed as to give no offence to the party of the south, which was possessed of a much stricter and more united organisation. First of all, indeed, Van Buren had managed affairs in a thoroughly sound manner. But towards the end of his term suggestions of irregularities were made so definite that the responsibility for such, coupled also with the administration's alleged responsibility for the financial collapse, made it impossible for the Democratic party to entertain any prospects of making one of its own men Van Buren's successor. The Whigs, however, were still far from being in a position

Defeat of the Democrats

to send to Washington anyone whom they could rightly reckon to belong to their party. Accordingly, they put up for the presidency William Henry Harrison, an old general, politically almost unknown, and associated with him as vice-president John Tyler, who, though no longer actually a member of the Democratic party, counted far more personal adherents and friends in that than among the Whigs. It was largely by this manœuvre that the Whig party succeeded in getting its candidate elected by an overwhelming majority. But this apparent success was soon reduced to its true proportions. Harrison entered the White House only to succumb there to his last illness—April, 1841—whereupon Tyler became reunited to those members of the Democratic party with whom he had all along remained in touch. Under the pressure of financial conditions a majority both in the senate and in the house of representatives had, in 1841, once more succeeded in passing a resolution in favour of the re-establishment of a United States bank, which still formed an important item in the political programme of the Whig party.



GENERAL Z. TAYLOR
Mainly on account of the success of his Mexican campaign, he became the Whig president of America in 1848, and during his term of office he headed the pro-slavery faction.

John Tyler, who was now president—1841-45—vetoed both this proposal and a subsequent similar resolution of congress, and by these acts effected what was looked upon as an open secession from the party which had raised him to office. On the whole, Tyler's presidency ran its course unattended by any special events. Diplomatic difficulties with England, financial measures intended to remove the evil consequences of the crash, and a gradual reconstruction of the personnel of the administration in favour of the Democrats, by whose aid Tyler had been elected to the presidency, filled up the time, while events of far greater importance were quietly but steadily approaching, though the time was not yet ripe for their appearance in energetic action.

When President Monroe sent his famous message to congress, which until recently had been regarded as the guiding thread of the foreign policy of the United States, though later a quite different interpretation was put upon it, the leading statesmen were of opinion that the territory of the United States had probably reached the extreme limits of its extension consistent with the republican form of government contemplated by the framers of the federal constitution. Two decades, however, sufficed completely to correct this view. It may have seemed justified as long as the vast basin of the Mississippi was still thinly peopled, and while the great roads and means of communication were still in their early development. Such doubts, however, as arose out of considerations of vast separation in space were soon set aside by the rapid utilisation—much furthered by the invention of the steamboat—of suitable waterways, such as the North American lake system furnishes in connection with the Hudson, on the one side, and the Ohio and the Missouri, on the other; and towards the middle of the century by the construction of railways, which in America were taken up much sooner and more energetically than in the Old World. Even in the middle of the 'thirties the possession of a strip of coast on the Pacific was seen to be as indispensable to the prosperous development of the union as the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi had once been considered. The wild speculation in the public lands of the west, which had conjured up such serious commercial dangers for the union, had not only been far less fatal to the west, but at a time when it was a question of drawing some sort of profit from the less valuable titles to landed property, this speculation had actually had a stimulating and encouraging effect on the settlement of those sections. The far remote districts recovered rapidly from the effects of the crash, and their natural riches constantly attracted fresh emigrants to the borders of civilisation.

Material and Physical Progress

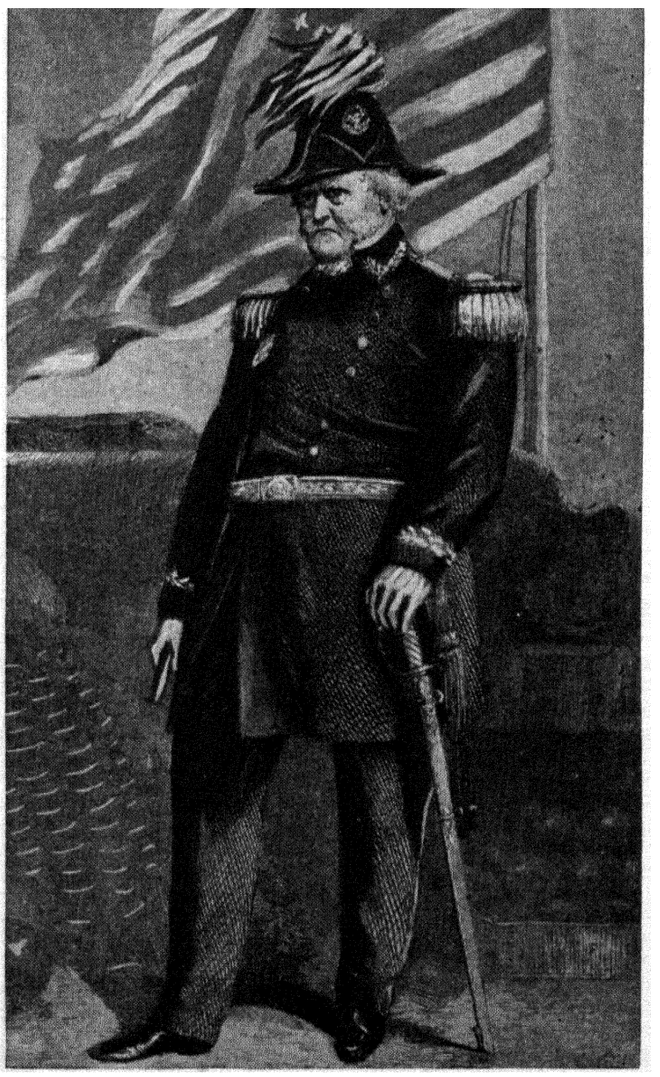
These events naturally reacted on the old states of the union in such a manner as to make a further advancement of the western frontier desirable, and an extension of area came to be regarded as synonymous with national enrichment. The western frontier of the union had never been definitely settled. In the Florida

Treaty Spain had renounced her rights from ocean to ocean; this, however, was a paper claim to an indeterminate territory. The north-western frontier was also under dispute with Great Britain, and at a time when no serious value was attached to the Far West the United States had by treaty agreed to a joint administration of Oregon by British and American officials. Thus the claims of the United States to the possession of an outlet towards the Pacific Ocean were up to that time still very questionable. For a long time, however, doubts had ceased to exist as to the manner in which they were to be improved.

The Separation of Texas

The separation of the republic of Texas from Mexico was to a large extent promoted by men from the United States, whose aim from the beginning had been the inclusion of these territories in the union. The states of the north-east were probably but little concerned about the matter, since they could not hope to derive any commercial advantages from this region. The south may have been influenced to some extent by the profit and political strength, unduly brought into the foreground, which might accrue from the acquisition of territories likely to become future slave states. But among the real influences towards this end were the populations of the young states of the west. Here, on soil reclaimed within the life of the union, which even in that brief space had undergone an astonishing development, a party had come into existence under the watchwords of "a great America," which, though in the first instance confining its ambition to the mere acquisition of Texas, in the next place aimed at the possession of the whole country as far as the Pacific, and finally at the possible absorption of the whole of the decayed republic of Mexico even as far as Tehuantepec.

From among the ranks of this party defenders had arisen to protect the Texan Government, completely powerless from constant want of money, against the attacks of the Mexicans; and their demands that the repeated applications of Texas for admission to the union should at last be entertained, even at the risk of a war with Mexico, became the more urgent in proportion as the untenable conditions of this pseudo-state threatened to make possible the interference of other Powers. Texas, in its then unproductive condition, was not rich enough to furnish the means required by the government. At first the credit of the young state had been abused, and debts had been incurred recklessly in the hope that they would be covered by the reception of the country into the union. This reception, however, was delayed, because Mexico refused either to acknowledge the independence of Texas or to sell the country. The Texans became tired of confining their petitions to the United States; they also applied to France and—so it is asserted, at least—to England. Thus there arose upon the political horizon of the union the threatening spectre of a foreign Power establishing itself in the south-west and perhaps shutting them out from access to the Pacific. Even Tyler had made efforts to meet this danger by renewed negotiations with Mexico, which were conducted in a tone of so much provocation



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

General Scott early obtained a commission as artillery captain, and defeated Santa Anna in Mexico. At the death of General Taylor, he was nominated for the presidency, without, however, being successful. He was commander-in-chief of the army up to the eve of the Civil War.

that the Young America party was daily hoping for an outbreak of hostilities. Tyler, however, could not summon either sufficient courage or the necessary rashness to attempt to force a declaration of war.

In the electoral contest of 1844 the Texas question was made one of the two great points at issue. To it, and to the plank in the platform on the Oregon question, James Knox Polk (1845–1849), a Democrat of little influence, owed his victory over Henry Clay, the Whig candidate, as well as over President Tyler. Clay had originally pronounced himself against the admission of Texas, but in the end offended the anti-annexationists by veering around, from electioneering motives, to a policy in favour of admission. Tyler, by his feeble policy on the Texas question, had completely forfeited his already slender chances of re-election. Nevertheless, it was permitted him, during the last days of his term, virtually to carry into effect the admission of the neighbouring republic.

Texas Received into the Union

Although the bill bearing on this matter shortly before had been rejected by the senate, he now caused its reintroduction into congress on the ground that the result of the presidential election of 1844 had shown that the majority of the people were in favour of annexation, a plea which so impressed the representatives that the bill was this time passed in both houses. Tyler approved the joint resolution providing alternative methods of annexation during the last days of his official career, and in the following year Texas was received into the union as the twenty-ninth state.

This, however, settled only the relations between Texas and the United States. Mexico still considered the country as its own by right, and refused to enter into negotiations with the United States concerning it. But the federal government sent a division of troops to what was claimed as the western border of the new state, and thus attempted to solve the question whether the Rio Grande del Norte or the Nueces River formed the boundary by advancing its forces to the former. The first blood was shed in a surprise by the Mexicans of a troop of dragoons that had been cut off from the main body; and this was looked upon as tantamount to a declaration of war. Throughout the country few voices ventured to protest against the general cry for vengeance against this provocation by the Mexicans. At the seat of war in the north, General Zachary Taylor achieved a series of brilliant victories against the Mexicans in quick succession; and by the beginning of the year 1847 their resistance in the districts bordering on Texas was completely overcome. This was as yet, however, far from bringing matters to a decisive issue, for the American Army was still some hundreds of miles away, and separated by immeasurable deserts from Mexico proper; and the losses suffered hitherto had made little impression. Polk was therefore obliged to determine on a more effectual move. It took the shape of an advance by General Winfield Scott from Vera Cruz upon the capital. Here, too, the Mexicans were unable to offer any serious resistance to the Americans.

Mexicans' First Shot in the War

Vera Cruz capitulated in March, 1847, after a brief bombardment; and on each occasion that Santa Anna ventured to oppose the progress of the enemy's advance upon the city of Mexico he suffered heavy defeat. Nevertheless, these very victories almost robbed the president of the possibility of gathering the harvest of his discredited policy. The vigorous onslaught of the American arms led to the collapse of Santa Anna's feebly supported dictatorship, and when the United States troops entered the capital they found no longer a government with which peace might be concluded. The victors, in fact, had to assist in establishing a government before they could attain their real object, the restoration of international relations between the United States and Mexico.

Collapse of Santa Anna's Dictatorship

In the meanwhile, owing to circumstances, the prize to be won had been increased to an extraordinary degree. In addition to the army of Texas and the Vera Cruz division, a third army corps had been equipped for the purpose of invading California. This division had the most marvellous good fortune, for on entering the country it found its work half done. Captain John Charles Frémont had, in 1844, during an exploring expedition, arrived on the borders of California; but he had so participated in politics that he had been expelled from Santa Fé. As soon, however, as war was declared, he returned, took possession of the town of Sonoma, and there hoisted the flag of the union. At the same

time, an American man-of-war touched at Monterey on the Bay of California, and there, too, met with so little serious resistance that its commander, with the assistance of the American residents, was able to take possession of this important place. The military occupation of California and New Mexico by the union was thereupon announced, and in the face of this *fait accompli* the Mexican Government had to strike its colours.

In the treaty of peace the United States allowed the acquisition of the new provinces to take the form of a purchase, Mexico relinquishing these vast territories for an indemnity of £3,000,000, recognising Texas as belonging to the union, and agreeing to acknowledge the Rio Grande as the western frontier of the United States. In the meantime, the Oregon question had been settled by negotiation with Great Britain in an arrangement by which the 49° of latitude was recognised as the boundary line between the possessions of the two countries. Thus the United States acquired in the Far West the frontiers which have remained substantially unchanged to the present day. The importance of this acquisition was made at once apparent when, only a year afterwards, the first discoveries of gold were made in California. In congress the Mexican victories had a significant sequel. By what is known as the Wilmot Proviso, it was proposed that the grant of £3,000,000 was to be made subject to the condition that slavery should be forbidden in all the newly acquired territories. This proposal led to prolonged and embittered discussions.

CAPTAIN FREMONT
A supporter of the anti-slavery party, he was the first Republican candidate for the presidency, and was again nominated in 1864, but withdrew in favour of Lincoln.

Nor did its first defeat indicate the end of the struggle. It was, in fact, the beginning of the struggle over congressional control of the territories, which was to become a conspicuous issue for the next decade. The nature of the soil of New Mexico and California almost excluded any industry in which slave labour would have yielded profitable results Besides this, California rapidly acquired a peculiar stamp of its own from the immigration *en masse* of the gold-diggers, who were almost without exception free labourers. Even in Texas, where slavery was considered as holding a legal status since the admission, it scarcely managed to prolong its existence.

The only significance attached to the proceedings in congress lay in their affording evidence of the growing opposition to slavery, which was as much the outcome of the moral condemnation of the institution, aroused by the opponents of slavery, as of the recognition of its disadvantages from an industrial standpoint. That in the end the majority, in this instance also, agreed to a decision apparently in favour of slavery must again be attributed to the feeling that repeated attacks on the institution itself might develop into broader and more serious controversy relative to the constitution of the union. From the course of the debates, however, the slave-holding south could not fail to detect the remarkable growth of the dangers which threatened its industrial particularism. Hence it is hardly to be wondered at that at this time there was revived in some quarters a discussion of the idea of a secession from the union in which the Southern states considered themselves justified according to extreme democratic principles, and of a closer union between that group of states whose welfare was most intimately connected with the continued existence of slavery. For the time being, these ideas did not lead to actual results. This state of affairs, moreover, was not without its effect on the presidential election. Polk had paid too little respect to the Democrats to be able to entertain hopes of re-election. The whole party was at the time in so disjointed a condition that it had little hope of coming victorious out of the electoral campaign; and its candidate, Cass, a Northerner, was not a sufficiently striking personality to cover up the present weakness of the party.

It was just in this respect, furthermore, that their opponents had been especially fortunate. Their candidate, General Taylor, was of southern origin, was himself a slave-owner, and had never taken a decided part as a politician, though he counted himself as belonging to the right wing of the Whig party.

His campaign in Mexico, moreover, had rendered him popular; like Jackson and Harrison, he was a "people's" candidate. By their own exertions alone the Whigs would never have been able to procure his election, for as a party they were weaker than ever. Their whole programme consisted in ranging on their side all those opponents of the Democrats who were unwilling either to throw in their lot with the enemies of slavery, who formed an insignificant minority, or to attach themselves to the so-called "Know-nothings," or American party. Both these groups were, in a sense, fragments of the dismembered Whig organisation; and the chief aim of the leaders was to devise a means of erecting a platform on which the discontented of all other parties might be able to fight by their side. It was necessary to put up a "ticket" which would also be conformable to such a collectivist policy after the election, and for this purpose the choice of Taylor and Fillmore was a decidedly skilful one.

Taylor the People's Candidate

The victory of these candidates signified the defeat of the Democrats, without, however, implying a victory for the Whig principles. For the time being, politics were still exclusively centred upon the organisation of the newly acquired territories; and the struggle carried on by slaveholders on behalf of their theory, even more than their real interests, was long and violent. Before it was brought to a close, President Taylor died (July 9th, 1850).

For the second time the place of a president chosen by the Whigs was occupied, before the completion of his official term, by a vice-president who lacked even the small attachment which Harrison and Taylor had shown for the politicians who had prepared for them the road to the presidency. Millard Fillmore (1850–1853) did not, indeed, renounce the principles of the Whig party to the same extent as Tyler had done, but in his advances towards the representatives of the south he went as far as he possibly could, in the hope of thereby rendering himself an acceptable candidate at the next election. Particularly did he co-operate, more or less directly, with Southerners, with Middle-state men like Clay, and with Northerners like Webster, in sanctioning the important compromise of 1850, by which the principle of "squatter sovereignty" was applied to the territories recently acquired, the slave trade in the district of Columbia was abolished, and the federal Fugitive Slave Law was re-enacted.

Slavery in Columbia Abolished

By this arrangement it was supposed that slavery was made a dead issue, and this fiction was persistently maintained in the "finality" planks of the campaign of 1852. The effect of the compromise, its relation to the compromise of 1820, and the extent of the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" were, however, to become the most engrossing problems of the decade, as soon as the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill projected the whole subject of slavery once more into the sphere of congressional politics.

Fillmore's term of office was almost entirely occupied by preparations for the approaching election; but his hopes were not realised. Some Whigs, indeed, entertained the notion of his re-election; but the nominating convention of the party gave preference to General Scott, without succeeding, however, in making the latter a people's candidate.

Doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty

The Democrats, in imitating the electioneering tactics of the Whigs, were more fortunate, having nominated Franklin Pierce, and having tied him down to a platform which proposed nothing more than the dropping of all contested matters, to which so much time had been devoted during the last presidency, and which adhered to the compromise of 1850 as an arrangement of the slavery question which was to be treated as a "finality." Such a programme was likely to find numerous adherents even outside the Democratic party. To the general wish of seeing these disputes finally brought to an end, Pierce unquestionably owed a considerable part of the majority with which he achieved success in the electoral campaign of 1852.

RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
AND THE APPROACH OF THE STRUGGLE

IT was by the very irony of fate that the first official acts of the president, who had been especially chosen to settle internal strife, happened to turn upon the very question which finally kindled the Civil War. By the admission of California as a non-slavery state the north had obtained a temporary preponderance. In order to balance this as speedily as possible, application was made for the creation of the two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, in the hope of seeing at least one of them develop early into a slave state.

The territories in question, indeed, stretched northward far beyond the line of the Missouri Compromise (36° 30′); but it was argued that the terms of the latter could no longer be legally maintained, inasmuch as, by the Compromise of 1850, it had been agreed to leave the question of slavery in certain territories to be settled entirely by their own legislatures. Nevertheless, the Kansas-Nebraska question at one blow put an end to all peaceful sentiments. It aroused a cry of general indignation that in this wise slavery should be allowed to advance farther to the north. It was significant, too, that the movement in support of the Missouri Compromise was confined not only to Whigs and Abolitionists; a split became distinctly apparent in the very camp of the Democrats. A faction of northern origin, opposed to slavery, began to develop, and a second larger one in which the Democrats of the slave states stood up as before for the "peculiar institution" of their section.

Movement to Abolish Slavery

The logical consequence implied in the national policy proved itself still stronger than the movement against slavery; the bill which provided for the organisation of Kansas and Nebraska became law, according to the spirit in which the Compromise of 1850 had been interpreted, without restrictions being made as to slavery. But the triumph of the slave-holders was only apparent. The bill inflicted a formidable blow to the cohesion of the Democratic party; and in the Northern states it set on foot the movement which eliminated the feeble party of the Whigs from the ranks of political factors. Amid its ruins arose the Republican party. The latter now came forward with youthful vigour as the supporter of an idea, which, owing to contemporary events, forcibly aroused the attention of all classes of the people. In the Northern states several attempts had been made at infusing fresh vigour into the life of political parties; but neither the Abolitionists nor the American party had succeeded in calling forth any deep or lasting emotion in party life.

Birth of a New Party

The impossibility of reconciling their aims with the fundamental principles of the constitution made impossible for the Abolitionists a general political ascendancy. The conviction as to the harmful nature of slavery and the desire to strive for its abolition were steadily gaining ground in wider and wider circles of the American population; but they were not prepared to accept the platform of the Abolitionist party, which, owing to some illegal proceedings, lost much in the general esteem.

The American party for a short time gained largely in numbers, owing especially to the attraction which the secret element in its organisation exercised upon the masses. Its platform, however, the most essential item of which lay in a demand for rendering the acquisition of the rights of citizenship more difficult for new immigrants, met with a cold reception from the general public. It was especially directed against those immigrants who were coming to America as the forerunners of that large swarm of political malcontents who were seeking an asylum from administrative harshness, civil inequalities and even famine. These, it is true, were by no means a wholly desirable addition

Opposition to Immigrants

to the population. They were, almost without exception, in a lower stage of educational training, and their moral and ethical development was deficient. The fact that these immigrants almost invariably attached themselves to the side of the Democrats did not cause them to be regarded with much favour by anti-Democratic politicians; and, naturally, for the same reason the Democratic majority was opposed to the enactment of such an immigration law as was desired by the American party. In this latter particular the Democrats were also supported by the Whigs, especially as the character of alien immigration had undergone considerable change in consequence of the revolutions which about the middle of the nineteenth century convulsed the Old World.

Aliens in American Politics

The entrance of the foreigners into political life marks a point at which the development of party politics assumed fresh vigour. These men, especially those who came over after 1848, could under no conditions become adherents of the Democratic party. Those who in their old home had fought and suffered for the universal rights of men, as handed down in the formula of the French Revolution, could not possibly attach themselves to a party which through force of circumstances was compelled to give increasing prominence in its political programme to the maintenance of slavery. Though in theory they were thus largely Abolitionists, they were too little acquainted with the actual political conditions of the union to join the Abolitionist party in large numbers. Still less was there a place for them in the party of the "Know-nothings," which desired to close to their countrymen an asylum so much longed for and so much appreciated.

Amid such influences new life was infused into the ranks of those who once composed the Whig party. However much the foreigners may have imparted that leaven which by its fermentation produced the Republican party, they had nothing whatever to do with the formation of that party. The men who beheld with grief and anxiety the disintegration of the anti-Democratic organisation had already made several attempts to bring together all the vital tendencies of the day in such a manner as to engage the concerted efforts of a great and vigorous party. In its incipient stages the formation of the republican organisation was nothing more than the renewed attempt of the more intelligent politicians of Whig leanings to found their platform upon an idea which might awaken their party, endow it with greater strength, and help it towards final victory.

Decline of the Whigs

In different places attempts of this kind were made simultaneously under different names; but even in the early days the name "republicans" came into prominence. The basis of their platform was formed by the slavery question; but they did not propose to seek for its solution in the radical manner of the Abolitionists. The new party adopted a thoroughly conservative view; but while declaring that the rights of man, as ideally expressed in the Declaration of Independence, should be placed above the letter and spirit of the federal constitution, they demanded that the union should no longer lend a hand in enacting laws, which were designed for the benefit of all, in the interests of a portion of the citizens. The greater part of the platform was devoted to the elaboration of this idea. The party, however, at the same time proclaimed itself the inheritor of the Whig traditions by impressing upon the federal government the assumption of all internal improvements, more especially the construction of a transcontinental railway—tasks similar to those which had been assigned to the federal government by the Whigs, and before that by the Federalists.

Attempts at Party Making

At the presidential election which had resulted in the elevation of Pierce, the Republican party, as such, had scarcely come into life, and it figured in no way as a national factor. It gained considerable strength, however, owing to the events which happened during the succeeding four years (1853–1857), and more especially owing to the affairs of Kansas. The proposal to make the introduction or rejection of slavery in that territory dependent on the decision of its inhabitants led to a contention between the friends and opponents of slavery, which, though at first conducted on constitutional lines, soon degenerated into an open struggle which set all law at defiance.

Societies were formed in different states of the north for the purpose of organising methods for effecting the settlement of Kansas by free farmers; and their efforts

THE BEGINNING OF AMERICA'S VAST RAILROAD SYSTEMS: THE FIRST TRAIN IN THE UNITED STATES

Although railways for the purpose of carrying stone, gravel and other heavy materials were used in America as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was not until August 9th, 1829, that Horatio Allen, a civil engineer, took the first locomotive from Hopendale, Pa., to Carbondale, a distance of twenty-seven miles. On this trip Mr. Allen ran the engine himself, allowing no one else on it, as he considered the risk of life too great. The line was begun two years previously, and both locomotive and rails were procured from England.

From the painting by G. L. Henry, by permission of C. Klackner, 20 Old Bond Street, London

had a decided success. Partly owing to the great immigration from Europe there was no lack of men who were quite prepared to undertake in the Far West their share of the struggle against wild Nature and the southern foe. Now it seemed beyond all doubt that in communities where free settlers had once opened up the soil slave-holders would in vain attempt to gain a foothold. A settlement of this kind could not, however, be effected by leaps and bounds, nor could it occupy the whole territory in one single rush. The journey to Kansas from the states of the east was long and expensive, and the means of the colonisation societies were as yet very limited.

Emigration to the Far West

For the slave-holders the position of affairs was much more favourable. The inhabited portion of the lands by which Kansas was bordered was almost entirely occupied by slave-holding states, and the people of Missouri, who entered the territory in especially large numbers, were thus enabled to keep in continuous touch with their friends on the other side of the border, and could, if necessary, call in their help. Accordingly, when the governor of the territory issued the writ for the election of a legislative assembly, the people from the adjacent southern districts poured in, and by participation in the voting, falsification of votes, and the use of violence against their opponents, brought about an election which everyone knew did not in the least represent the real condition of affairs.

The federal government not only confirmed the election of the chosen candidates, but actually allowed the latter to draw up a constitution for the territory, which was formed entirely in the interests of the slave-holders and with the object of suppressing their opponents. Indeed, the federal government actually went so far as to place federal troops at the service of the pro-slavery administration, although in the meantime the free settlers, too, had demonstrated, by means of a free popular vote, the presence of an anti-slavery population at least as strong as their opponents, and had organised by electing a legislative body and proclaiming a constitution. Under such conditions a permanent peace became impossible. The first blood was shed probably by the slave party; but their opponents also soon resorted to reckless violence. Thus for years before Lincoln's election, a civil war turning on the question of the permission or prohibition of slavery was raging in the very heart of the union.

American Civil War Inevitable

The federal government seemed openly to sympathise with the slave-holders. The Democratic party, as such, was forced to do so according to its principles and its past history. Even the northern wing of the party, which, under the leadership of Douglas, did not indeed contend for the maintenance of slavery, but for the extreme consequences of the right of self-government of the separate states and territories, was, nevertheless, by recognising the validity of the first elections in Kansas, logically bound to support the policy of the president.

Even in the Democratic camp no one any longer failed to see that the discipline of the party in congress could in future be maintained only with difficulty; that the reputation of the party among the people had been severely shaken; and that by its policy in the Kansas questions it had placed a formidable weapon in the hands of its opponents. This was made plain to all who could see by the next presidential election. This, it is true, once more resulted in the victory of the Democratic candidate, James Buchanan (1857–1861), an old man of seventy-one years, who had spent a long time as ambassador in England, completely removed from political struggles. But of the 4,000,000 votes returned, only 1,800,000 had been recorded for him; and he was elected only because it was still found impossible to gather all the anti-Democrats into one fold.

Feeble Democratic Victory

The old Whigs and the "Know-nothings" had again nominated Fillmore; and though his name clearly enough proclaimed the feeble condition and want of principle of the party, his candidature nevertheless served to withdraw some hundreds of thousands of votes from the third party, and thus to put it in a minority. In spite of this, the election contest was of far-reaching importance to the Republicans, and through it they took a considerable step forward on the road to victory. Even during the negotiations for the nomination of a candidate, an agreement had been effected between the old group of the Free-Soilers, the Abolitionist "Know-nothings," and the true Republicans. The selection of Frémont, the

discoverer of the Far West and the conqueror of California, as a candidate for the presidency, seemed a very fortunate move. He embodied the ideas of the Young America party, which would have nothing to do with the old struggle between the defenders of state rights and the nationalists, but which had inscribed on its banners the greatness of their common country in a free republican development.

The Republicans this time remained faithful to the old conservative spirit, not, however, in the sense of a retrogressive stagnation, but in that of a steadily progressive development advancing in definite legal channels towards the highest ends. With his 1,300,000 votes, Frémont had so nearly approached the goal of victory that not only his adherents, but also his opponents, looked upon the success of the Republicans at the next election as certain.

This prospect loomed like a spectre upon the southern Democrats. Hitherto the only way in which their opponents had attained or had hoped to attain a victory had been by putting up a candidate to whom even a Democrat might still be able to give his vote. Now, however, for the first time, the Republicans had put up against them a man in whose programme not a spark of Democratic principle was to be discovered, and one who uncompromisingly placed the union above the states, and the spirit of the Declaration of Independence on an equality with that of the constitution. It was only by a mere chance that this programme had failed to secure the victory, and even before the result of the election was known the slave states recognised that this was the beginning of the end. As had happened earlier, a conference of the Southern states was once more summoned, but it was poorly attended and insignificant in results. Nevertheless, the slave states fully realised the seriousness of the situation.

Success of the Republicans

In the south, the industrial contrast between free and slave states, which rendered any community of interests impossible, had been recognised much earlier and more distinctly than in the north. In times more remote it may not have been so easily perceived how the south, in such a struggle, was far less favourably placed than the north, but the events of the last few years and their thorough and business-like discussion had opened the eyes of the slave-holders on this point. They could not fail to notice what a difference was observable in the relative increase of population in the two sections of the union, and how the wealth of the north was increasing in a proportion totally different from that of the south. Finally, they must have come to appreciate the reason why the value of land was so essentially different on the opposite sides of the border of the slave states. In Kansas and many other border districts they had learned from personal experience how much superior free labour was to the "peculiar institution" of the south; for of the settlers whom they sent to these districts at their common expense for the purpose of opposing free labour not a few went over into the enemy's camp. If only at one and the same stroke they could have abolished slavery and possessed themselves of the industrial conditions of the north! As things were, the abolition of slavery meant nothing less than the ruin of the slave-holders and the bankruptcy of all the propertied classes of the south.

Bankruptcy Facing Slave-holders

It was not their haughtiness as slave-holders which so often, inside and outside of congress, provoked the Southerners to words and acts unworthy of a highly civilised nation; it was rather the feeling of their own impotence, the certainty of being ruined men as soon as the federal government should be used to put the ban upon the system of slavery. It was such feelings which impelled the firebrands of the south to more and more exorbitant demands, and spurred them on to increasingly bitter struggles.

In reality, the policy adopted by the government, which has often been criticised as displaying a desire to please the slave-holders, arose from a desire to modify to some extent, by favourable enactments, the industrial disadvantages from which the southern half of the union was suffering. It was the same desire which prompted so large a section of the Northern politicians to feel kindly disposed toward the Southerners. On the other hand, if the majority of the people should renounce these sentiments, and the voting at the presidential election had shown that this was the case, and if they should succeed in filling the administration with men of similar opinions, the only natural result would be the commercial and political bankruptcy of the south. Its only choice then would

Concessions to Southerners

be to break with its past, to secede from the union, and to form a confederation of states whose interests rested on the common foundation of slave labour.

Such a confederacy would have become rapidly impoverished, and must have succumbed in the competition with its neighbour states, unless, indeed, an internal revolution had forced it to change its system. For the moment, however, the slave-holders indulged the hope that by these means they might save their property and delay its inevitable overthrow. To the men of the south their method of proceeding did not appear revolutionary. The doctrine of state rights had led many politicians, particularly in the south, to regard the union merely as a compact between the states which the contracting parties were entitled to rescind. South Carolina had already openly expressed a similar view in its conflict with Jackson; but its procedure at that time had been considered by many as incorrect and illegal, even though the government on that occasion had preferred to attain its end by means of what some chose to call a compromise.

End of Slavery in Sight

Of course, in the meantime the feeling of an indissoluble connection had gained considerable strength among widespread classes of the population, and the secessionist longings of individual Southern states only aroused in some sections a feeling in favour of union. Nevertheless, there were those in the north-east, where the contrast of interests with the south was sharpest, who began to regard the separation of industrially dissimilar groups as being as much of an advantage as did the Southerners themselves, and to draw conclusions from the doctrine of state rights, according to which a peaceful dissolution of the union appeared the most desirable way out of the difficulty. President Buchanan first of all made efforts to postpone this question, in the hope that such a course might bring counsel and deliverance. From his predecessor he had received other problems, the solution of which might be supposed to claim general interest, and he was in hopes that by taking such matters in hand he might turn the current of politics into another channel. For a long time past the island of Cuba had been one of those territories whose acquisition by the United States had been particularly desired by many. Its geographical position of necessity brought it in many ways into contact with the United States, and the weakness of Spanish rule in the island made its eventual sale appear by no means impossible.

Doctrine of State Rights

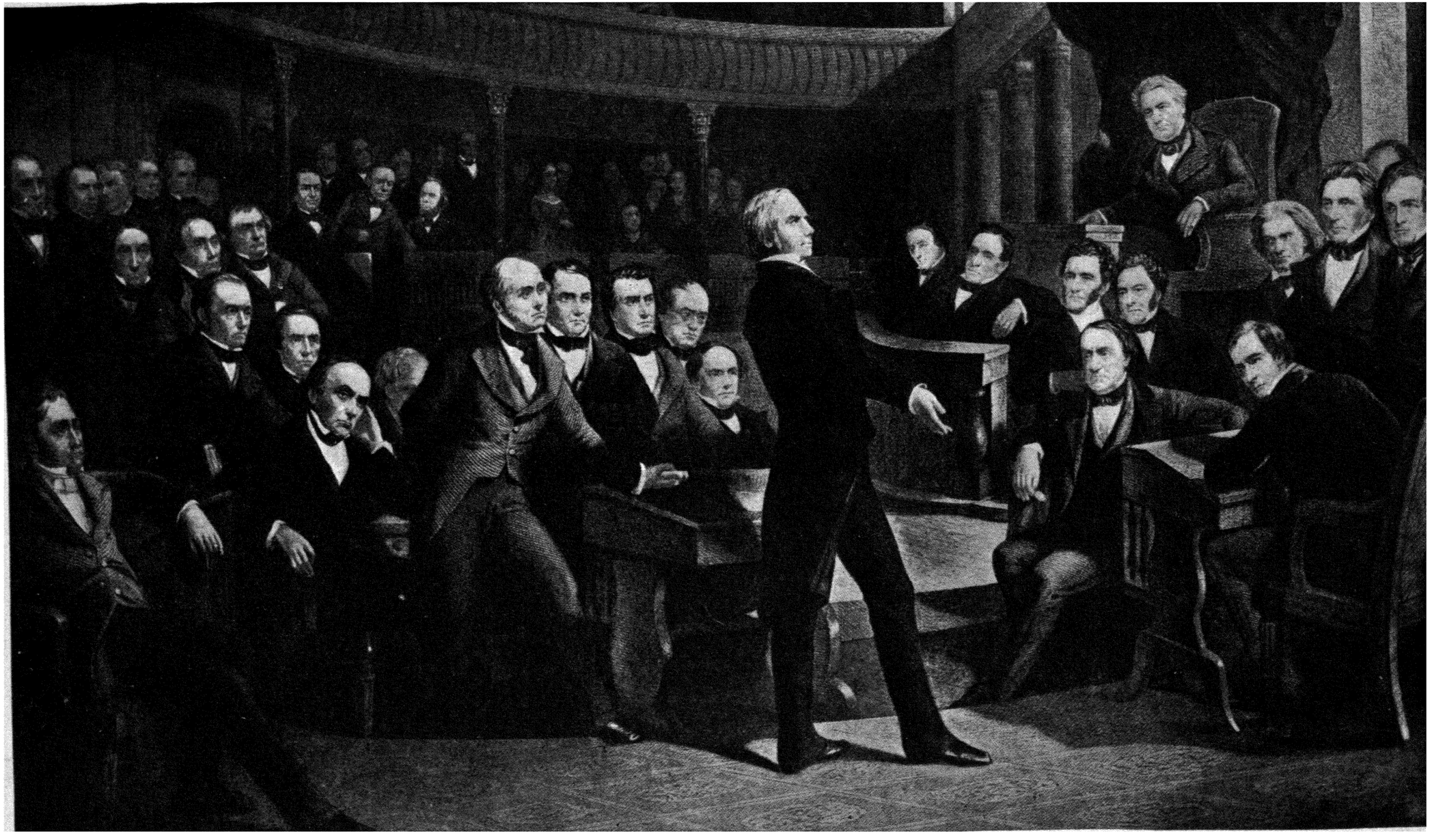
In such an event, however, it was of vital importance to the United States that the island should not fall into the hands of a Power which understood better how to utilise the industrial resources of the island in competition with their own products. Whether Buchanan really did entertain higher expectations from the future must be left undecided; at any rate, he now made use of this question for the purpose of diverting attention from internal affairs, and he attained his object—in so far, at least, as his proposition to place eight million pounds for this purpose at the disposal of the government for some time occupied the attention of the senate and imparted a different character to the debates.

The Mormon difficulty was employed for a similar purpose. Pierce had already called out the federal troops against the Mormons, in order to force the submission of Brigham Young's theocratic régime to the federal laws; and Buchanan had to carry through congress the acceptance of the agreement by which matters were settled, at least apparently, in a satisfactory manner. Nevertheless, Buchanan did not succeed by these diversions in appeasing the internal feud. The slavery question kept knocking louder and louder at the doors of congress, which was neither able nor willing to refuse it admittance.

Shameless Electoral Frauds

In Kansas, parties were still facing each other for the fight. The party of the slave-holders had once more, by means of the most shameless electoral frauds, pretended to be alone empowered to speak for the territory, and at Lecompton had drawn up a constitution on the basis of which Kansas applied for admission as a state. But although the Free State party discovered the fraud, and on their side, with the so-called Topeka constitution, which prohibited slavery, made a similar application to congress, Buchanan favoured the Lecompton constitution, and also got the senate to accept it.

But the house of representatives could not be won over by straightforward means; a majority was finally obtained by parliamentary manœuvres, but only after



THE UNITED STATES SENATE DISCUSSING HENRY CLAY'S FAMOUS "COMPROMISE OF 1850"

In 1847 David Wilmot brought a bill before congress prohibiting the introduction of slavery into newly acquired territories, against which the Southern leaders vehemently protested. The campaign conducted by them on behalf of their theory was long and violent, culminating in 1850 with Henry Clay's famous compromise, which has since become known as the "Compromise of 1850." This picture depicts congress of that period discussing the final stages of the compromise, the principles of which in the meantime had become important factors in party politics.

it had been agreed to submit once more the question of the constitution to the vote of the people. On this occasion, however, the slave-holders' party was completely defeated. The consequence was that Kansas had to wait several years longer before it was admitted as a state; but it had already rendered an important service to the cause of liberty.

Slave-holders' Party Defeated

It had already been for some time a matter of considerable difficulty to hold to the policy of the majority those northern Democrats who at that time were led by Stephen Arnold Douglas. The question of the constitution of Kansas served to effect their complete separation.

The Democratic party defended in principle the right of self-government of the states. Douglas followed out the consequences of this policy in so far as he voted for submitting the Lecompton constitution to the popular vote. It was, however, well known in congress that Douglas's demand would seriously call in question the recognition of slavery in Kansas, and the Democrats of the south accordingly looked upon his action as a secession from the party and used every effort to make the split irremediable. They thus probably hoped merely to expel the unreliable elements from the party, and thereby consolidate it. But, unfortunately, with the disruption of the Democratic party the connection between north and south was once more torn asunder, and the unavoidable conflict of interests was again recognised in a new sphere. Thus was typified the greater fact that the country, in entering upon the campaign of the next presidential election, was divided into two opposite and completely separated groups of states.

On this occasion the Democratic party, as already stated, was no longer united. Its first convention at Charleston adjourned without arriving at a nomination. Later, the northern wing of the party nominated Douglas as its candidate, while the southern delegates put up John C. Breckenridge. The Constitutional Union party nominated Bell. The Republicans held their convention in the western city of Chicago, and here a western candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was nominated for the presidency. Lincoln was a self-made man who had become known only in recent years through a contest which in 1858 he fought with Douglas for a seat in the United States Senate. He was, above all, a typical man of the world, who, as backwoodsman, small store-keeper, village postman, and deputy surveyor, had well learnt the lesson which only diverse experience can teach. At the outset of his career his growing reputation as a lawyer nearly compelled him to abandon politics altogether; nor was it until Douglas repealed the Missouri Compromise, and reopened the question of slavery in the territories that his party began to realise his undoubted ability and his strength. His calm circumspection, his humour, and his readiness as a debater had already made him one of the foremost politicians of the young party. Moreover, his many qualities characteristic of a "man of the people" made him a candidate more desirable than the average parliamentarian.

Fruitless Democratic Convention

The voting was even less decisive than at Buchanan's election. Though Lincoln, on November 6th, 1860, received a majority of electoral votes, by which he was legally elected to the presidency, he fell short of a majority of popular votes by more than twice as many votes as did his predecessor. The significant feature of the election, however, was that its result was due entirely to the enormous numerical preponderance of the north. In the south Lincoln had not been presented as a candidate at all, and even in the border states he had obtained only a few thousand votes.

Lincoln Elected President

South Carolina, then as much as ever the leader of the extremists, responded to the election with an ordinance of secession from the union. At first it stood alone in taking this step. Soon afterwards, however, a convention of several Southern states was held at Montgomery, for the purpose of deciding upon some common course of action whereby the interests of the south might be safeguarded against a northern president. It was in vain that Virginia summoned a convention for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation; the most she could effect in that direction was to suggest a moderate course of action for the Central states and to take measures for preventing a further spread of the secession movement. That it would be impossible to win back the Southern states by negotiation was not only expressed by the latter, but was also clearly perceived by some in the north.

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA
AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

BUCHANAN considered it his duty, during the last months of his period of office, to preserve a passive attitude. He, who as a Democrat had early defended the principle of state rights out of conviction, found no difficulty in acknowledging the claim of the south to the right of secession. But he was destined, before leaving the scene, to execute another complete political *volte-face*. The February convention of the Southern states at Montgomery had for its immediate consequence the formation of a separate confederacy, which elected Jefferson Davis as its president and claimed the rights of an independent state. Buchanan felt disposed to acknowledge this claim.

The idea of allowing the apostate states to withdraw peacefully from the union was so widespread among the Democrats of the North-eastern states that the south was already led to entertain hopes of such an issue. The secession, however, had caused the retirement of some of the Ministers from Buchanan's Cabinet; and the men who stepped into their places were not only themselves resolved to maintain the integrity of the union, but they also managed to convince the president of the necessity of such a policy. The latter, therefore, suddenly refused any further negotiations with the confederacy, and though he could not be induced to adopt an active policy against the latter, his temporary advisers managed at least to prevent his yielding another step.

Integrity of the Union at Stake

It was under such conditions that Lincoln entered upon office on March 4th, 1861. His inaugural address was entirely animated by that conservative spirit on which the Republican party had built up its platform; but he declared as his first principle the preservation of the union and the enforcement of all its laws. He expressly guarded against giving utterance to abolitionist longings, though these were certainly not contrary to his personal inclinations; but he held the Southern states so much the more responsible if by their proceedings they should stir up a civil war. It soon became evident that these were not mere empty words. A deputation which desired to treat with the federal government in the name of the confederate states was refused formal audience by the Secretary of State on the ground that the government did not recognise the existence of an independent republic of the confederate states. In other respects, however, he preserved a temporising attitude until events forced him to adopt another policy.

The Demands of the Secessionists

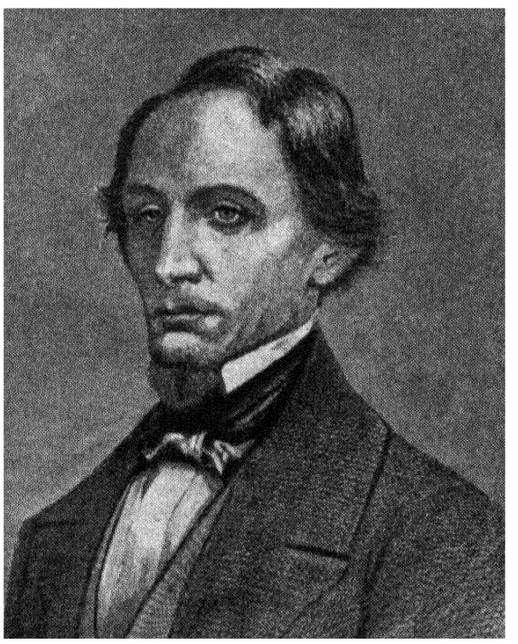
The Secessionists had already demanded from Buchanan the delivery into their hands of all federal property in the confederate states, but more especially the forts of Charleston; and though they had met with a formal refusal they had nevertheless practically succeeded in attaining their object. The Charleston forts were so feebly garrisoned that their commandant, Major Anderson, declared it impossible to defend them against even the slightest attack. But as the government did not promptly send him reinforcements he retired to Fort Sumter, built on an island, and thus capable of being most easily defended, while the enemy occupied the other forts.

Already, in the beginning of January, 1861, shots had been exchanged here. On one occasion, when a federal steamer endeavoured to convey supplies to Anderson, she had been obliged by the shore batteries to return without having effected her object, leaving Anderson to his fate. Nevertheless, it was not until April 12th that the South Carolina troops found sufficient courage to direct their fire on Fort Sumter, which after a two days' bombardment was obliged to capitulate. The south considered it a great victory when the federal flag was hauled down

The South's First Victory

from the last fort on its Atlantic coast-line. But it was considerably mistaken in its calculations. As long as the Secessionists had sought severance from the union by peaceful methods the federal government had to reckon with the fact that a powerful party in its northern dominion was disposed to agree with this demand, and was certainly not prepared to take up arms for the sake of upholding the union.

When, however, the south had shed the first blood a storm of indignation arose in the whole north, and the people demanded that the sword should not be sheathed until the south had been brought back to obedience to the laws. This fighting ardour, turned to good account by the call for volunteers, placed in the hands of the government the means of extricating itself from the awkward position in which Lincoln's hesitation, as opposed to the resolute measures of the Southerners, had placed it. Until now only eleven states had joined the confederacy. Among the border states, however, several were undecided; the side they would finally take would depend, in all probability, on the issue of the initial engagements. Virginia was at first among the waverers; but her importance to the Southern states was so considerable that the congress of the south used every effort to win her over to its cause. It was essentially on this account that Richmond, on the James River, was chosen as the capital of the confederacy, although it was situated not far from the border and was exposed to the attack of the enemy.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Distinguishing himself in the Mexican War, Davis became a powerful advocate of slavery, and president of the confederate states. During the Civil War he was made prisoner, but after two years was released.

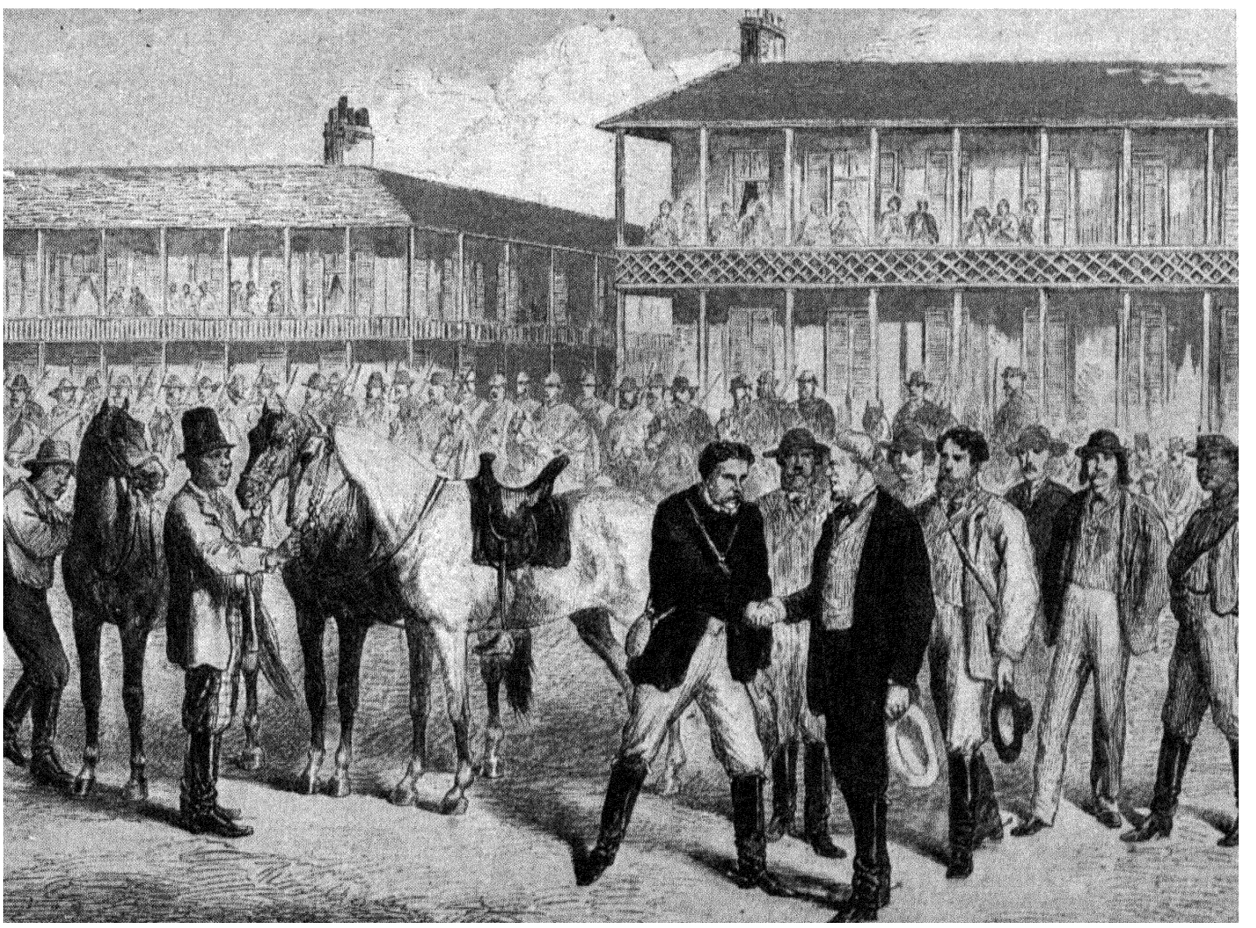
The situation of the national government at the beginning of the Civil War was somewhat critical. The federal troops, in themselves inconsiderable, were in a state approaching disorganisation. The Secretary for War, before he resigned, had intentionally placed a portion of the war material in the hands of the Southerners, and the rest seemed to have been dissipated. A large number of the officers had left the federal army and had taken service with the south. Even the numerical superiority of the north was at the beginning of no weight. So completely had people in the free states mistaken the character of the impending struggle that some at first believed it would be settled by means of regular soldiers and the militia, while many citizens persisted in their national repugnance to everything military and went about their ordinary business.

The danger threatened most immediately the federal capital. The neighbouring states of Maryland and Delaware were slave states and largely in sympathy with the south. Though the loss of Washington would have been of little military importance, its moral effect would have been more serious inasmuch as in the Northern states the war party had, as a matter of fact, only an uncertain control. Fortunately, it was possible to prevent such a catastrophe, for the militia regiments which had been rapidly summoned arrived at the capital in time. When Maryland prepared to offer armed resistance to the transportation of further reinforcements, its capital, Baltimore, was occupied by the federal troops, and the pro-Secessionist government was replaced by one favourably disposed to the union. This was the first blow received by the Secession, preventing once for all the attachment of the states of Maryland and Delaware to their cause. In the west things were assuming a similar shape. Here, also, the confederacy had reckoned on winning over to its side such slave-holding central states as Kentucky, Missouri and Kansas.

It was the more justified in this hope since almost throughout the region the government was in the hands of Democratic majorities; but in spite of this they were nowhere successful. The western counties of Virginia adhered to the union; in Kentucky the firmness of the federal officials prevented any false step on the part of the local government; and though Missouri could not, in its entirety, be

JEFFERSON DAVIS SIGNING GOVERNMENT ACTS BY THE ROADSIDE

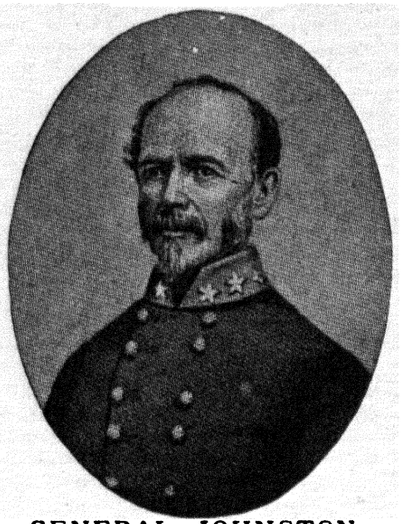
The above picture shows a quaint incident towards the end of the Civil War. The fugitive Cabinet has halted by the roadside, and the president is signing documents which his Secretary of State is handing to him. This was the last official business which was conducted by the Confederate Government, the end of the war being in sight.



THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH BIDDING FAREWELL TO HIS ESCORT AND STAFF

The virtual end of the Civil War came with the disbandment of the Confederate forces in the early part of 1865. Jefferson Davis and his men met for the last time at Washington, Georgia, and in the above picture he is seen bidding farewell to his escort and staff. Assembled around him are men who have sacrificed their all to the cause, and he is urging them to seek their own safety and to leave him to his fate. Forty-eight hours later he was taken prisoner.

preserved to the union, it was nevertheless prevented from formally going over to the Secessionists. Beyond the Mississippi, in fact, even the Democrats were good Unionists, and with the exception of the Gulf states of Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, the whole of this division of the country remained faithful to the union. Here, indeed, the conservative unionist idea had become firmly rooted. The inhabitants of these regions had lived under the union laws from the time of their first settling, and had always supported a Great-American policy, and were by no means inclined to allow the will of discontented citizens to determine whether the state was to continue a united whole, rich in future possibilities, or was to be divided into separate halves, each restraining the other's development. In the west the union idea flourished; and from the western territory began that succession of victories which, coupled with the parallel campaigns in the east, led to the final overthrow of the confederacy. The first attack by the north had a lamentable result. An army of 60,000 men under McDowell advanced into Virginia, and, falling in with the enemy at Bull Run, was disastrously defeated, and retreated in a state of panic to Washington (July 21st, 1861). In the east the struggle thereafter for years consisted in backward and forward movements of mighty armies between the two capitals of Richmond and Washington, which were only about a hundred miles distant from each other. Numerous battles were fought, lasting sometimes for days, in which the losses on both sides reached uncommonly high figures. And yet neither side was able to win any permanent success. The operations, as a rule, ended fatally to the attacking party, without, however, providing the defenders with an opportunity of pushing matters to a decisive issue. In generalship, the south was undoubtedly superior. The leadership of Joseph Eccleston Johnston and of Robert Edward Lee, the wonderful expeditions of Thomas Jonathan (otherwise known as "Stonewall") Jackson and of his so-called "foot-cavalry," far exceeded the performances of the north. But even these leaders were unable to organise a plan of campaign laid out on an extensive scale and conducted with energy. No doubt they had to struggle with special difficulties. Inasmuch as the south, even during the first phase of the war, had been shut out from the sea, it was compelled to confine its operations exclusively to the land. As long as the scene of these operations lay between Richmond and Washington, the confederate troops enjoyed the advantage of having the population on their side. Nevertheless, for their commissariat, and in many cases, too, owing to the almost entire absence of roads in the European sense of the word, for their transport, the large army divisions were obliged to keep close to such few railway lines as were then in existence. This dependence naturally increased the difficulty of advancing for considerable distances; though, indeed, no advantage could have been derived from such movements in the conditions under which the war was being conducted. The events of the first year of the war had



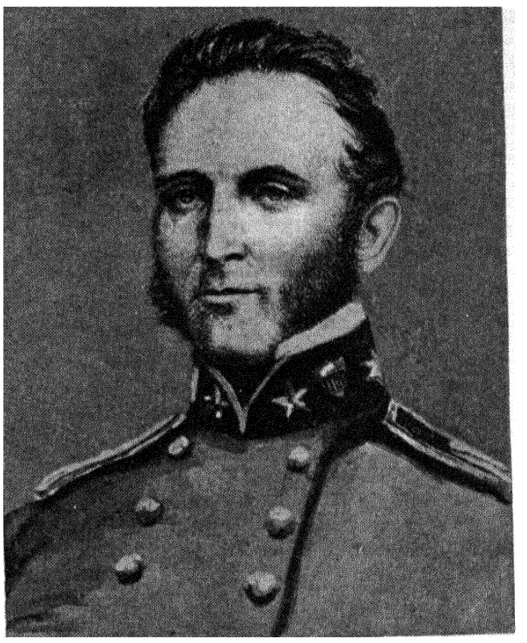
GENERAL JOHNSTON

After quelling the Mormon rebellion in Utah, Johnston joined the southern forces, and during an attack on Grant at Shiloh on April 6th, 1862, was mortally wounded.

GENERAL LEE

General Lee, at the outbreak of the Civil War, fought in Virginia, and was soon placed at the head of the confederate army. His surrender to General Grant at Richmond in 1865 was the last decisive engagement of the war.

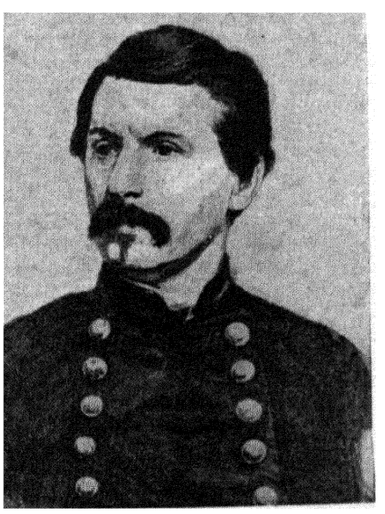
shown that Washington was secure from occupation by the south as long as the power of the union remained permanently unshaken. But apart from the federal capital the army of Richmond seemed to have no serious object of attack. The capture of the commercial and industrial towns of the north-east would indeed have been a highly desirable prize; but to advance on them by land, with the centre of the enemy's force in the rear, was a task to which the armies of the south were not equal. True, they might succeed in temporarily subjecting to southern sway some more or less extensive portions of the Central states; or they might, by successful raids, ravage and alarm the neighbouring Northern states of Pennsylvania or West Virginia; but neither of these moves could appreciably affect the result of the war. Indeed, General Lee twice made the attempt, but without any success whatever. Such operations could only have had a decisive effect if corresponding successes had been obtained simultaneously in the other theatres of war. The principal obstacle to the success of the north was the deplorable absence of good leaders. True, in the first two years of the war the troops themselves were so poor in quality that even better generals could not have achieved victories with them. This, however, no longer applied in the later years of the war, when bodies of tried and picked men and officers had become available among the volunteer regiments. But the hesitating tactics of such men as George Brinton McClellan and the dogged resolution and indomitable courage of Ulysses Grant fell far short of the skill and ability of their southern antagonists. The north, however, enjoyed the advantage of free access to the sea, and McClellan endeavoured to make this the base of his campaign; but the attempt proved unsuccessful and was not repeated at the seat of war in Virginia.



"STONEWALL" JACKSON

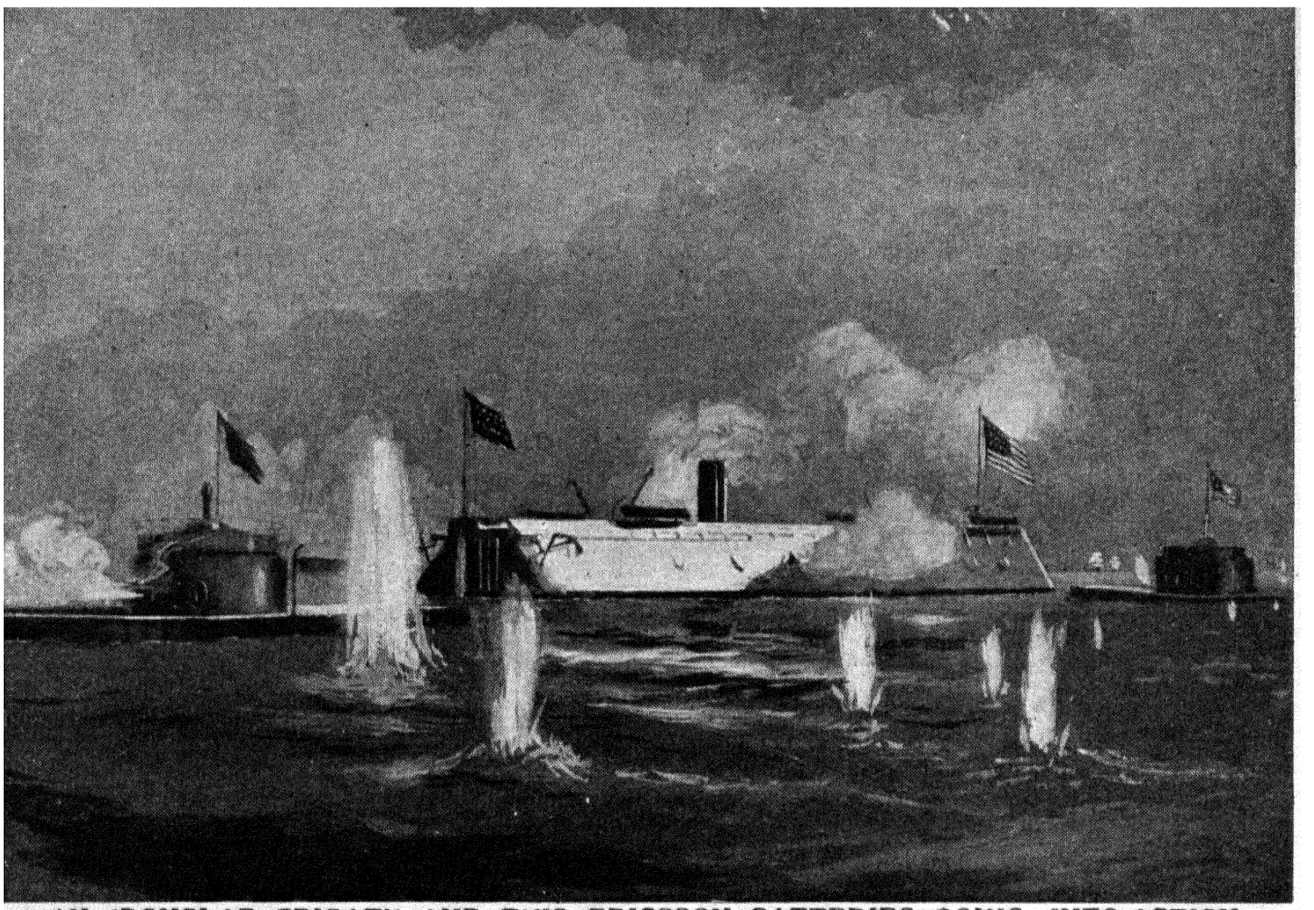
Jackson, on May 1st, 1863, made a brilliant attack on the national troops, succeeding in repulsing Hooker at Chancellorsville. In returning from that engagement he was accidentally shot by one of his own party.

In addition to this, the power of the north, especially during the first years of the war, was weakened by political considerations. Lincoln refused to regard the rebels as other than fellow-countrymen who had strayed from the right path. He was unwilling to fight with the confederate states, whose existence he did not recognise, but was only endeavouring to bring those to submission who were in arms against the union. In spite of this consideration, however, he was by no means successful in maintaining among his followers of the north that solid cohesion which on the side of the south was the natural outcome of events. In the east, in particular, and in a less degree also at the other theatres of war, the first two years of hostilities, while involving nothing but sacrifices, had produced no visible results. Instigated by southern agents, the party of those who were in favour of allowing the south to secede peacefully from the union now began to lift up its head in a manner which threatened danger. A time arrived when the Democrats in the east obtained ominous majorities and in some cases got possession of the state governments; and in New York the mob rose up against the "infamous" draft, and a resolution was actually brought forward in congress calling on the president to commence negotiations with the government of the confederate states for the purpose of putting an end to the quarrel. Lincoln's position was indeed one of the utmost difficulty. It would have been almost untenable had not the middle west remained firm to the Unionist



GENERAL McCLELLAN

Driving the confederate troops out of West Virginia, he was sent to reorganise the army of the Potomac, and in November, 1861, was appointed commander-in-chief.

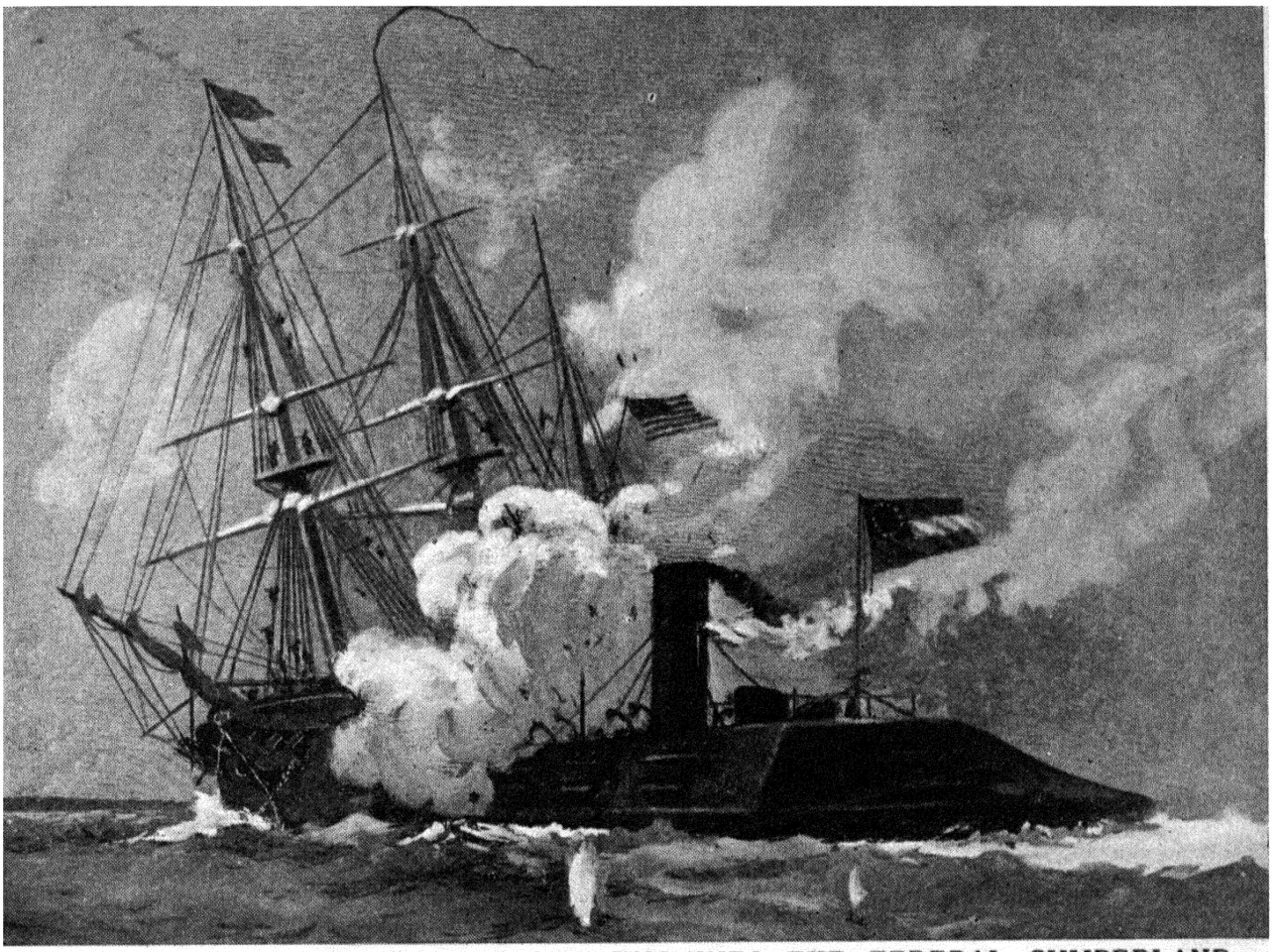


AN IRONCLAD FRIGATE AND TWO ERICSSON BATTERIES GOING INTO ACTION

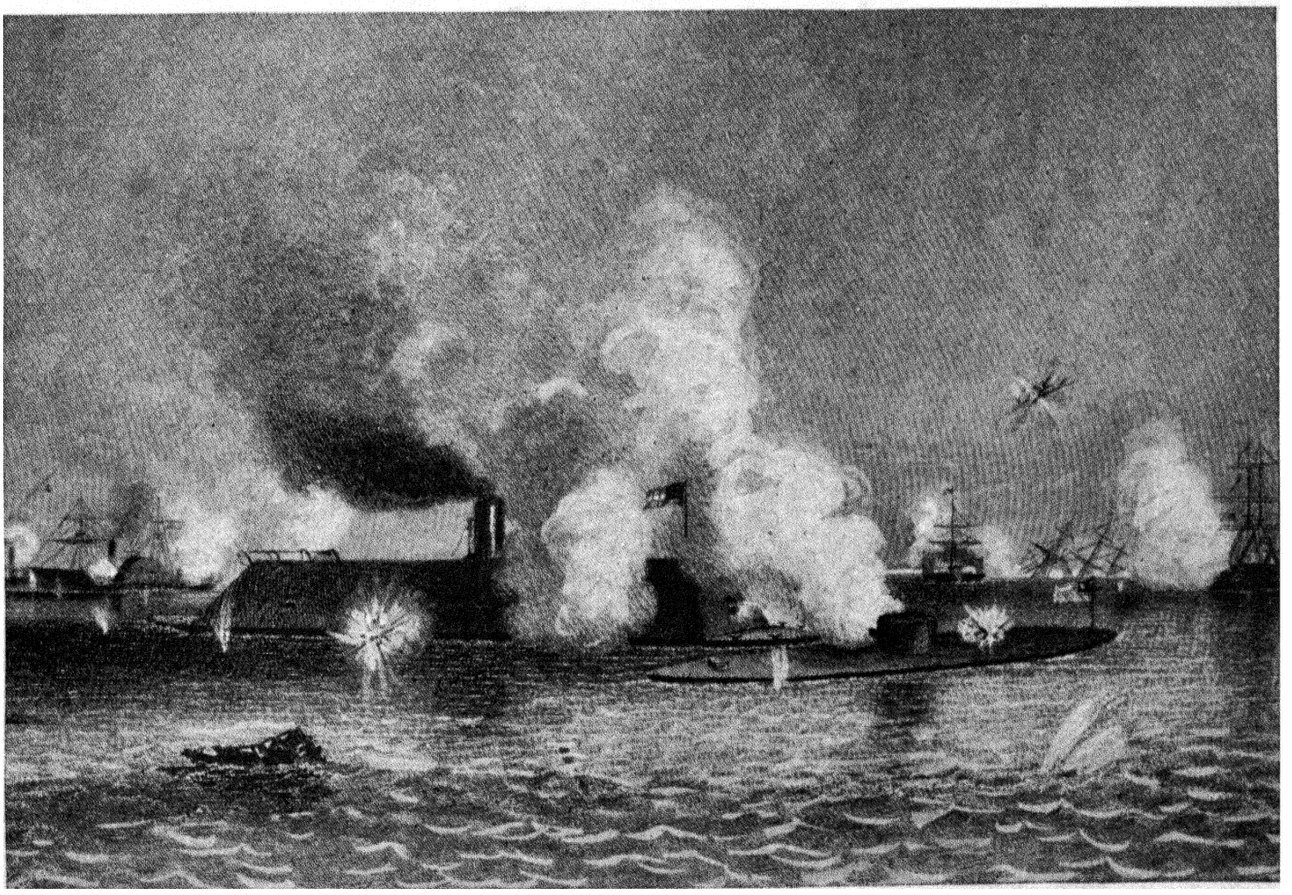
GUN AND MORTAR BOATS ON THE MISSISSIPPI ENGAGING THE FORTS AND BATTERIES

NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

ıe siege of Vicksburg was one of the most memorable in the history of the Civil War. Realising the importance of ɔsing up the Mississippi River, the Confederates in 1862 strongly fortified the place, and from this time on succeeded repulsing attack upon attack, only surrendering on July 4th after a hard siege by land and water, which began on ay 18th, 1863. The lower picture shows a number of gun and mortar boats on the Mississippi River attacking the ·ts and batteries on the island and mainland, while the first depicts two of the Ericsson batteries going into action.



THE CONFEDERATE MERRIMAC RUNNING INTO THE FEDERAL CUMBERLAND



THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR IN AN ENGAGEMENT IN HAMPTON ROADS

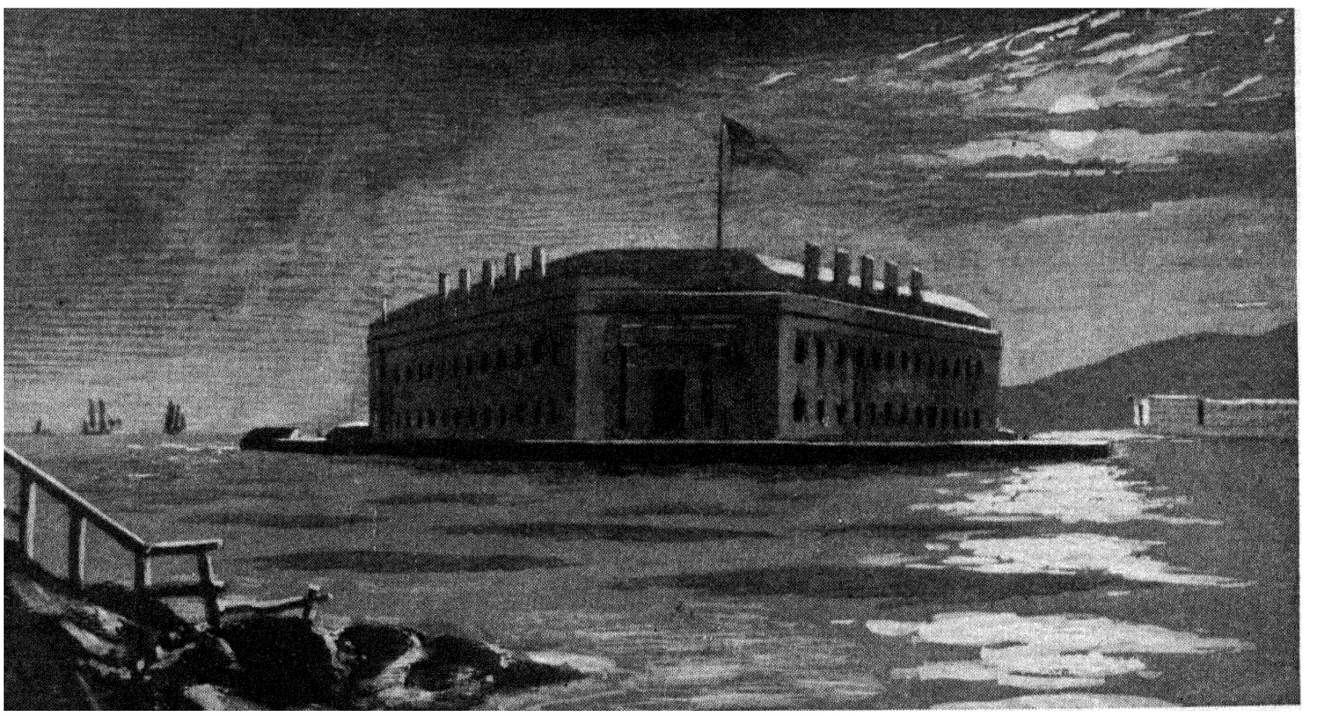
SCENES IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

The second year of the war was marked by a number of defeats for the Union navy, not the least of them being the sinking of the Cumberland on March 8th, 1862, by the confederate Merrimac. For some time the Merrimac, originally attached to the United States Navy, which vessel the confederates had rendered almost invulnerable to artillery, was supreme on the water, sinking more than one Federal ship before meeting a worthy opponent in the Monitor. The latter was built by a Swede named Ericsson, and with its low armoured deck carried two guns of the heaviest calibre.

programme of the Republican party, and had not the governments of the Western states, which at the outbreak of the war were still partially in the hands of the Democrats, been succeeded by others of unionist principles.

In the east the danger would have been immeasurably greater had it not been that there, too, the war gained adherents. The south had obtained a temporary superiority, owing to the fact that before Lincoln's accession to office it had acquired possession of very much of the war material of the union. However, owing to the limited amount of human material it had at its disposal, it was incapable, at least during the years of the war, benefited by these conditions. The few frigates and revenue cutters which constituted the United States Navy had before the war been ordered partly to southern and partly to far-distant foreign ports, so that in this respect also the union was rendered virtually powerless. The Unionists, however, fully realised that the only way of preventing constant accessions of fresh power to the south was by shutting it out from the sea.

In Washington it was well known what importance the Secessionists attached to this matter. They felt assured that, being unable to do without the cotton supplies of the south, the European Powers, and especially Great Britain, would, in the



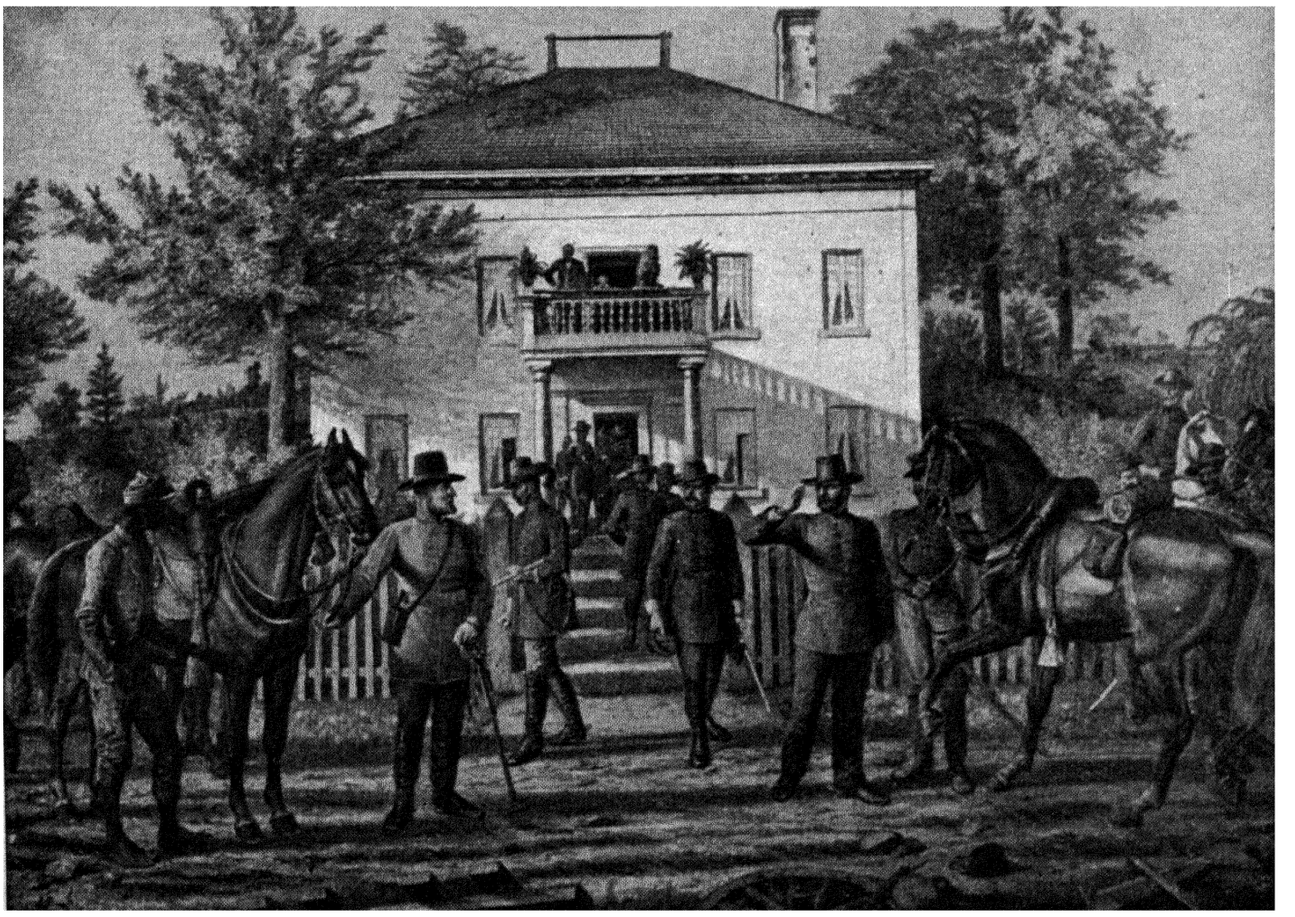
FORT LAFAYETTE, THE FEDERAL BASTILLE FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS
During the early part of the Civil War the grim fortress of Lafayette, situated on Hendrick's Reef in the Narrows at the entrance to New York Harbour, served as federal Bastille for political prisoners.

of establishing an industrial independence, and its position in consequence could not fail to become more and more unfavourable. This fact in itself served to stimulate the north towards exerting itself to the utmost of its powers, and provided the North-eastern states with an opportunity of immensely improving their industries and of employing their activities in an exceedingly profitable manner.

The factories engaged in the manufacture of ammunition, military outfits, articles of clothing, etc., were suddenly overwhelmed with orders, and, naturally, obtained most favourable contracts. The shipping industry, which had at all times given employment to thousands of hands on the North Atlantic coast, was especially event of the north gaining the upper hand, at once hasten to their assistance. In the south, cotton, as a matter of fact, was king. It formed the wealth of the large landowners; for its sake it was necessary to uphold slavery even at the risk of a serious war; with it the costs of that war were to be defrayed; and for its sake, too, the south hoped to obtain the recognition, if not the support, of Europe. Nor were they altogether wrong in the last of these calculations. Napoleon III. felt drawn to the side of the confederates more from a feeling of selfish jealousy of the United States than from any other interests; but in the case of England a similar leaning, due largely to industrial conditions, was counteracted mainly by the strength of

THE GREAT FEDERAL DEFEAT AT THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

The defeat of the Union forces at the Battle of Fredericksburg was one of the most desperate episodes in the whole of the Civil War. At sunset, on December 13th, 1862, General Burnside opened fire with every available battery on the Confederate position. A sharp and decisive battle followed, lasting until the night of the 15th, when the national troops, defeated and humiliated, retreated across the river, after suffering a loss of some 10,000 men.

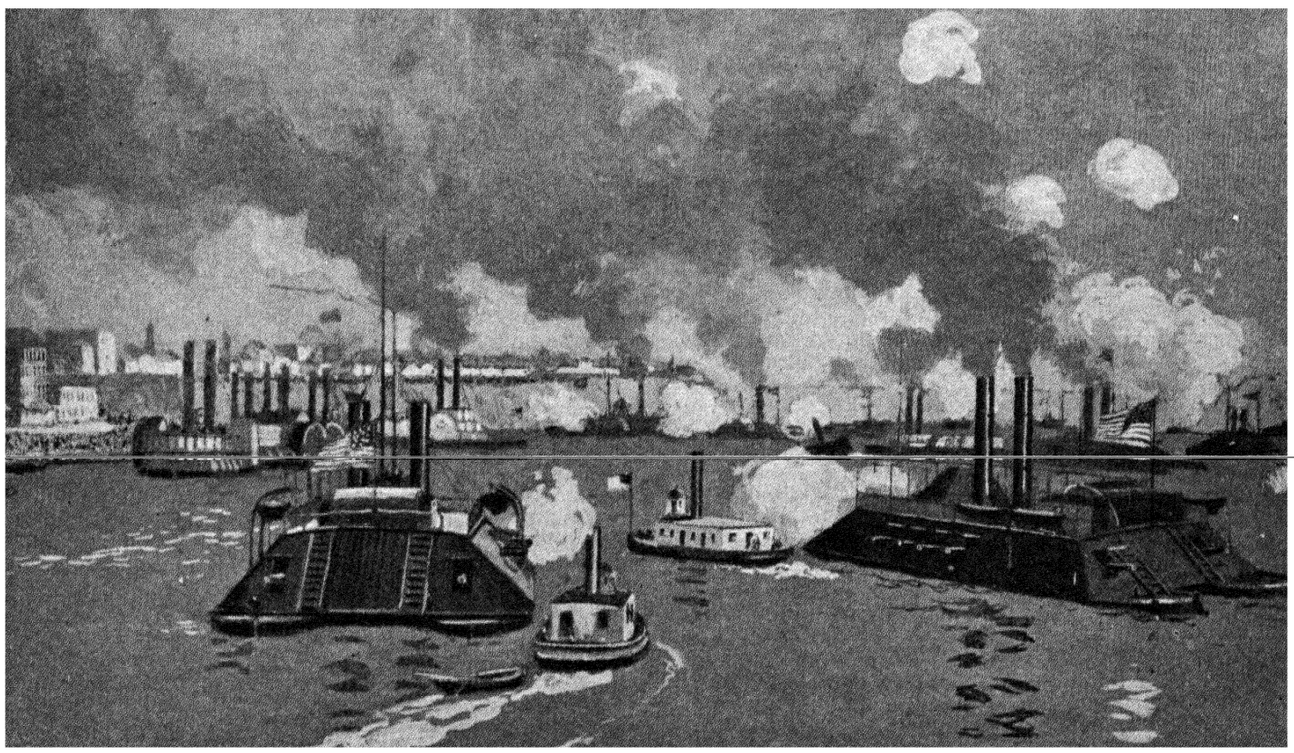


SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE AT RICHMOND, APRIL 9TH, 1865

Lee's surrender at Richmond was the last and greatest triumph of the northern forces. The decreasing resources of the south had begun to have a despairing influence upon his troops. Reaching Richmond on April 9th, 1865, after a series of engagements which had reduced his infantry to 8,000 muskets, he found himself surrounded by the enemy. Escape was impossible, and to avoid further bloodshed in a hopeless cause, General Lee yielded to the inevitable.

the anti-slavery sentiment. An enormous number of operatives were thrown out of employment by the cotton famine consequent on the blockade of the southern ports.

The strict neutrality preserved by the British Government was the cause of indignant complaints in the south; but the lack of vigilance which permitted the Alabama and other cruisers to escape to sea was regarded by the Federals as warranting on their part an attitude which very nearly brought about a breach of diplomatic relations, and created an intensity of irritation between the two nations which was not allayed for many years. With an energy which compels our admiration, the north set to work to



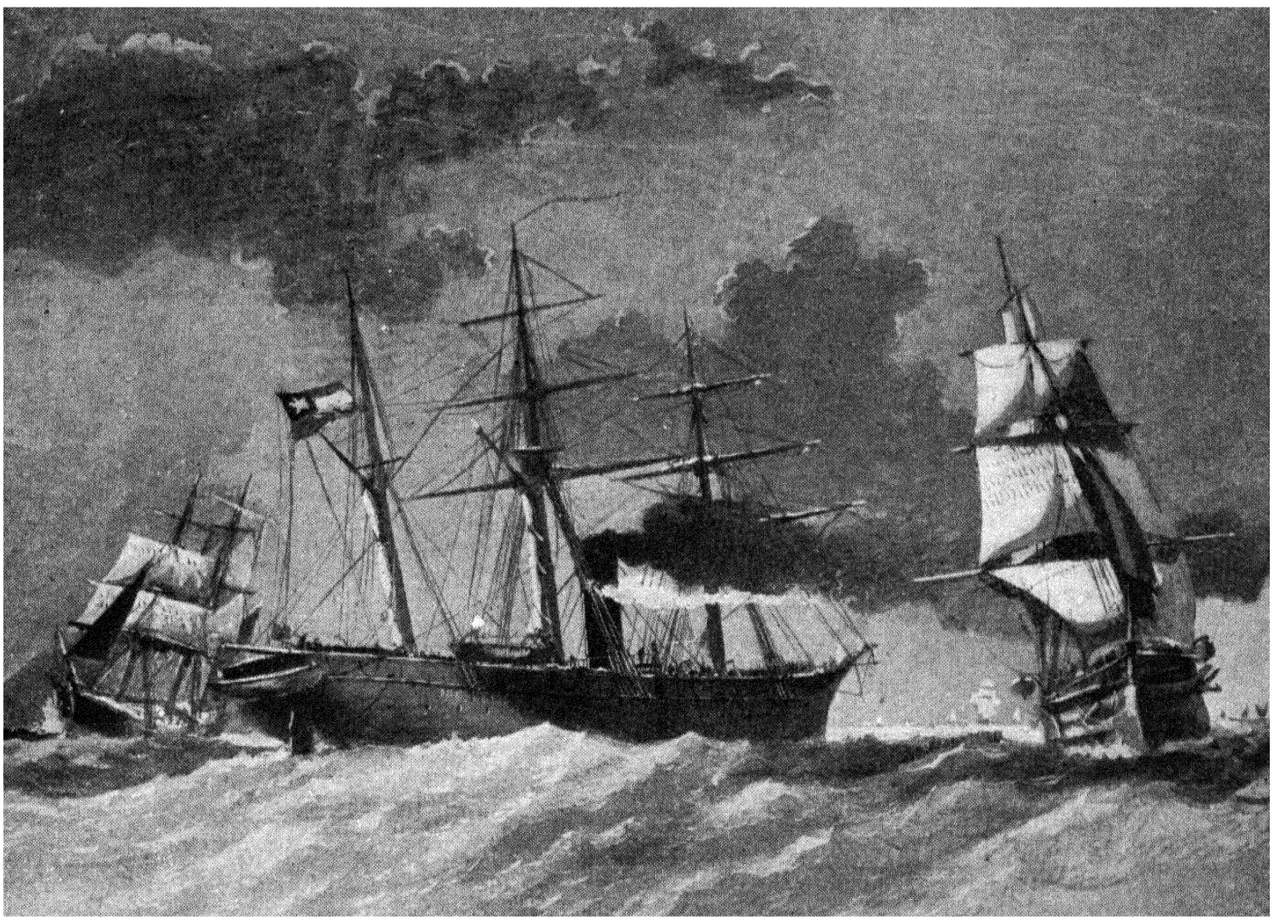
THE CIVIL WAR: DESTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE FLOTILLA OFF MEMPHIS

organise a navy which should be equal to the great task before it, and by the end of 1862 the blockade of the southern ports began to have a telling effect.

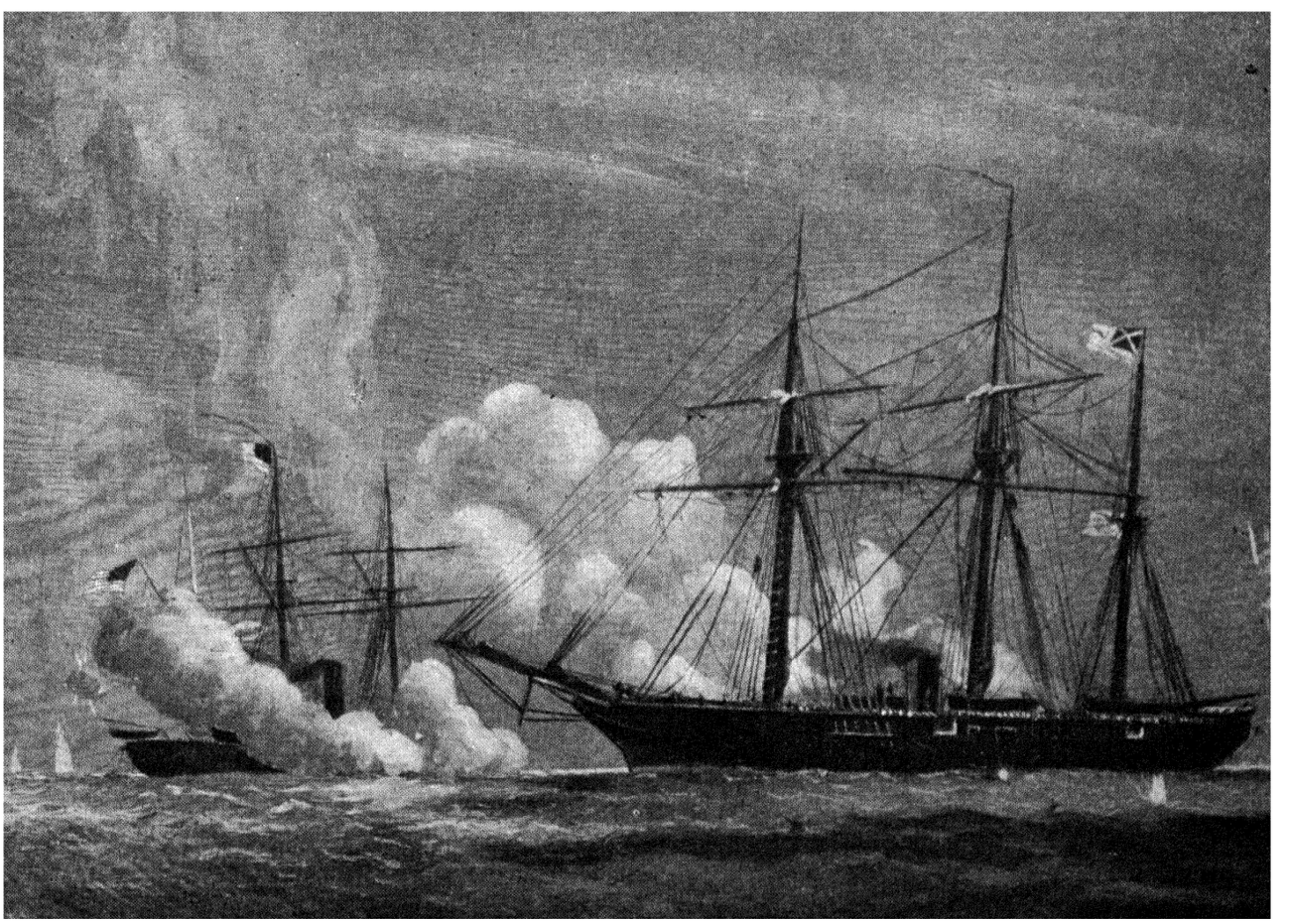
A few vessels commanded by daring seamen managed, even down to the end of the war, to run the blockade either undetected, or without sustaining any serious damage. The lucky parties thereby earned large sums of money; but with a few shiploads they were able neither to exercise any appreciable influence on the European demand for cotton, nor, by their occasional and insufficient importations, to keep up the war supplies of the south. Thus, although the naval war exercised a direct influence on the struggle, it was not able to determine the issue.

The decisive stroke came from the west. The formation of the confederacy had once more placed the western states in a position similar to that which they held before the cession of Louisiana. Even at that time the free navigation of the Mississippi down to the Gulf of Mexico had been recognised as indispensable to the prosperity of the inland states of the continent.

Still more was this now the case, when, in place of isolated forts and trading-stations, between which the Indian roamed, flourishing towns and villages had arisen, while sturdy farmers had converted thousands of square miles of virgin soil into rich arable land. As yet only a few railways connected the Father of Waters with the provinces of the east; and the project of a railway to the Pacific Ocean had not advanced beyond the preliminary stage. Thus the Mississippi formed the principal artery of traffic for the vast region which is watered by it and its tributaries; and even at that time a large fleet of steamers was employed in the exchange of the products of the inland states and of the east. The Secessionists threatened to close this road, both shores of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico being in their hands; and by a complete series of fortifications it was proposed to bar the stream against every foreign vessel. Owing to the fact that at the outset of the war Kentucky was preserved to the union, the Ohio, at least



THE SUMTER CAPTURING TWO FEDERAL MERCHANTMEN OFF GIBRALTAR



THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE ALABAMA AND THE KEARSAGE

CONFEDERATE VESSELS IN VICTORY AND DEFEAT

The final combat between the Alabama and the Kearsage occurred off Cherbourg, on the morning of Sunday, June 19th, 1864, the Alabama being sunk. One of the finest acquisitions of the Confederate navy, the Alabama, during her destructive career, burned or captured no fewer than a hundred American vessels. Of a then more modern type, the Kearsage was one of the nine gun-boats which were completed for the United States within a period of three months.

nearly as far as its mouth, did not come nto the possession of the Southerners. On the other hand, the Confederates completely blocked the Cumberland and the Tennessee, at the place where these two rivers approach within a few miles of each other, by means of the two forts Henry and Donelson, and in this manner created for themselves a fortified camp of immense importance. This point formed the first object of attack for the Unionists. It was here, even more than in the east, that the war acquired that character which so strikingly distinguishes it from all the wars of the Old World. With the high value that the Americans attach to all practical matters, and with their highly developed commercial instincts, the technical arts and sciences had in the United States attained a development such as one would have looked for in vain in the Old World.

Modern Methods in the War

Even at that time railways and steamers played a part in the traffic of the United States which they did not acquire in Europe till many years later. In the War of Secession industry came to embrace a wide field, and northern mechanics and artisans took up the new problems which presented themselves with an energy which attracted the attention of all foreign Powers. Technical inventions found greater application in this war than in any other, both by being employed for the first time on a much larger scale, and by actually owing their origin to the necessity of the moment. In a country without roads, railways acquired a high strategic importance. Not only their destruction, but, above all, their restoration, were among the important tasks of the contesting armies; and railways were applied even more directly to military purposes, as with armoured trains.

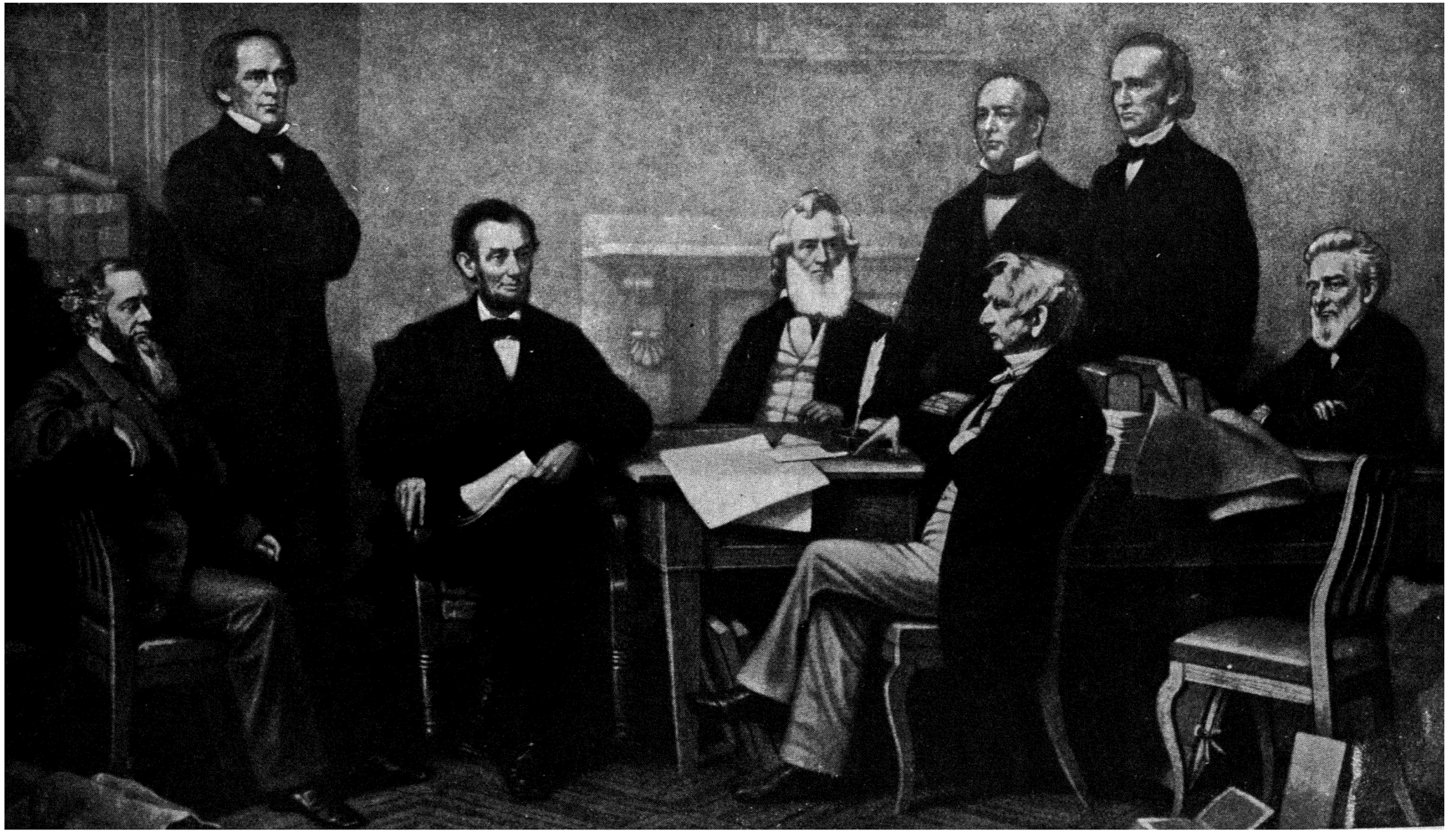
The requirements of war had a still greater effect upon the shipbuilding industry, as was illustrated when the fleet conveying the northern army under McClellan to the James River was met by a vessel of a hitherto unknown type. The Southerners had, it appeared, cut down nearly to the water's edge a steam frigate belonging to the United States Navy, and had then rendered her almost invulnerable to artillery—such as it was then—by means of armour plates, while the principal weapon of this ocean monster consisted of a tremendous ram. More than one ship of the federal fleet succumbed to the Merrimac before she was met by a worthy opponent. The latter appeared under the name of Monitor, and was built by a Swede named Ericsson. This vessel, likewise, had a low armoured deck, from the midst of which, however, rose a rotary armoured tower, which carried two guns of the heaviest calibre. This period marks the beginning of that competition between heavy armour and guns in naval warfare which has assumed larger and larger proportions, and which appears only within recent years, owing to the tremendous effects of modern explosives, to have been decided in favour of guns.

The War's Effect on Shipbuilding

In the western campaign also technical science was immediately called into requisition. The Unionists built a fleet of heavily armed and armour-plated gunboats which provided both a movable support for the land forces and a floating siege train for attacking the forts. To the performances of this river flotilla are in a large part ascribable the successes won by the western forces on the Mississippi. While a force from the north, after the opening up of the Tennessee and the Cumberland, entered the Mississippi itself, another sent by sea from the east entered the mouth of the river, and captured New Orleans as early as the beginning of 1862. The second half of this year and the beginning of 1863 were for the union the most depressing period of the war. In the east the Confederates assumed the offensive; in the centre of the theatre of war they advanced far northwards beyond the line of the Tennessee, which had been wrested from them in the previous year, and threatened the union frontier; while on the Mississippi the federal forces were for months vainly besieging the bastions of Vicksburg on the left bank of the river.

Victories of the Federals

By a happy chance Vicksburg fell on the same day (July 4th, 1863) that Lee's army in front of Gettysburg was obliged to fall back into Virginia. The more decisive result was that achieved in the west; it opened the Mississippi completely, and thus separated the south-west from the other secession states. The importance of this success was fully recognised in the north-east, and Grant, the conqueror of Vicksburg, was placed in charge of those armies which, in the autumn of the same year, engaged their opponents so decisively in the battles around Chattanooga. Early



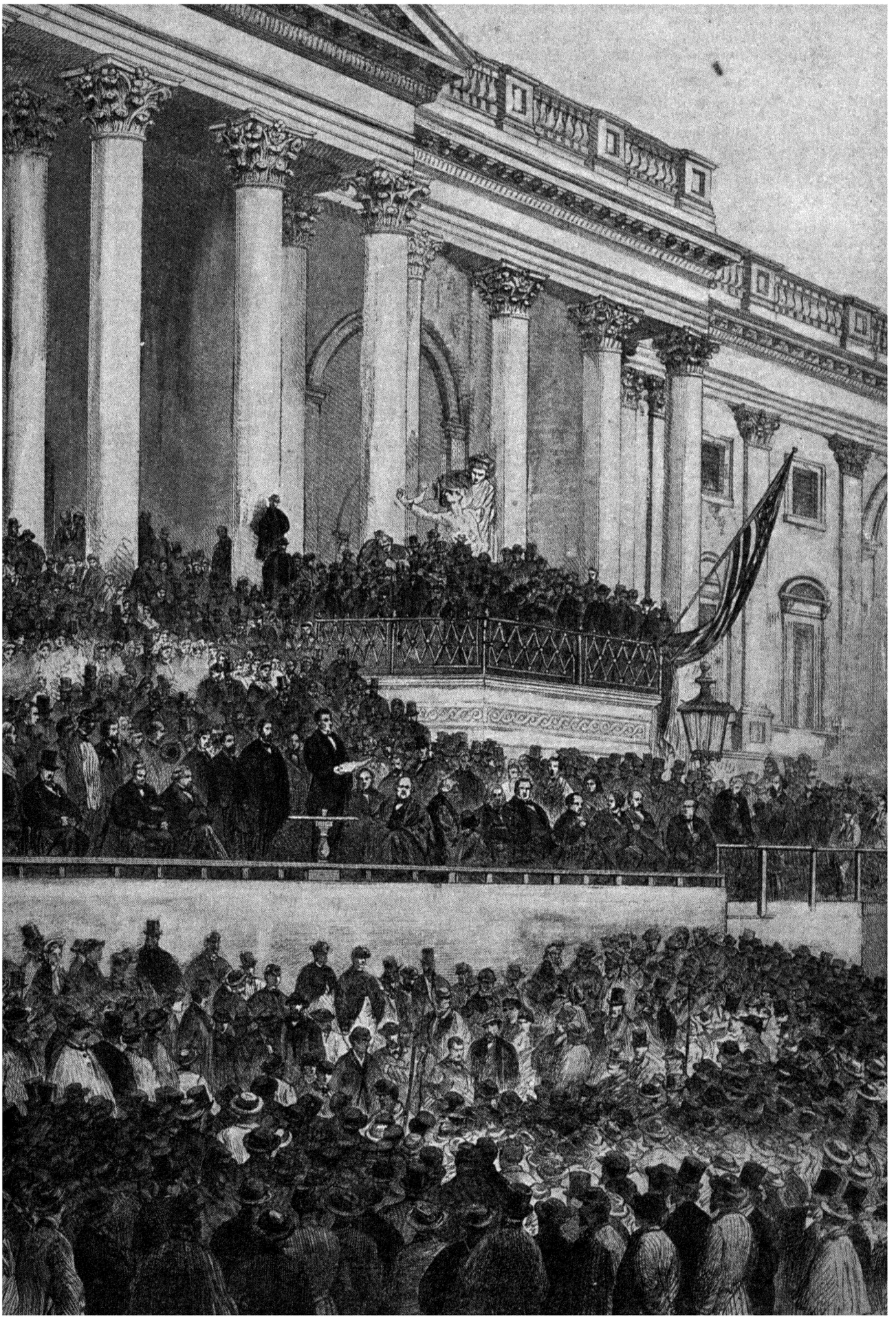
THE CONSUMMATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR: PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM FOR THE NEGRO SLAVES

The proclamation emancipating the slaves of North America was signed by Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet on September 2nd, 1862, and came into force on the first day of the following year. At this juncture feeling against the Abolitionists became very strong, and rewards were offered for the capture of the leaders of anti-slavery societies. In view of the threatened insurrection of the negroes, the proclamation enjoined them to abstain from violence, and to work faithfully for fair wages. It also announced that a number of them would be taken into the United States military and naval services, for which act its framers invoked the "considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God.

JOHN BROWN, THE HERO OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT, GOING TO EXECUTION
The execution of John Brown, the famous American Abolitionist, was one of the direct forces which hastened on the great Civil War. An intensely religious personality, Brown early in life conceived a hatred for slavery, and in 1859, with a band of twenty-two men—mostly negroes—and some arms, organised a plot to free the slaves of Virginia. Hiring a farmhouse near Harper's Ferry, on the night of October 16th they seized the arsenal and took possession of the village. In the ensuing fight several of the party were killed, Brown himself surrendering only after receiving severe injuries. He was taken prisoner, tried, convicted, and, along with his four sons, hanged on December 2nd.

in the following year Grant was given the chief command of all the federal armies, and then began, on a large scale, those two movements by which Lee and Johnston were to be overpowered and the confederacy crushed.

Fortunately for the union, Grant found in William Tecumseh Sherman, also a Westerner, a worthy coadjutor. A succession of victories led him in September, 1864, to the city of Atlanta; and thence he marched straight across the enemy's country to the Atlantic coast. By this movement the war was carried through Georgia into the heart of the enemy's country, the arrogant state of South Carolina, which now was to feel the sufferings of the war. With the progress of Sherman north from Savannah and the establishment of connection with the sea



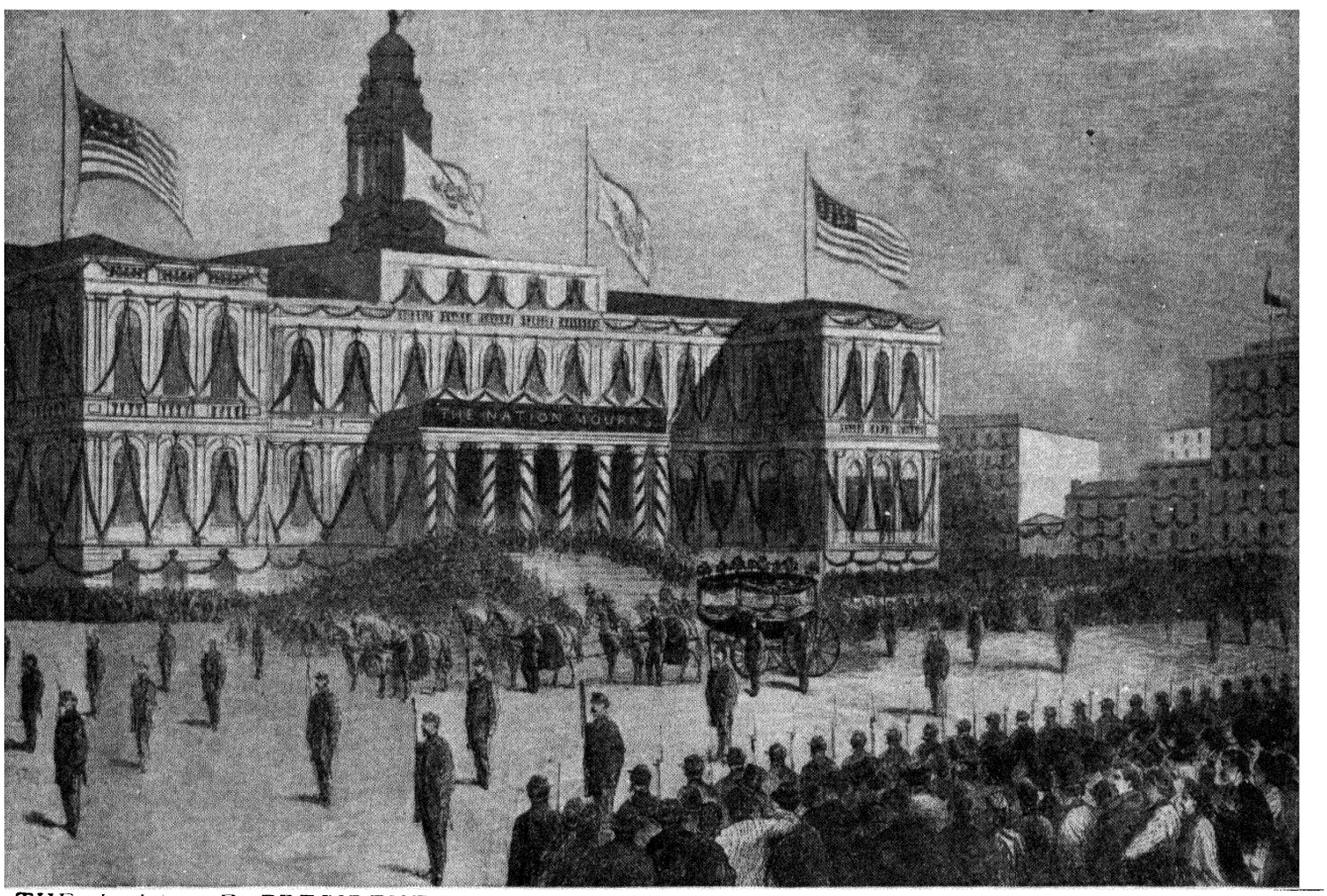
PRESIDENT FOR THE SECOND TIME: LINCOLN'S GREAT SPEECH IN FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

Lincoln's second inauguration as President of the United States, which took place within a few weeks of the end of the Civil War, marked at once the crowning moment in the history of the Republican party and also in the life of the famous western lawyer. His overwhelming majority of 416,000 on election day proved conclusively that the people were with him. The picture on this page shows the front of the Capitol at Washington as it appeared on that occasion, when Lincoln gave utterance to what has come to be regarded as his greatest and noblest speech.

forces in December, 1864, and thus with the army in Virginia, the war at last entered upon its final stage.

With simultaneous advances on the seat of the enemy's government by Grant from the north and by Sherman from the south, the armies of Lee and Johnson became more and more endangered. On April 9th, 1865, Grant compelled Lee to surrender at Appomattox Court House; and a few days later, on April 26th, the last army of the south, under Johnson, which was opposed to Sherman, relinquished its useless resistance. Thus the North had saved the existence of the union.

African colony of Liberia on an extensive scale; but none of his proposals met with immediate acceptance. Meanwhile, the time for a new presidential election had arrived; and, although Lincoln's re-election was contested both by opponents of slavery and by Democrats from opposite standpoints, he emerged victorious from the contest, with an overwhelming majority. In the meantime, slavery had been abolished in the district of Columbia by law, and in Maryland virtually. At last the administration proposed the Thirteenth Amendment to the federal constitution, which in terms abolished slavery through-



THE BODY OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN ARRIVING AT THE CITY HALL, NEW YORK

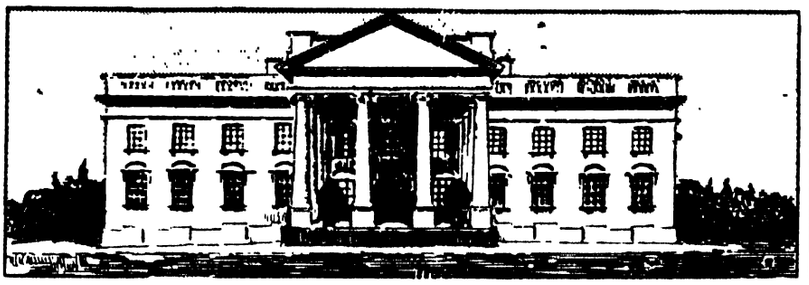
The rejoicing of the American nation with the approaching end of the Civil War was suddenly turned to sorrow when, on the evening of April 14th, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theatre, Washington, by John Wilkes Booth. In this picture we see the arrival of the body of the great statesman at the City Hall, New York, whence, after an imposing and impressive service, it was conveyed to Springfield, Illinois, for burial, which took place on May 4th.

On September 22nd, 1862, Lincoln, in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the United States forces, issued a declaration announcing that on January 1st, 1863, all slaves within the portions of the revolted states occupied by federal troops should be free. Under the prevailing circumstances a demand for the abolition of slavery could not fail to be raised in congress also. Lincoln, however, still tried to make terms, as by the offer of money indemnities to the states affected by abolition, and by plans for aiding the emigration of liberated slaves to the

out the whole of the United States. Its acceptance by congress on January 31st, 1865, was followed by its ratification by the requisite number of states, and thus the victory of the Republicans, both military and political, seemed complete.

It was dimmed, however, by the fact that almost at the same moment Lincoln, the man who had served them as a prudent, unimpassioned, but absolutely reliable leader, was, by the cowardly pistol of an assassin on April 14th, 1865, deprived of the fruits of his well-earned victory.

KONRAD HAEBLER



UNITED STATES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

THEIR SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS THE NATION'S PLACE AMONG THE POWERS

LINCOLN'S death was a great misfortune for the whole union, and to the Republican party it brought an unmistakable crisis. The platform on which Lincoln had been elected in 1860 had not only been fulfilled in all essentials during the few years of the war, but through the course of events had been carried far beyond its original limits. At the decisive moment when, after an unexampled victory, all those meaner spirits were crowding to the victorious side when the time comes for dividing the spoils, the party had neither a definite programme which set forth its higher aims, nor a leader with sufficient influence to keep it in the right path.

From Lincoln's just and fair-minded character it might be expected that he would have completed the restoration of the union and the reconstruction of the Southern states in the same spirit which had marked his policy during the whole course of the war. The man, however, who by Lincoln's death was called to the presidency—Vice-President Andrew Johnson—neither stood as high above the views of the party as his predecessor had done, nor possessed enough power over it to keep in check its more radical elements. The Republican party now included such extremists as would strive, casting aside all ideal views, to take exemplary vengeance on the south for the five years' civil war and to render it incapable of ever again playing a part in the inner life of politics. Johnson himself by no means represented these aims, but he entirely failed to recognise the danger with which they threatened the union, and therefore missed the right moment for averting it.

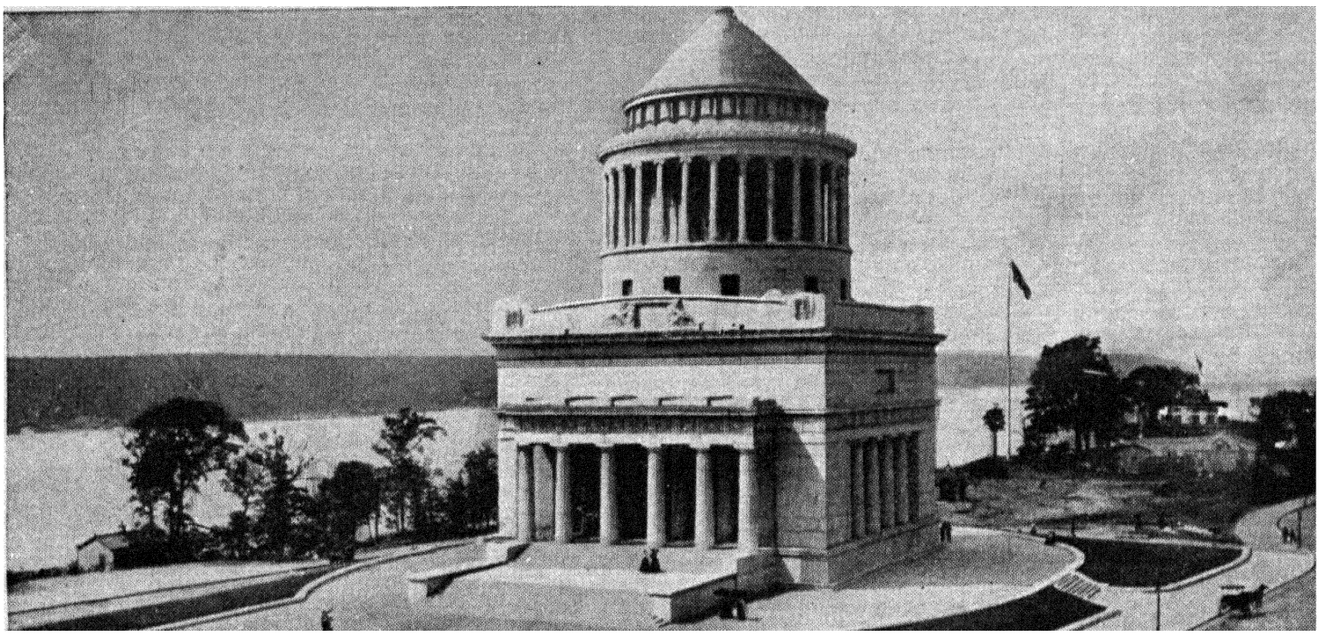
Johnson the Successor of Lincoln

He afterwards proceeded against it and battled with it strenuously to the end of his term of office, but unfortunately he did not succeed in conquering it. Like the Radical Republicans, Johnson had not considered it advisable forthwith to reinstate the rebel states in their former place in the union; and the amnesty law proclaimed by him marked out such an extraordinarily large number of those who were to be excluded, by act of the executive, from political privileges, that it acted as a direct encouragement to the Radicals. Johnson, however, made such a vigorous use of the measure and endeavoured so earnestly to control the affairs of the south that in connection with his amnesty policy the quarrel between him and the Radical majority broke out immediately on the meeting of congress. The president had decided to readmit the Southern states to their former relations, subject to the condition that they recognised the abolition of slavery and their obligations with reference to the federal debt, while declaring the debt of the confederate states void.

The President and the Rebel States

A number of the Southern states had actually been reconstructed on this basis and had sent their representatives to congress. They were unconditionally sent back by congress; and the moderate attitude of the president now began to be assailed by an embittered Opposition, the end of which, apparently, was to make the readmission of the Southern states conditional on their agreeing to admit negroes to all the rights of white citizens. Johnson made vain efforts to frustrate the accomplishment of such a policy by means of his veto. His indiscretion, leading him so far as to malign congress, gave some justification to the Radicals in impeaching him before the senate, where he was finally acquitted by a single vote. One after another of the Southern states was forced to accept the conditions imposed by the Radical party, and its complete victory was thus assured.

Johnson Impeached and Acquitted



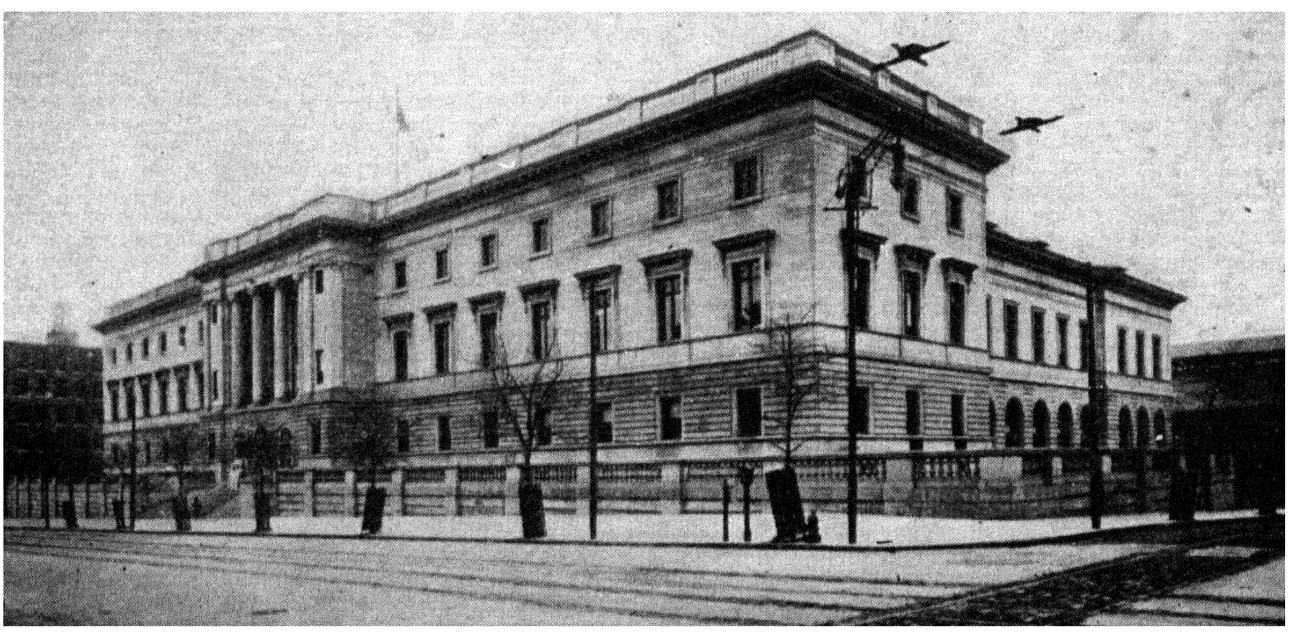
THE LAST RESTING-PLACE OF PRESIDENT GRANT, ON THE BANKS OF THE HUDSON

President Grant's tomb, on the banks of the beautiful Hudson River, is one of the most magnificent edifices ever erected to the memory of man. Begun on April 27th, 1892, it was not completed until five years later, when, on April 27th, 1897, the president's remains were removed from their temporary resting-place and interred here. Altogether, 60,000 people contributed to the building fund, which realised a sum approaching £600,000.

In this course of action congress was actuated not exclusively by an ideal enthusiasm for the equality of all men.

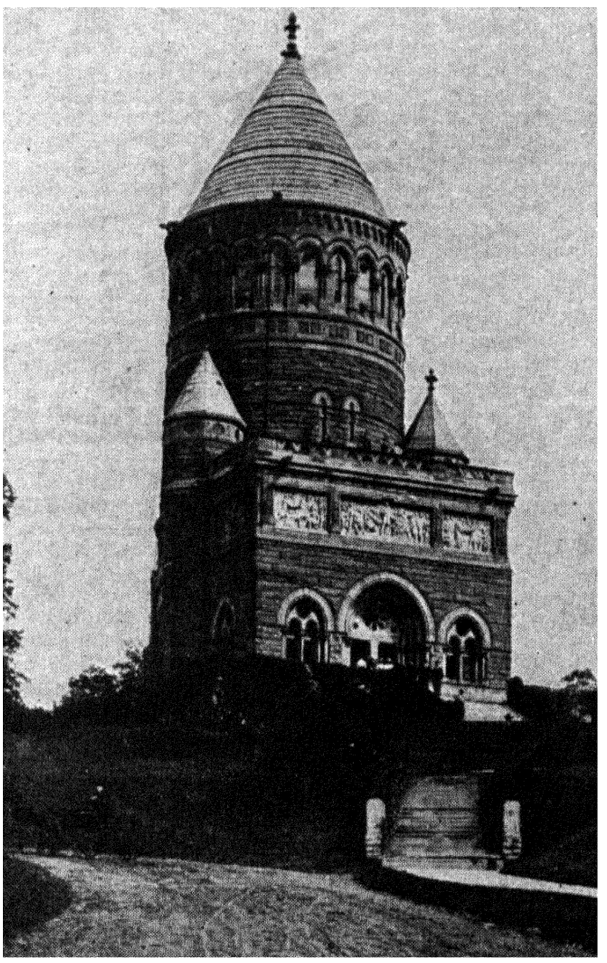
The elections, which had been conducted on the basis of Johnson's plan of reconstruction, had shown that, in spite of their reverses in the war and the damage inflicted on their industry, the political influence of the south and of the Democratic party was by no means crushed, but would, under favourable conditions, rapidly reassume its normal position in the political life of the union. It was this result, however, which the Republicans feared as likely to be specially followed by their own defeat, and it was to prevent this that the democratic south was to be rendered politically impotent. Hungry professional politicians now began to swarm to the south. With all kinds of demagogic tricks the party managed to appropriate all the different branches of government and administration, and, by the unscrupulous manner in which they dealt with state property, they actually succeeded in hastening the bankruptcy of some of the Southern states.

Johnson did not see the victory of "carpet-bag" politics during his term of office; but the manœuvres of the Radicals succeeded in putting in his place a man entirely after their own heart. Hitherto parties had been fortunate in their choice of victorious generals for the presidency;



THE UNITED STATES MINT AT PHILADELPHIA

and the services which Grant had rendered in the Civil War were undoubtedly more potent than those of all the previous military candidates. As a statesman, and more especially as an administrator, however, Grant was certainly not less incapable than Jackson or any other of his predecessors. In 1869, he entered upon office as the chosen representative of the party which was determined upon gathering in for itself the fruits of victory, and during his career he seemed unable to prevent widespread corruption, not only in the Southern states, but also in other parts of the union. Almost the sole guiding principle of the Republican party now seemed to be that the government was to be used for the purpose of enriching the party in power. A system of high protective tariffs was introduced, ostensibly for the purpose of meeting the financial needs of the country, which had been greatly increased by the war; but it was abused for the purpose of providing certain industrial and commercial rings and companies with an opportunity for exploitation and speculation, by which even officials were supposed to have enriched themselves in the most open manner. Even during Grant's first term of office these proceedings had increased to such an extent as to call forth in many places a vigorous opposition; but the coherence of the party, aided by those unprincipled followers who held the mastery in the south, was still so powerful that Grant's re-election in 1872 was accomplished without special exertions. During his second term of office, 1873–1877, the Republican party was split asunder.

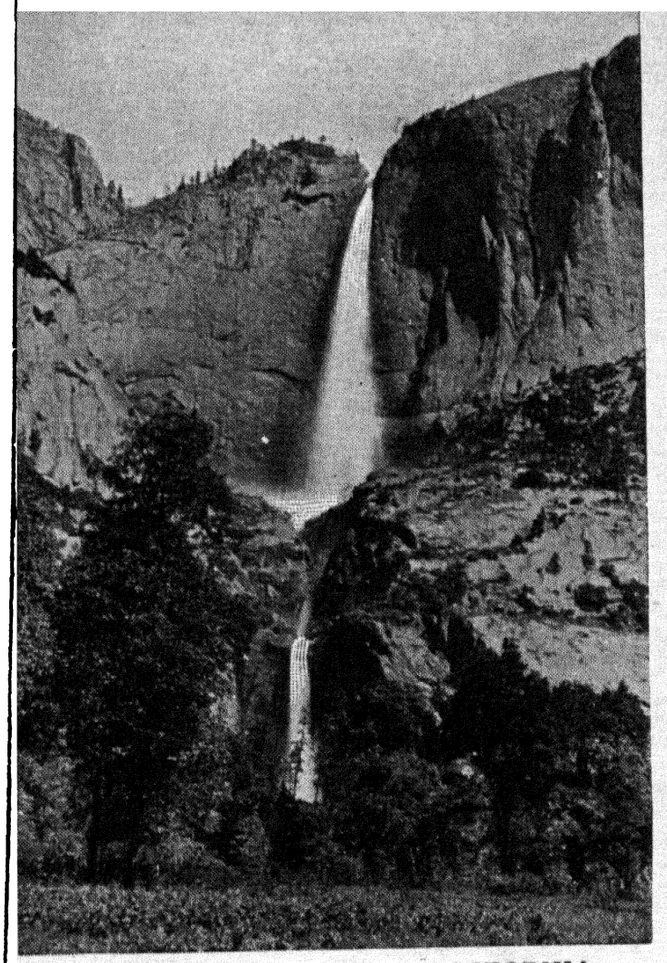


THE GARFIELD MONUMENT AT CLEVELAND
At the outbreak of the Civil War, Garfield received the command of a regiment of volunteers, and was promoted brigadier-general after winning the Battle of Middle Creek. Resigning his commission in 1860, he became, in March, 1881, the twentieth President of the United States.

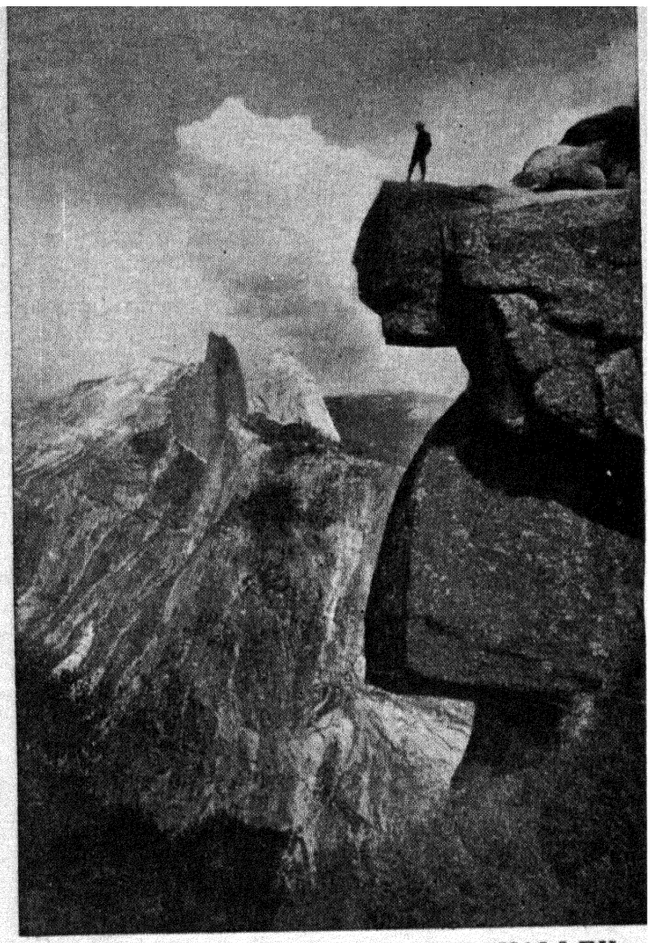
A faction, the so-called Liberal Republicans, formulated as their primary demand the establishment of an honest administration. This section was composed to a considerable extent of that German-American element which had already played an important part in the early development of the Republican party.

The influence of the Liberal Republicans was indeed not sufficiently important to hold out hopes of victory to a candidate of their own; but neither the old Republicans nor the Democrats, who now were once more energetically coming to the front, could do without these independent votes, and they both were accordingly obliged to propose candidates capable of effecting a moral and healthy cleansing of the administration. It was not until the advent to office of President Rutherford Burchard Hayes (1877–1881) that the insurrectionary epoch of the United States came to an end. From a material point of view the union undoubtedly began to flourish very rapidly after the war, as was shown in a conspicuous way by the financial measures of the administration. In consequence of high protective tariffs and an increase of internal taxation during the war, the treasury found itself face to face with a steadily increasing surplus. The federal debt, which after the war had reached the amount of £500,000,000, was reduced by half in the course of twenty years, the interest thereon, moreover, being reduced from 6 to 3 per cent. Thus a reduction in internal taxation and a lowering of the import duties were rendered possible, though political prejudices rather than financial needs as yet prevented a repeal of the protective tariffs.

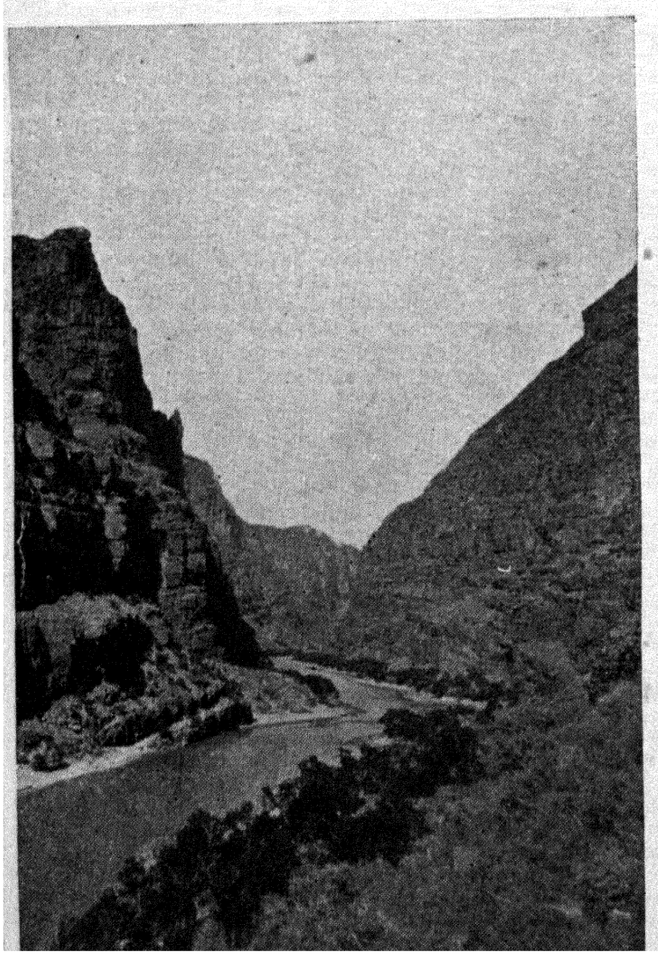
Hayes was succeeded in 1881 by James Abram Garfield, a president who gave every promise of leading the country farther on the road to moral regeneration, when, on



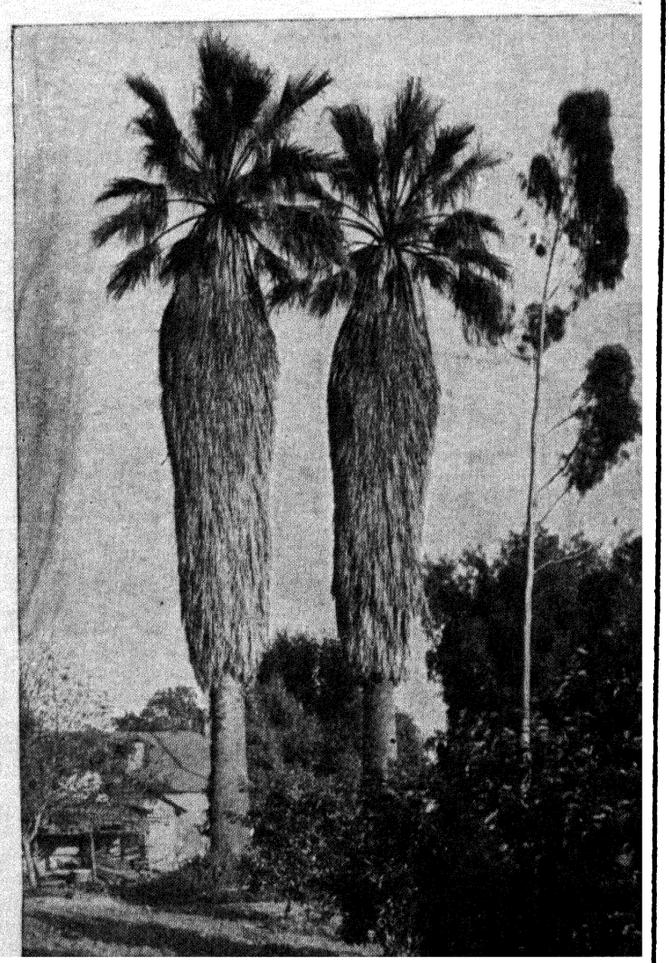
YOSEMITE FALLS IN CALIFORNIA



GLACIER POINT, YOSEMITE VALLEY



GRAND CAÑON OF THE COLORADO



TWIN PALMS IN A CALIFORNIAN ORCHARD

CONTRASTS OF AMERICAN SCENERY

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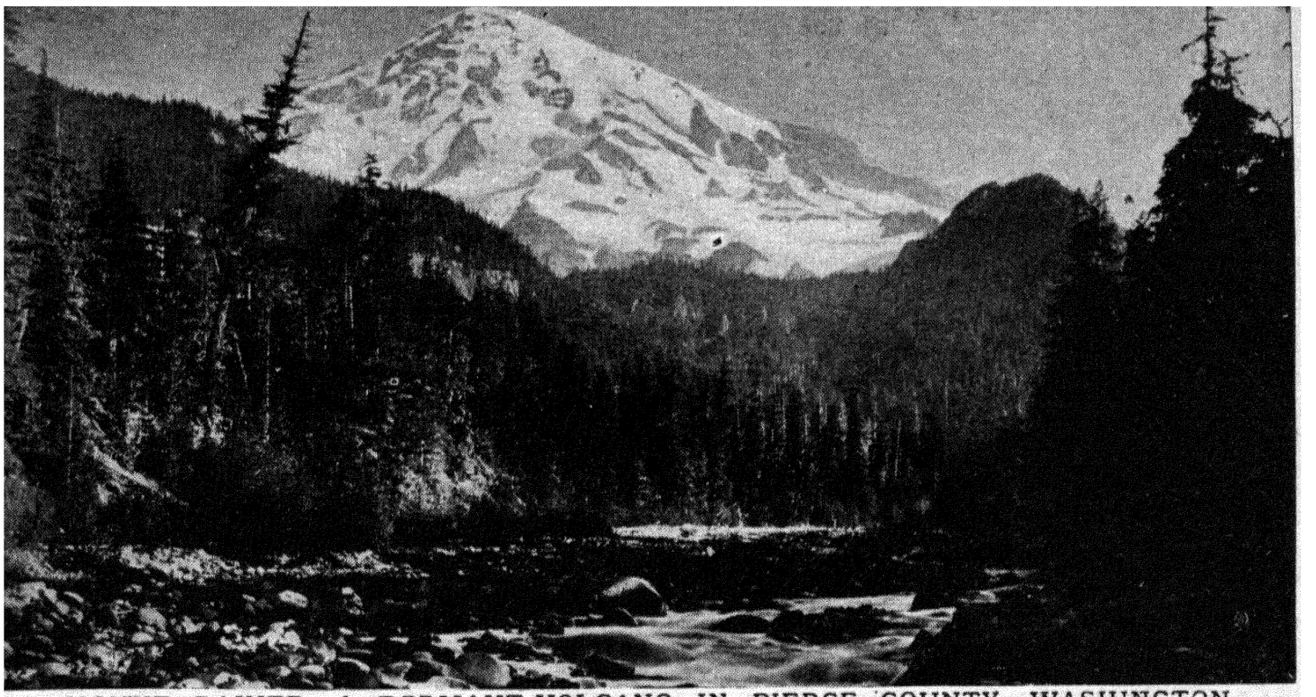
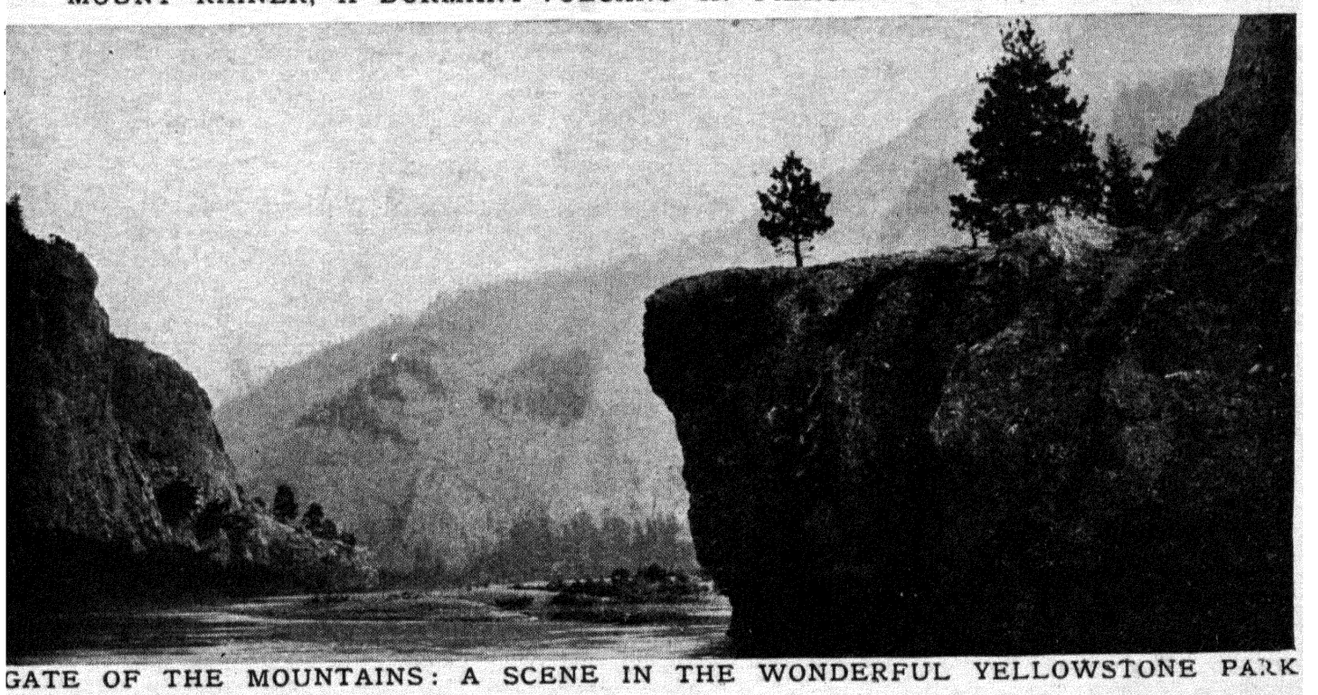
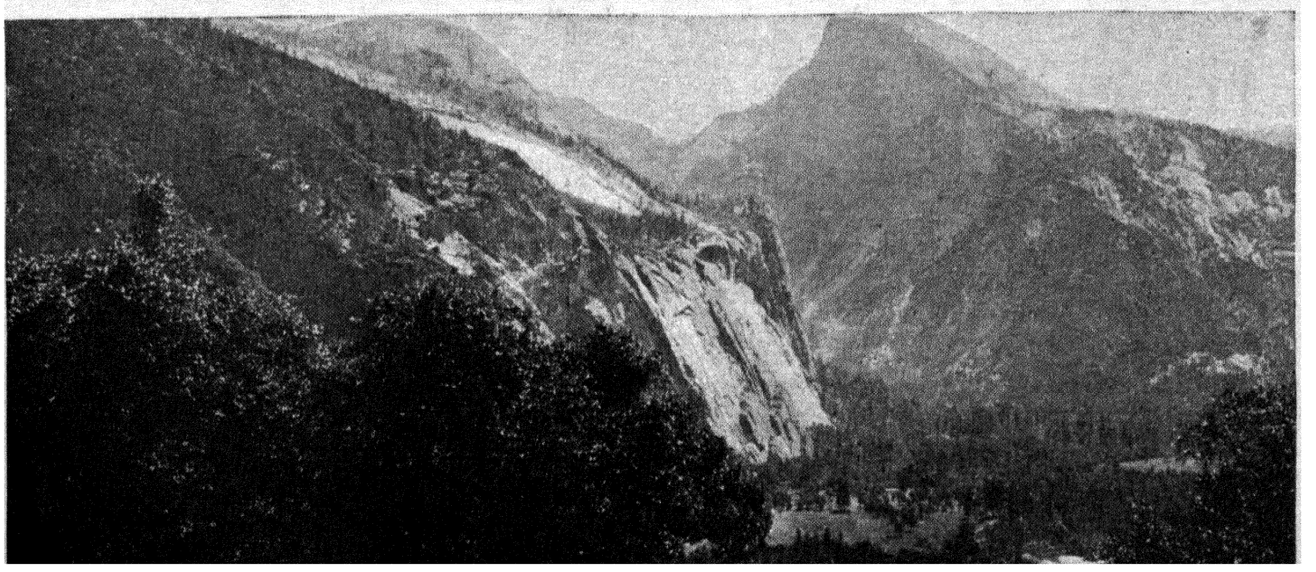


MOUNT RAINER, A DORMANT VOLCANO IN PIERCE COUNTY, WASHINGTON



GATE OF THE MOUNTAINS: A SCENE IN THE WONDERFUL YELLOWSTONE PARK



A SCENE FROM COLUMBIA POINT AT YOSEMITE IN CALIFORNIA

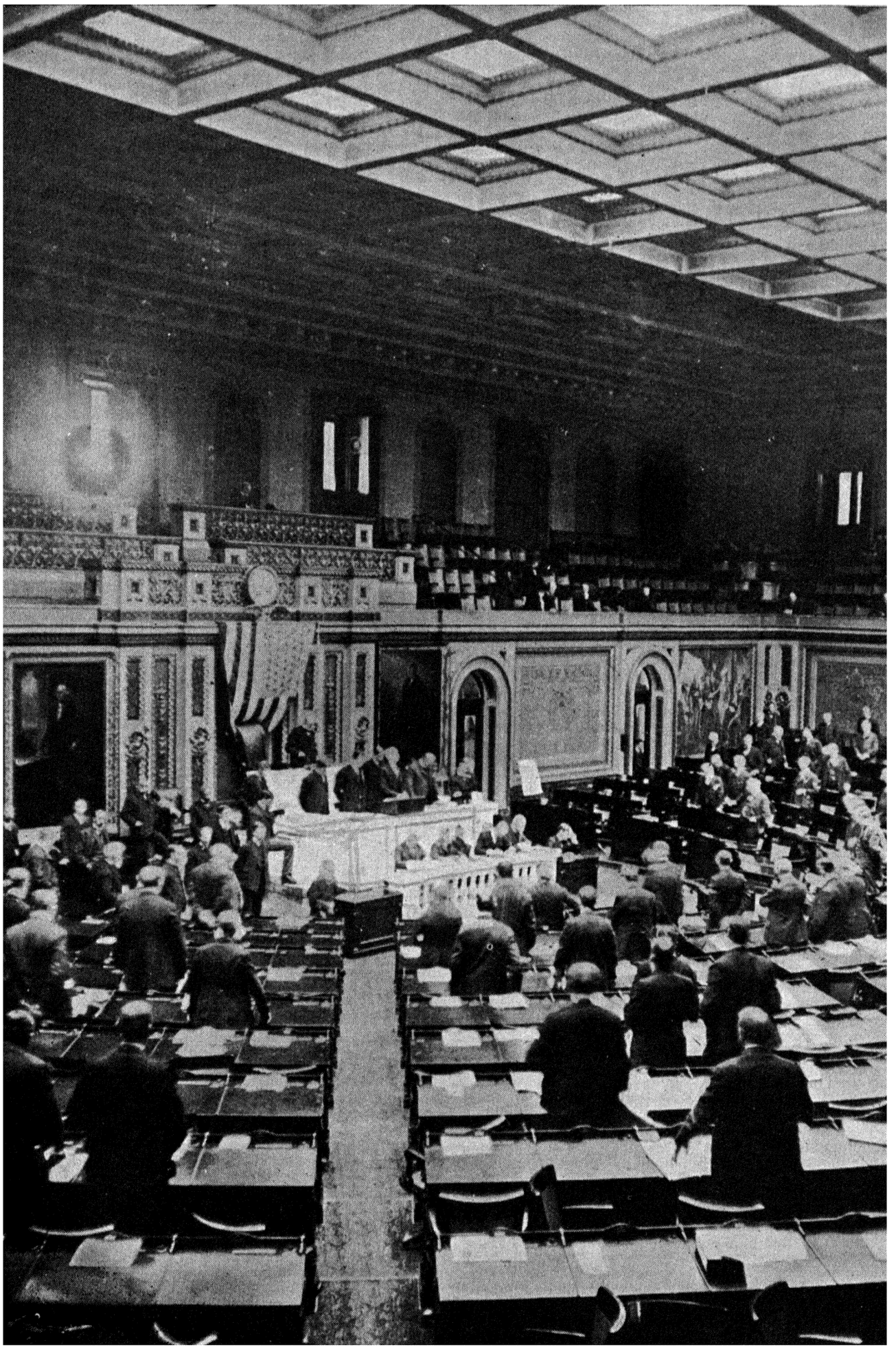
MOUNTAIN SCENERY IN THE UNITED STATES

July 2nd, 1881, the bullet of the assassin proved the means of retarding this forward movement. Garfield's successor, Chester Alan Arthur, once again permitted a return to the policy of exploitation ; and, though under his administration things did not become as bad as under Grant, the policy of regeneration suffered a serious check. It was on this account largely that the Republican party completely lost its hold over men's minds. In 1884, for the first time since the Civil War, the Democrats succeeded in obtaining a majority for their candidate for the presidency, Grover Cleveland, with a platform which demanded a tariff for revenue only, an honest and trustworthy financial administration, and the restriction of the spoils system in the appointment of officials. Since 1884 Republican and Democratic presidents have succeeded one another almost in regular alternation. The maintenance of this balance between the great parties has contributed considerably towards rendering impossible such conditions as had existed earlier. The union then entered upon a new stage of its development. The strengthening of the central authority which resulted from the defeat of the supporters of state rights in the War of Secession did not remain without its effect upon the spirit of American politics. The attention of the government still continued, it is true, to be occupied primarily with the internal conditions of the union, which, indeed, are so varied and peculiar as to justify such a policy. Under a republican system of protection carried to an extreme development the industry of the United States has reached dimensions which place it almost at the head of the productive nations of the world. In no country are the technical advances of modern times put to such immediate and comprehensive use as in America. Steam and electricity are the dominating factors, not only in all branches of industry, but also in agriculture.

The inexhaustible wealth of the country is exploited with iron energy ; and nowhere is the struggle for advancement keener than in the United States. Undoubtedly the more ideal elements in human life have had to suffer somewhat thereby, for the fine arts have not long enjoyed a home there ; nor has the advancement of the sciences tended to the improvement of any of the branches of science, other than those devoted to practical purposes, on the same scale as in the Old World. Woman in America has enjoyed a more really independent position than in any other country, and, in the nature of things, feeling herself equal, if not superior, to man, has striven also to share in the activities and the rights of the male sex. Thus in America, more than elsewhere, she early created for herself the possibility of a freer movement in both social and municipal life. Not resting content with this, the more she actually employed herself as a fellow-labourer with man on equal terms, the more she aimed at being placed on an equality with him in other spheres. Social conditions in which material factors gained increasing prominence led in many cases to a restriction of marriages, or to marriages of such a kind as made the wife less a guardian of the home than a co-operating partner of the husband. Many professions were opened to her : in consequence of her higher culture she finally developed the ability of filling at first a few and then an increasing

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

This colossal bronze statue on Bedloe's Island, New York Harbour, was designed and cast in France and presented to the American people in commemoration of the Franco-American Union of 1874. It weighs 225 tons and reaches a height of 151 ft.



THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN SESSION Edwards

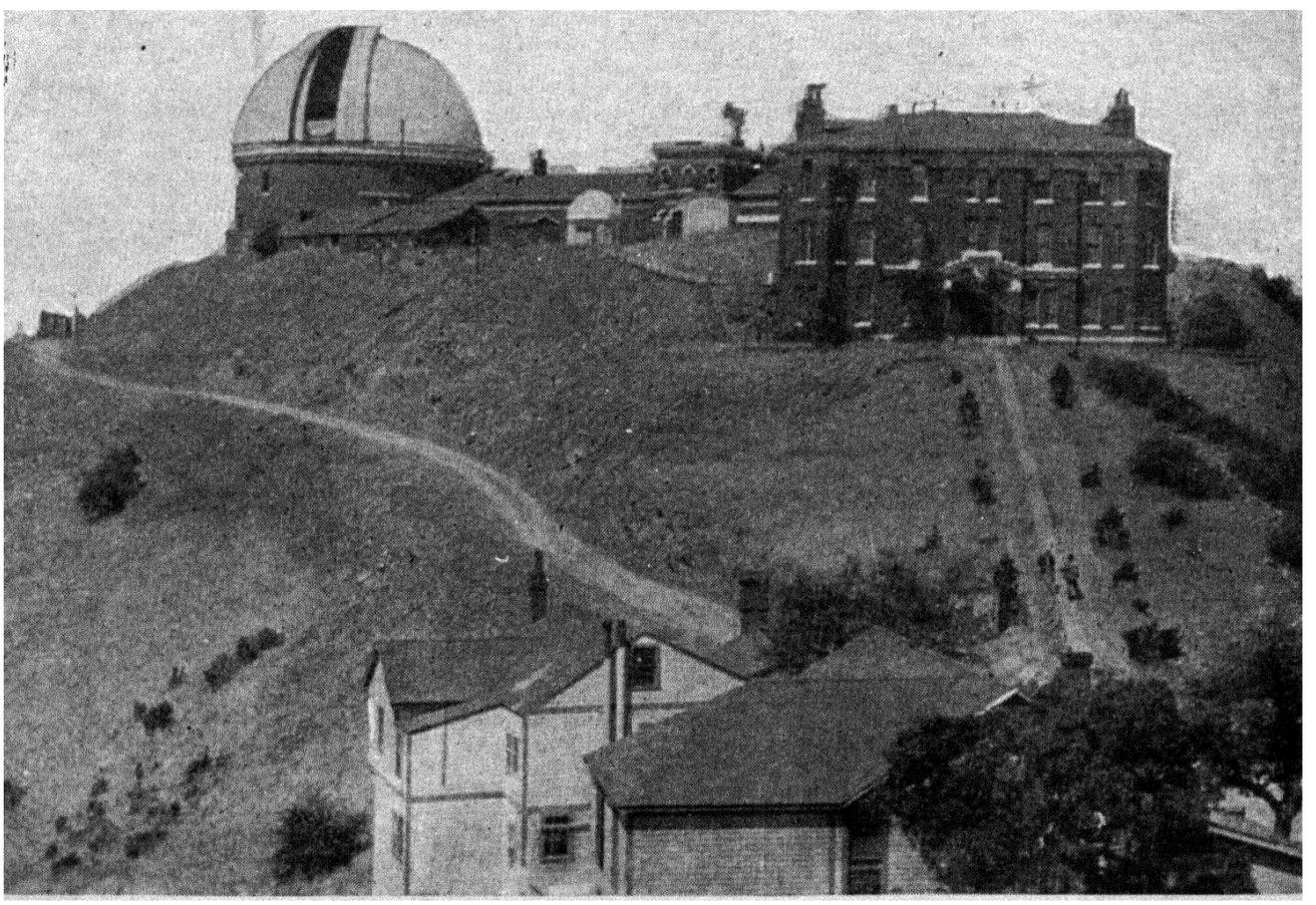
The legislature of the United States consists of a Senate and House of Representatives, the former having 42 members, one-half of whom are elected every two years to hold office for four years, while the House of Representatives is composed of 94 members, elected biennially for terms of two years. This lower House possesses the sole power to originate measures affecting taxation and finance, although the Senate has the right to amend such measures.

number of minor public offices of the clerical and administrative classes. Thus there arose a class of wage-earning women, some of whom, not without reason, claimed to have an equal voice with men in public affairs. The peculiarity of the American Constitution, which leaves the conditions attached to the franchise entirely to the control of the separate states, considerably facilitated the movement towards political rights for women. They early obtained in several states the right of voting merely upon school matters; and upon this foundation there has been a marked development.

In the year 1914 women in only twelve states of the union enjoyed, in regard to the exercise of the suffrage, the same political rights as men; but it is hardly open to doubt that in America, as in Australia, the emancipation movement has steadily advanced. American conditions —social, political, and industrial—all give encouragement to the belief in equal electoral rights for both sexes: and while some deplore the activities of women in politics, others maintain that these activities tend to purity in public life. Whether or not the United States will always maintain their industrial affairs in a sound and healthy condition is difficult to foretell. The Socialist danger was in 1914 present in America on a large scale. It had formerly been counteracted by the overthrow of all social barriers, the Republican equality of all citizens, and the fact that up to the most recent times it had been possible for individuals in the humblest ranks, by skill and energy, to work their way up into the circles of the all-powerful aristocracy of wealth. With the increasing density of the population this possibility obviously grew less. Though by no means overpopulated in proportion to area, the United States had by the twentieth century a considerable proletariat of unemployed.

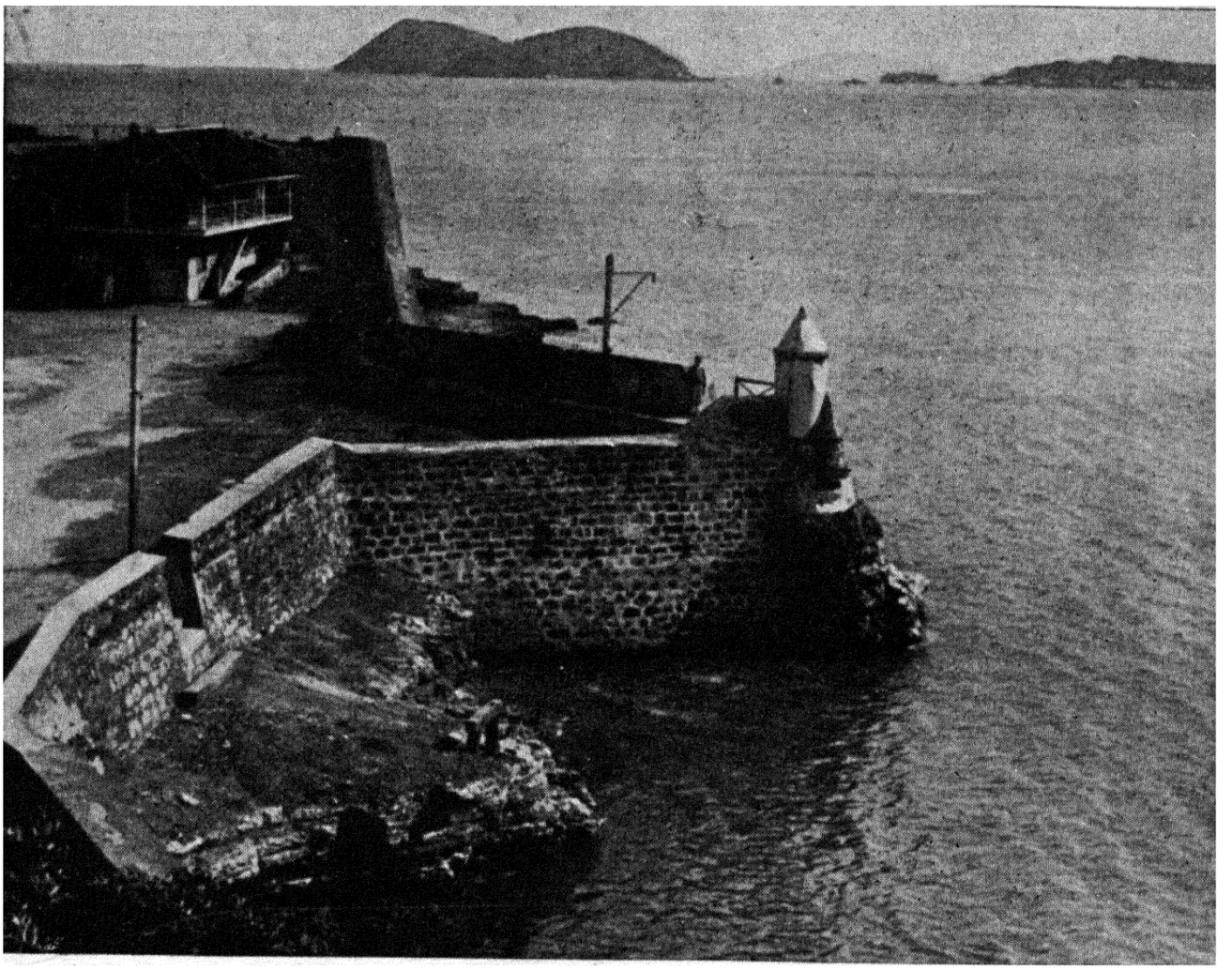
Restricting the Flood of Immigrants

For some time these conditions have exercised a considerable effect upon the question of immigration. The period from 1830 to 1850, during which America encouraged by all means in its power the influx of immigrants, has been succeeded by another in which the country has decided to close its doors to improperly qualified foreigners. This movement at first was directed against the Chinese. In



THE WORLD-RENOWNED LICK OBSERVATORY ON MOUNT HAMILTON, CALIFORNIA

Standing on the summit of Mount Hamilton at an altitude of 4,280 ft., this famous astronomical establishment was founded under the provisions of a deed made in 1876 by James Lick, a San Francisco philanthropist. A sum was also provided for the erection of the most powerful telescope in the world, an instrument which for many years had no rival,



LOOKING FROM THE OLD SPANISH FORT OVER THE PACIFIC AT PA[illegible]

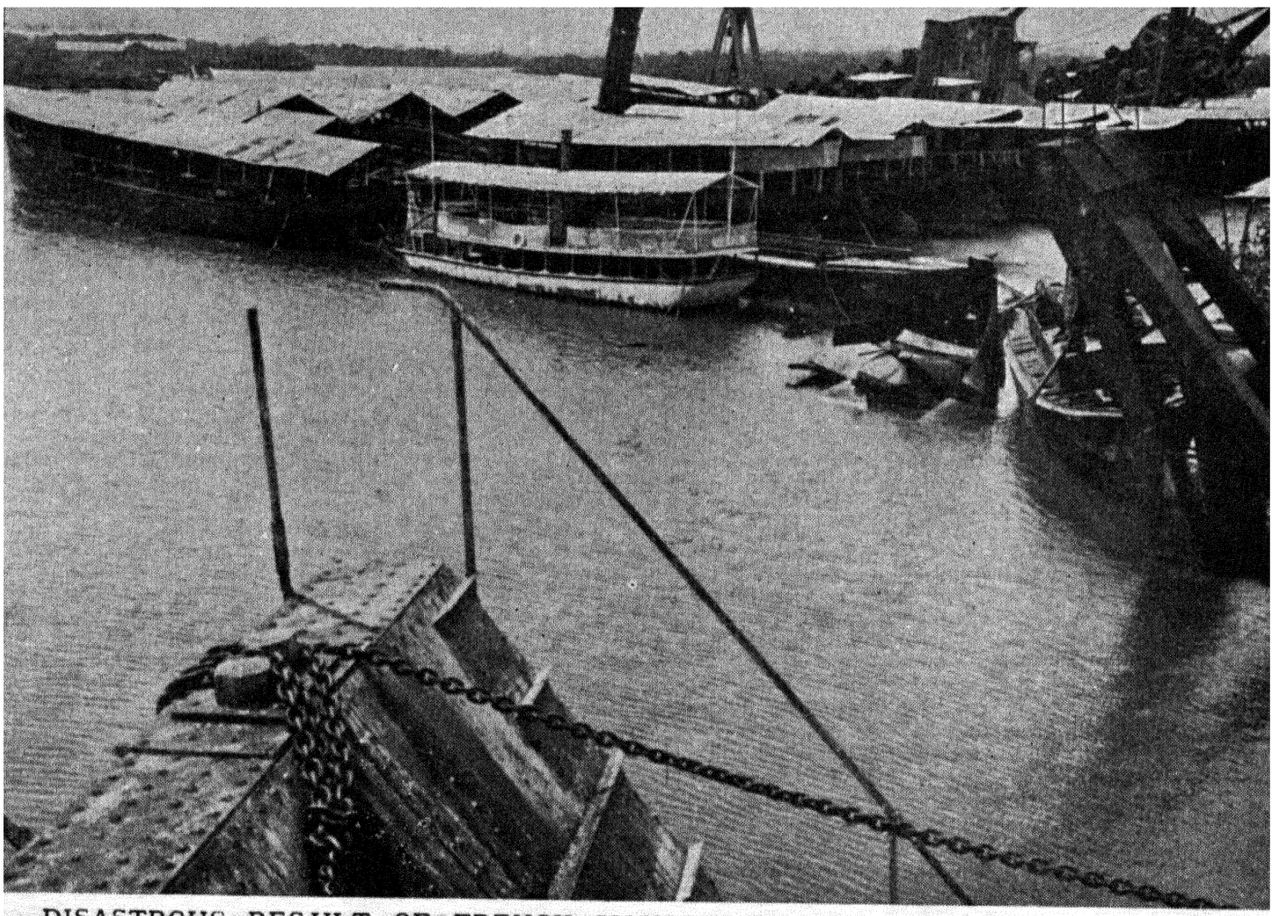
the negroes and Indians the union already had in its midst two foreign elements of population whose improvement and absorption presented difficult and expensive problems. It was therefore justified in refusing to burden itself with another foreign element, and one, moreover, which from its peculiarity seemed unlikely to become assimilated to the rest of the population. The union, however, then began to close its doors to European immigration also. It was not, of course, trying to effect this indirectly in the manner once aimed at by the "Know-nothings"—by rendering more difficult the acquisition of the rights of citizenship.

Where Wealth is Power

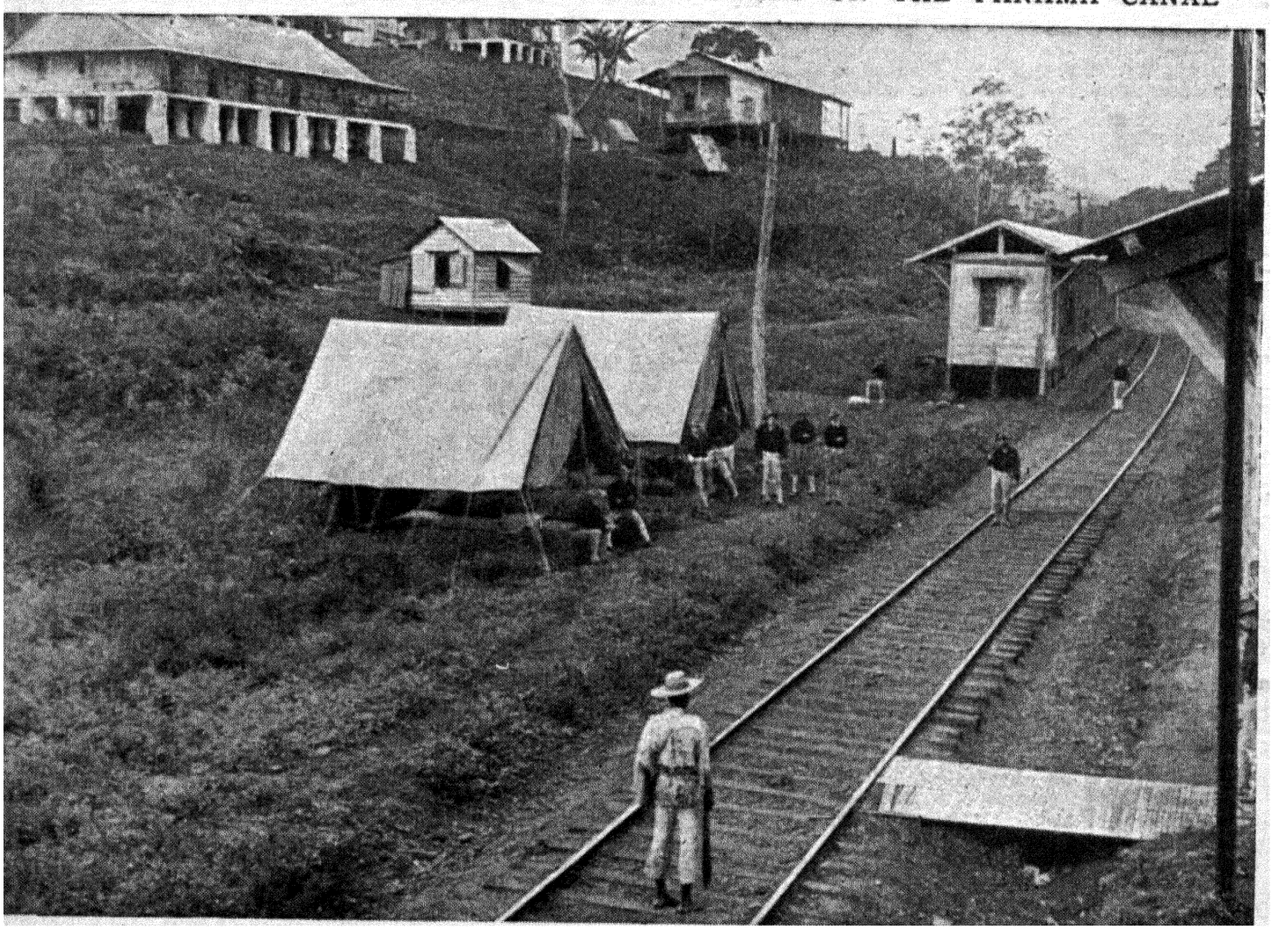
But, on the other hand, when its social conditions were no longer such that physical powers alone were sufficient for obtaining a livelihood, it more particularly refused to receive those whose bodily and mental constitution would lead one to expect that, so far from benefiting the country, they would become a burden to it.

The republican equality of all citizens is, in the United States even more than in other republics, modified by the power of wealth. In no country is the influence of capital so great as in the United States. Its "trusts" and "rings" have succeeded more than once not only in wresting to themselves monopolies for the New World, but also in threatening the Old World with them. Nor is either the tariff or the financial policy of the United States free from the reproach of having been abused for the business purposes of large commercial associations.

We cannot, however, deny the enormous capacity for development in the vast natural resources of the country. It is the growing recognition of this fact which helped to induce the United States to adopt an entirely new foreign policy at the end of the nineteenth century. It is, of course, professed that the policy first laid down and followed out by Monroe is still, as in 1823, the guiding thread of American statesmanship, but a wholly new interpretation is nowadays placed upon Monroe's original declarations. Monroe, in those days, laid stress on the fact that the guiding principle of the foreign policy of the United States should be non-interference in American affairs by other



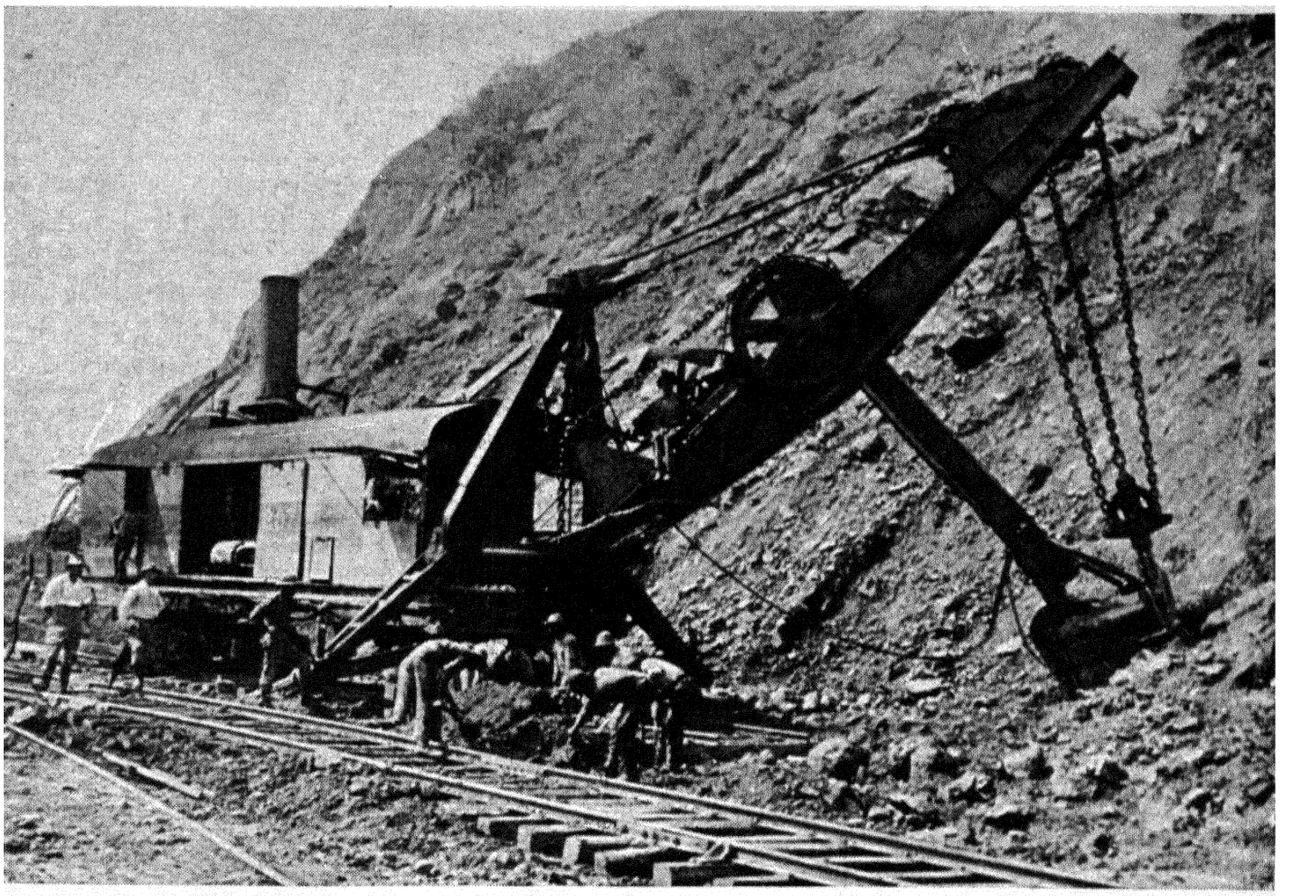
DISASTROUS RESULT OF FRENCH MANAGEMENT ON THE PANAMA CANAL



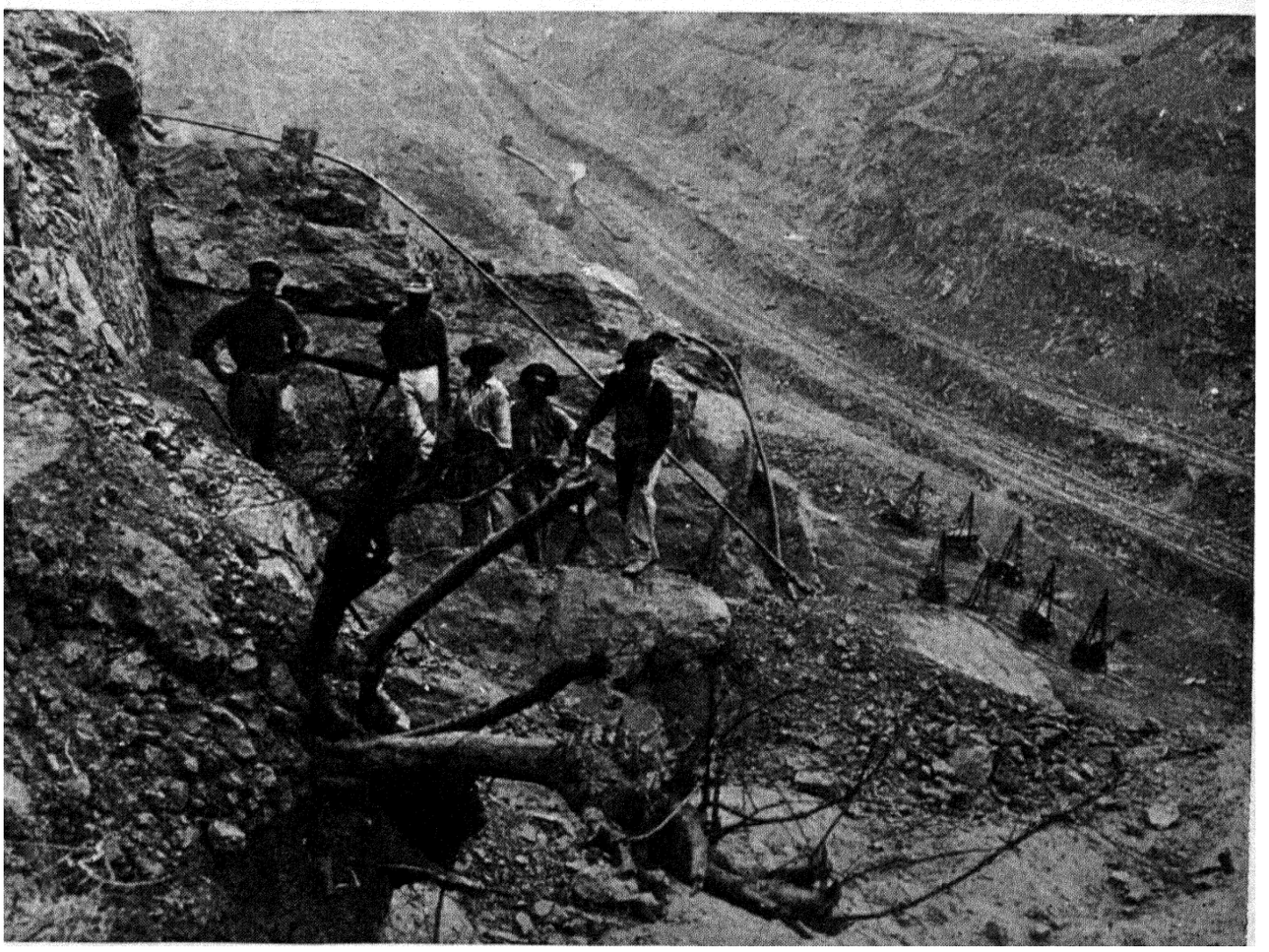
SOLDIERS GUARDING THE PANAMA RAILWAY, NEAR OBISPO

A GREAT ENTERPRISE: SCENES ON THE PANAMA CANAL

The first picture depicts what was by no means a rare scene on the banks of the Panama Canal during its construction. Bribery and corruption had so characterised the efforts of the French company that many hundreds of thousands of pounds' worth of machinery were ordered in excess of any reasonable need, to be dumped down by the wayside and allowed to rot and rust. The second picture shows United States soldiers guarding the railway near Obispo.



MONSTER AMERICAN STEAM SHOVEL IN POSITION TO TAKE A "BITE"



WEST INDIAN NEGROES AT WORK ON THE CULEBRA CUT

SCENES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PANAMA CANAL

The construction of the Panama Canal was the greatest physical undertaking the world had ever seen. Its finished length is about forty-three miles, thirteen of which run through Lake Bohio, and it has a minimum depth of 35 feet. The most important engineering feat in this huge enterprise was the Culebra cut, which necessitated levelling down to 250 feet a rocky ground seven miles long. The bulk of the manual work was done by British West Indian negroes.

nations. The declaration that they would consider the interference of foreign Powers for the restoration of the Spanish dominion in Central and South America as an unfriendly act against the United States was directed, as was the policy of Great Britain, more especially against the Holy Alliance, which was ready to support Ferdinand VII. by the aid of an international force. The union beheld with indifference more than one attempt of the Spaniards to reconquer their colonial empire, without regarding it as other than an internal affair of the provinces affected.

Purpose of the Monroe Doctrine

The Monroe doctrine was first introduced into diplomacy at the time of the Panama Canal enterprise. The North Americans had for a long time made efforts to subject the industrial conditions of the isthmus to their control, and became uneasy when there seemed a probability of the enterprise being carried out without their participation. They also made continuous efforts for the construction of a Nicaragua Canal, and at last the time came when one of these projects was to be realised under the protection of the American Government.

Still in another way did the United States attempt to obtain a firm footing in the neighbouring provinces of the south. In 1848, Yucatan, having once more severed its connection with the Mexican Republic, and being unable to settle a revolt of its disaffected Indian subjects, applied to the United States for help, offering in return to acknowledge their sovereignty. The offer, however, met with a refusal. Next, in the middle of the 'fifties, a plan for the incorporation of Nicaragua was under consideration. The interests of North American commercial companies had repeatedly provoked lively diplomatic discussions, and finally an adventurer from Tennessee, named William Walker, had raised himself to the presidency of Nicaragua. Regarded with suspicion by almost the whole of the native population, Walker was obliged to look for support to his own country; and his compatriots in the west repeatedly supported him, in the hope that his adventure would end in the admission of Nicaragua into the union.

The Problem of the Union Expansion

In this case, however, the object desired failed to be carried into effect. Another time, under Grant, in 1870, the expansion of the union was brought under discussion. In the Republic of San Domingo, which forms the eastern part of the island of the same name, a large party in whose hands was the presidential authority asked for admission into the United States. Ever since 1868 deputations in regard to this matter had been going backwards and forwards between the two countries; but it was not until Grant began to evince a lively interest in the matter that a treaty of annexation was arranged. While, however, in San Domingo the treaty was passed by a vote of a majority of the people, congress assumed a hostile attitude. Three times Grant introduced the scheme into the senate, and as many times was he obliged to withdraw it before the opposition of that body.

These failures were due to the same cause. The view prevailed quite generally in the United States that the territorial area of the union had reached an extent large enough for its development, and that the acquisition of territories situated outside the present well-drawn boundaries could only prove a source of danger to the state. It was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that their industrial development tended to force the United States to modify this conception of the original Monroe doctrine. The extension of its industry is such that the union at present not only amply supplies its own requirements, but produces far in excess of these, and hence is obliged to seek other markets.

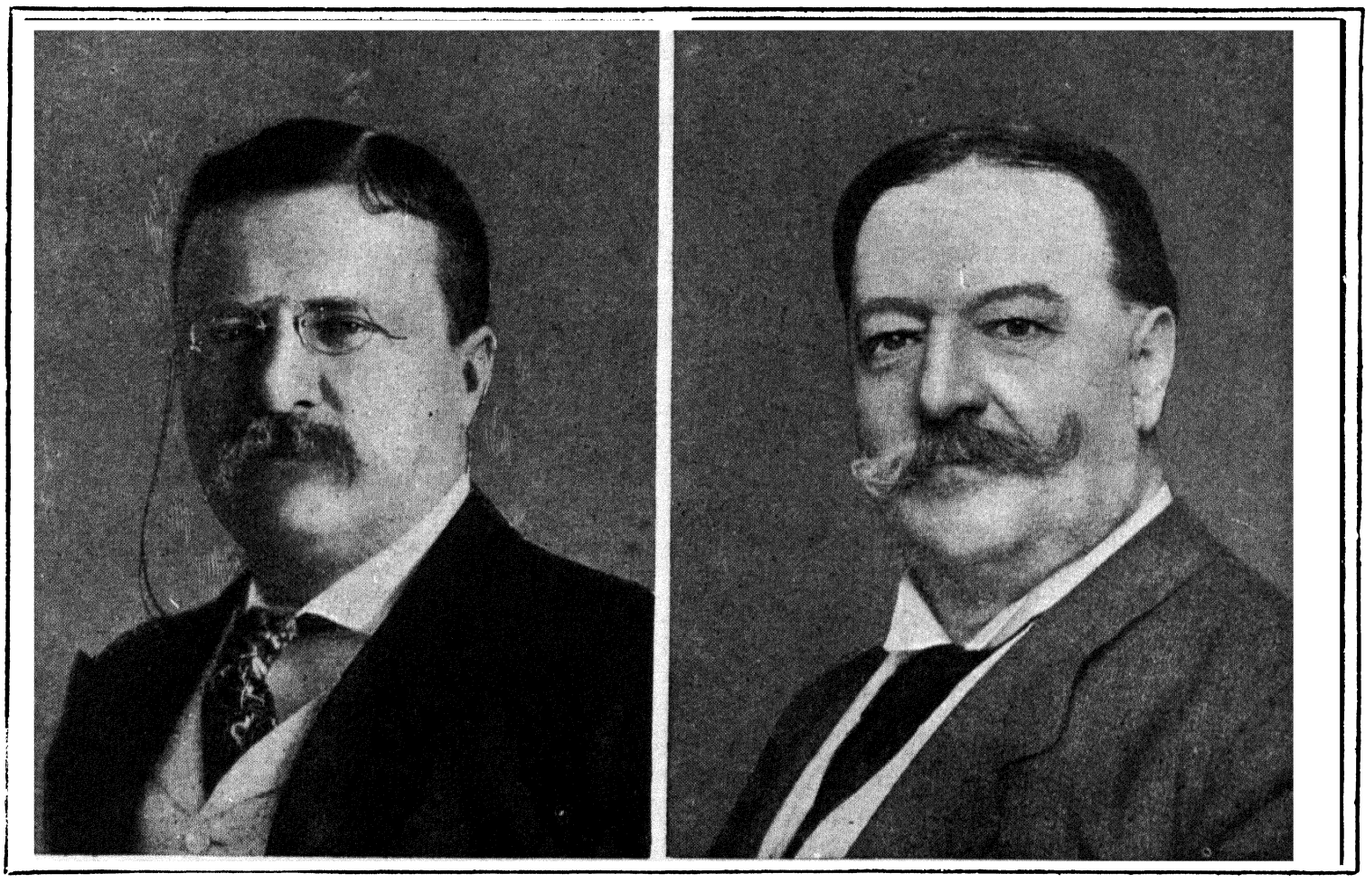
America for the Americans

It is natural that its attention should be primarily directed towards those other states of the American continent which, owing to their inferior economic development, are still dependent upon Europe for their industrial needs. In this connection a new and amplified expression of the Monroe doctrine has been called into existence. It was now proposed to restrict the activity of the European Powers upon the American Continent even in the industrial sphere, as it had formerly been checked in the political, and to conquer "America for the Americans."

To this end the United States endeavoured to bring about a closer union of the independent American states. The centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1876) first caused a revival of the idea of a Pan-American Federation; and in connection with the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America

(October 12th, 1892), a limited Pan-American arrangement was called into existence in the Bureau of American Republics.

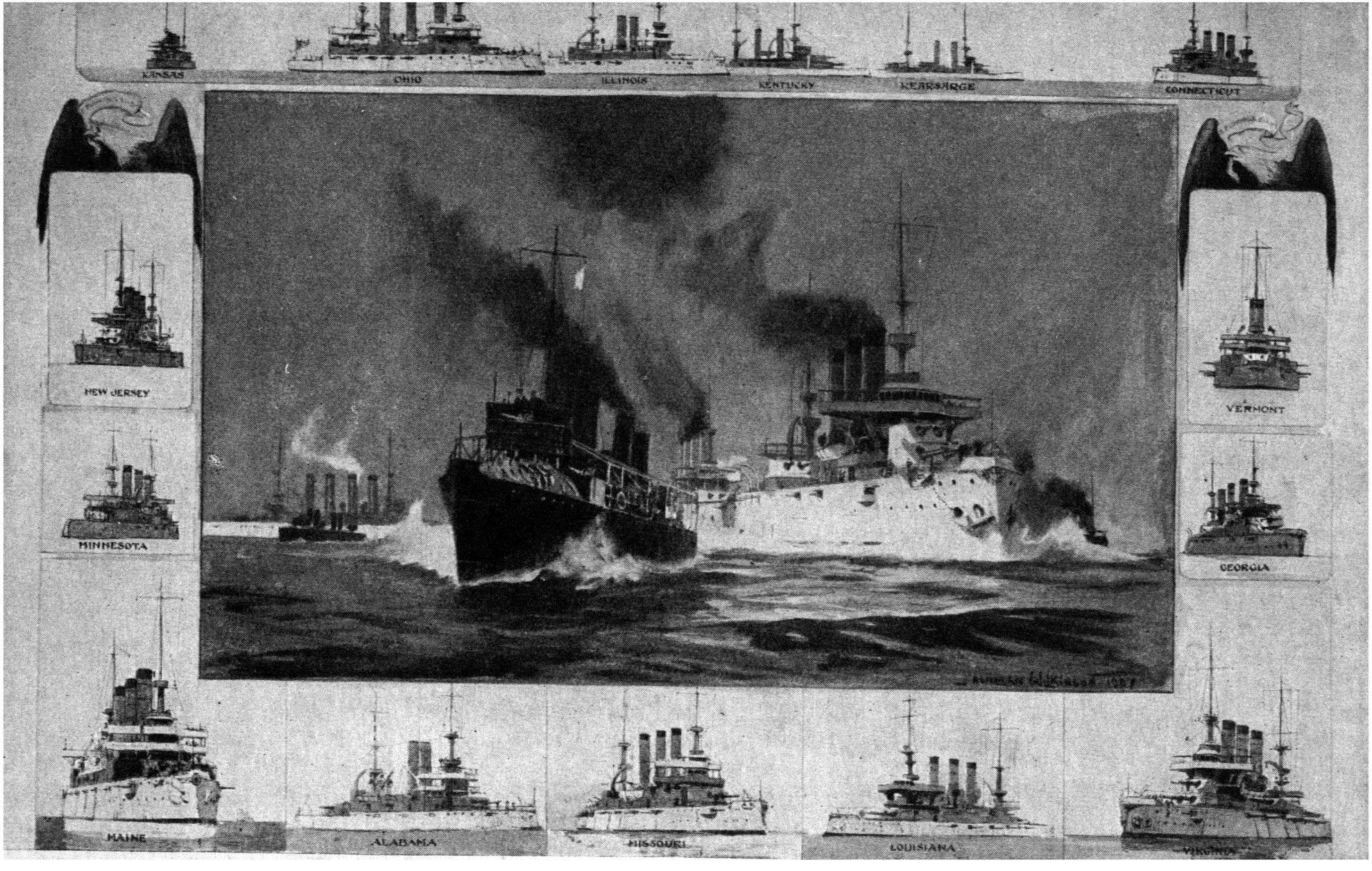
The fruits of such a connection could not, however, be reaped immediately in such a manner as to satisfy the existing conditions of the labour market. Hence the United States, like the countries of the Old World, were forced to adhere to the policy of protection for their national industry. A protective tariff had, of course, been in force for a long time before this in the United States. But hitherto it had been used partly as a means of maintaining good order in the financial economy of the state as a whole, and partly for the purpose of supporting growing industries. The tariff of 1890, on the other hand, which is specially connected with the name of President McKinley, betokened a complete change in the tariff policy of the union. Its object was to remove foreign competition from home markets, and to render home industries capable of competing in foreign markets. This policy was approved by the majority of the citizens of the United States, and in 1896 McKinley was chosen president (1897-1901). The first year of McKinley's presidency, however, sufficed to show that the change in United States politics was not limited to the industrial sphere. The repeated risings against Spanish dominion in Cuba have more than once rendered certain Americans desirous of acquiring an island so valuable to them from its geographical situation. In their relations to the disaffected population, American citizens have sometimes approached as nearly as possible to the limits of international law. Spain, moreover, had tolerated a shameless misgovernment in the remnants of its once opulent colonial empire. The most justifiable demands of its colonies were either disregarded or were appeased by empty promises, while the Spanish Government, allowing its governors to enrich themselves by extortions, in the meanwhile derived only insignificant profits from its colonies.



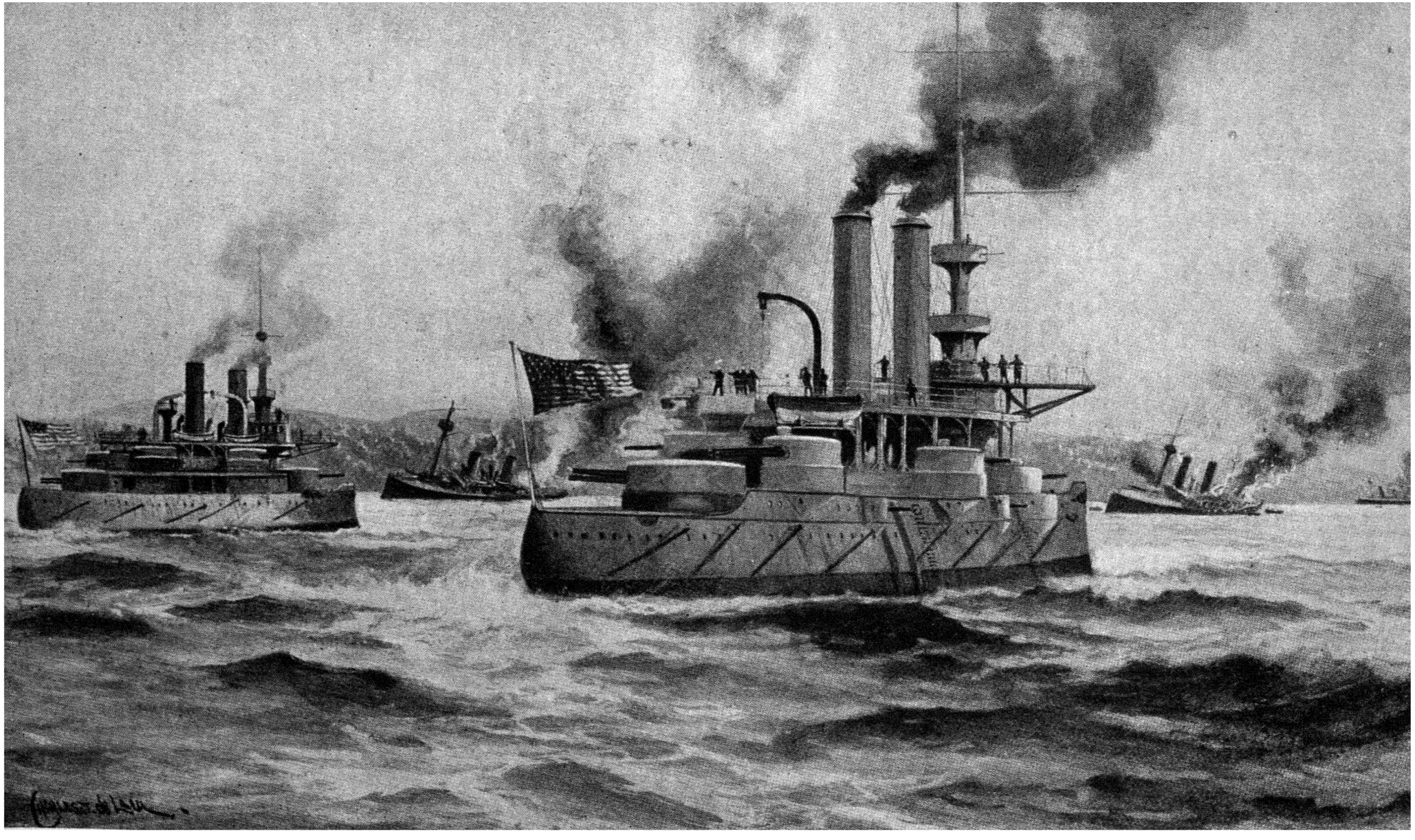
MR. THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND HIS SUCCESSOR, MR WILLIAM H. TAFT

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, being then Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidency of the United States at the death of President McKinley, on September 14th, 1901 and was re-elected by an overwhelming majority in 1905, this time defeating the democratic candidate, Judge Parker. In 1908 Mr. W. H. Taft was elected, defeating Mr. W. T. Bryan. In 1912 both Mr Roosevelt and Mr. Taft came forward again, mutually opposed, and both were routed by Dr. Woodrow Wilson.

The Cubans had already, in 1868, risen against this state of things, and it was only after a ten years' struggle, accompanied by the expenditure of much blood and treasure, that Spain succeeded in bringing the island to obedience. When this promise was left unfulfilled, Cuba revolted anew in 1896. It was thereafter that occasion was given for the United States to intervene. Thus pressed, Spain renewed its promises of autonomous government, and, as earlier,



AMERICA'S NAVAL STRENGTH: THE UNITED STATES SQUADRON FOR SERVICE IN THE PACIFIC



AN INCIDENT IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR: THE DESTRUCTION OF ADMIRAL CERVERA'S FLEET OUTSIDE SANTIAGO HARBOUR
In the early stages of the Spanish-American War, Admiral Cervera was dispatched to Cuba to defend Spanish interests, taking refuge on May 19th, 1898, in the inner harbour of Santiago. When, on July 3rd, he attempted to escape, acting under orders from his superiors, the Americans, under the command of Admiral Sampson, effected either the destruction or the capture of every one of the Spanish ships. A third of the men met their death, the remainder, with Cervera, being taken prisoners of war, but were soon afterwards released.

with no result of accomplishment. The American Government demanded, in the interests of humanity, that the state of war in Cuba should cease. The American Government also took the position that the independence of Cuba ought to be recognised; diplomatic relations were severed; and war against Spain was declared to exist in April, 1898.

On the one hand, the United States possessed both a fleet and an army superior to those of the Spaniards; they excelled the latter in their facilities for procuring material resources, and the natural theatre of the war lay at their very doors. On the other hand, the misgovernment of Spain weakened the administration both in the mother country and in the colonies, and rendered quite impossible a vigorous or even adequate conduct of such a campaign. When, finally, its fleets were forced to engage in the contest, they suffered complete and speedy defeat. After the destruction of the Spanish fleet before Santiago, the islands of both Cuba and Puerto Rico were occupied and controlled by the military force of the Americans. Spain, as a result, was compelled to recognise the independence of Cuba, while Puerto Rico was ceded directly to the United States, as were also, for an indemnity, the Philippines.

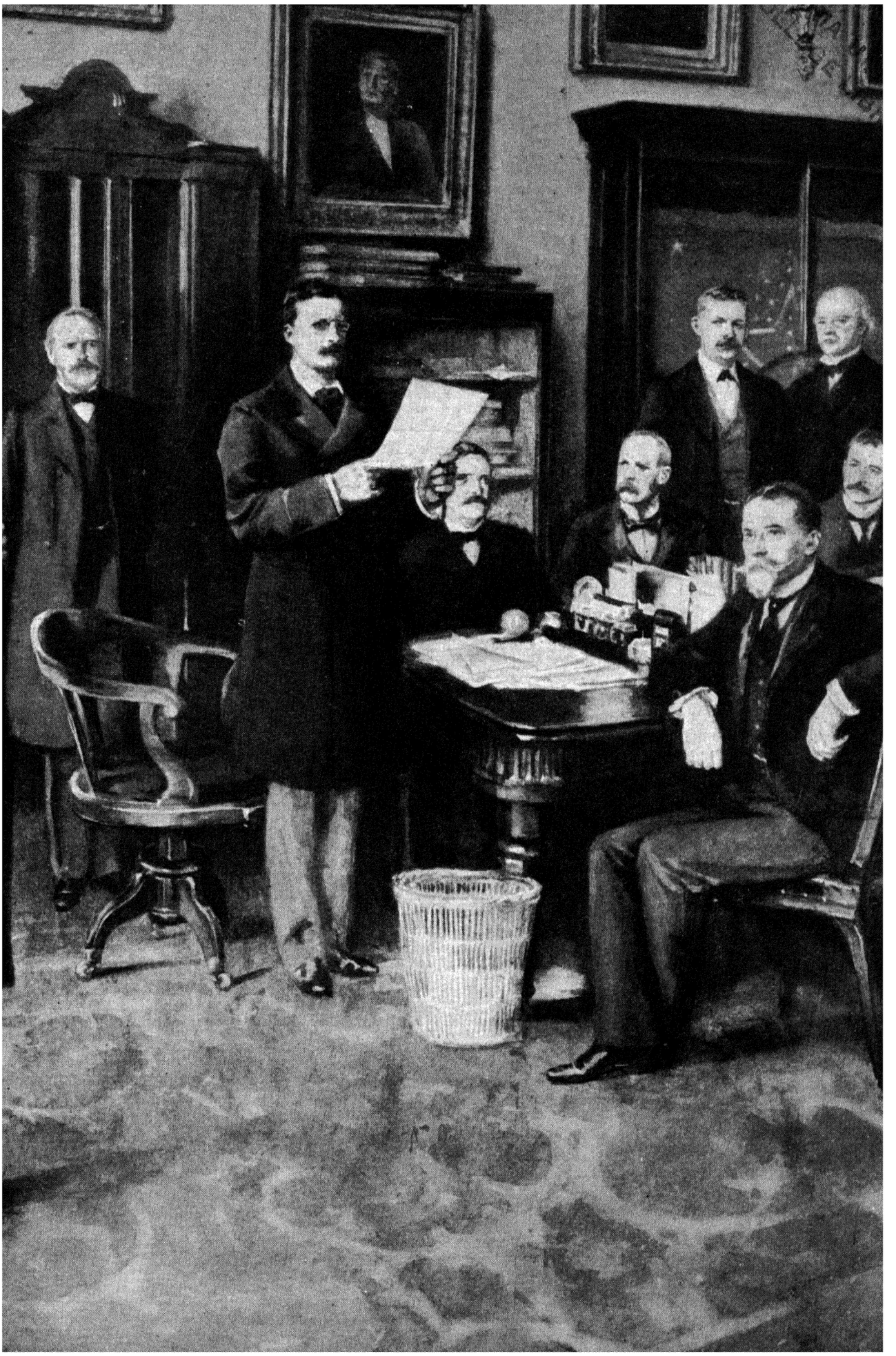
For years past the United States had had their eyes set on the Farthest West; and, owing to the position of the latter region opposite to their own Pacific coast, the Americans had become better acquainted with the methods of its development than had some of the countries of the Old World. At Samoa they had, it is true, earlier yielded to the combination of European and colonial Powers, although the check, even there, was only temporary

THE UNITED STATES PURCHASE OF THE PANAMA CANAL

The mismanagement which had characterised the affairs of the two French Panama companies, and culminated in the prosecution of the De Lesseps Company for fraud, brought the scheme to the verge of ruin, with the result that the American Government agreed to pay the sum of £8,000,000 for certain concessions and for the work already accomplished. This picture shows the signing of the £8,000,000 warrant in payment of the Panama Canal, in November, 1903.

The manner, furthermore, in which in 1897 they succeeded in accomplishing the annexation of Hawaii showed how the United States were determined to obtain a position in the Pacific Ocean. Here, again, the unforeseen results of the Spanish War seemed to coincide with the development of American policy; for by the treaty of peace of December 10th, 1898, America took the title to the Philippine Islands.

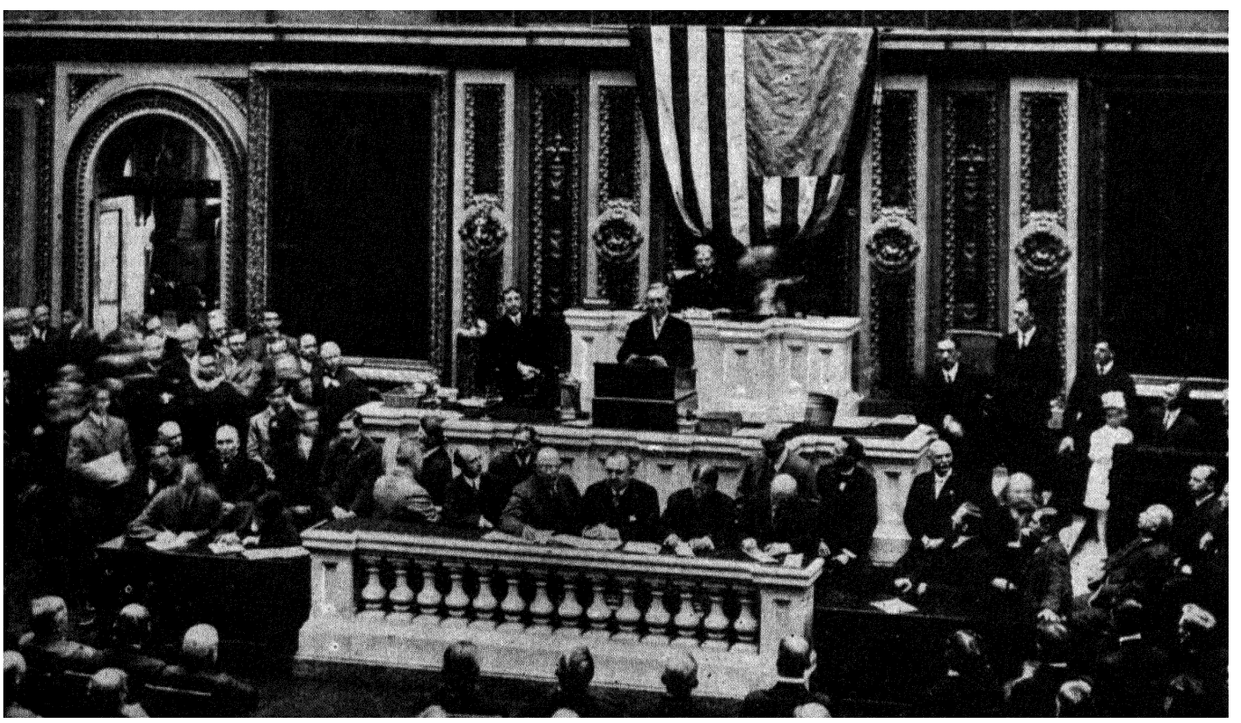
It is at present impossible to foretell how these astonishing changes will affect the future of the United States. Their new acquisitions serve in a marked degree to satisfy the need for industrial expansion,



BRITAIN'S DISPUTE WITH VENEZUELA: PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HIS CABINET
On account of British and German subjects failing to obtain compensation from the Venezuelan Government for property destroyed and concessions violated, Great Britain and Germany instituted a blockade of Venezuelan ports. Matters were assuming an ugly aspect when the United States intervened, and the picture on this page shows President Roosevelt discussing the question with his Cabinet, through which an understanding was arrived at in 1903.

and in the changes which the Japano-Chinese war of 1894 initiated in Eastern Asia, America for the first time shows herself prepared to enter into competition with European exporting countries. In view of the results of the Spanish War she is enabled to do so under exceptionally favourable conditions. But the colonies will, on the other hand, in all probability be a source of many future difficulties, both administrative and diplomatic, to the union; and whether or not all these difficulties can be solved without shaking the foundations or altering the structure of the constitution we must leave for the future to determine.

On his way to Guam he also raised the flag on Wake Island, and thus two additional naval stations were secured in the Pacific. The year 1899 was one of unusual calm, excepting for the determined resistance of several of the wilder Filippino tribes to the new régime. These, however, had never been reconciled to Spanish rule, and now demanded absolute independence, under Aguinaldo, a brave and very able guerrilla leader. Throughout 1899 sanguinary conflicts occurred in the Philippines, during which many American officers fell, including General Lawton. The struggle was protracted till the capture of Aguinaldo on March 23rd, 1901. But



PRESIDENT WILSON READING HIS MESSAGE TO THE NEW CONGRESS OF 1913

By delivering his message to Congress in person, President Wilson broke a precedent of 112 years standing, the last president who personally addressed Congress being John Quincey Adams, the second president of the Republic.

The acquisition of the new insular appanages was quickly to compel the nation to assert herself as a great Pacific Power. Indeed, the closing period of the last century and the opening of the new marked a most memorable transition, which set an indelible stamp on the history of the great republic and irresistibly changed the whole attitude of international policy, involving momentous departures from the old rule of non-intervention in the affairs of the Old World.

On February 1st, 1899, Commander Taussig took possession of the picturesque little island of Guam, the largest member of the Marianne, or Ladrones, Archipelago.

the American Government had, throughout the campaign, used conciliatory means, proclaiming in the summer of 1900 an amnesty for the Filippino insurgents.

The dramatic and startling episodes of the years 1900 and 1901 rendered the inaugural period of the twentieth century one of the most striking of American historical landmarks. Indeed, the whole world was stirred by phenomenal records. "The war which staggered humanity," to use Krüger's phrase, led the Boers to appeal to the United States; but the government saw no justification for interference, even diplomatically. But in China the appalling Boxer insurrection rendered the

situation terribly lurid and the outlook ominous. The news of the siege of the legations in Pekin roused intense excitement throughout the states, as in other lands, and brought not only the European Powers but also the United States Government to feel the instant necessity of armed intervention. When Pekin was captured by the allied forces, under General von Waldersee, the American contingent was the first to enter the city. The emperor and empress-dowager had fled, and Li Hung Chang asked for an armistice, which was refused, as also was a special appeal by the Tsung-li-yamen to Washington. China was given to understand that the full demands of the American Government must be complied with and General Chaffee was allowed full power to act. On February 19th, 1901, the United States protested against further military expeditions to China, and on February 21st the Powers agreed to acquire no Chinese territory without international consent.

America's Interference in China

In the midst of the world's general unrest occurred a momentous presidential election in America. William McKinley was, on November 6th, 1900, chosen president for a second term, with Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, as vice-president, on the republican ticket. The eloquent William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, thus for the second time sustained a crushing defeat, which perhaps settled for ever the fate of his silver standard movement. Thus also was reduced to comparative impotence the great Democratic party, which had been intrenched in power under the two administrations of Grover Cleveland, 1885–1889, and 1893–1897, yielding in 1897 to the republican onslaught that placed McKinley in power.

In this election of 1900 the money issue was the paramount factor of the campaign. A dark cloud soon rolled over the fair prospect. The nation was shocked almost to frenzy in a few months by the dastardly assassination of the beloved president. While McKinley was holding a reception in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, he was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist. Though not killed on the spot, he died, on September 19th, 1901, from his wounds. According to settled law, Theodore Roosevelt became president, and this extraordinary man soon displayed, in increasing measure, those capacities as a statesman which had been already successfully tested in other offices. He rapidly proved himself to be the "strong man" of America, the implacable enemy of the trusts and gigantic, corrupt corporations; and also a foremost representative of constructive policy.

Tragic Fate of President McKinley

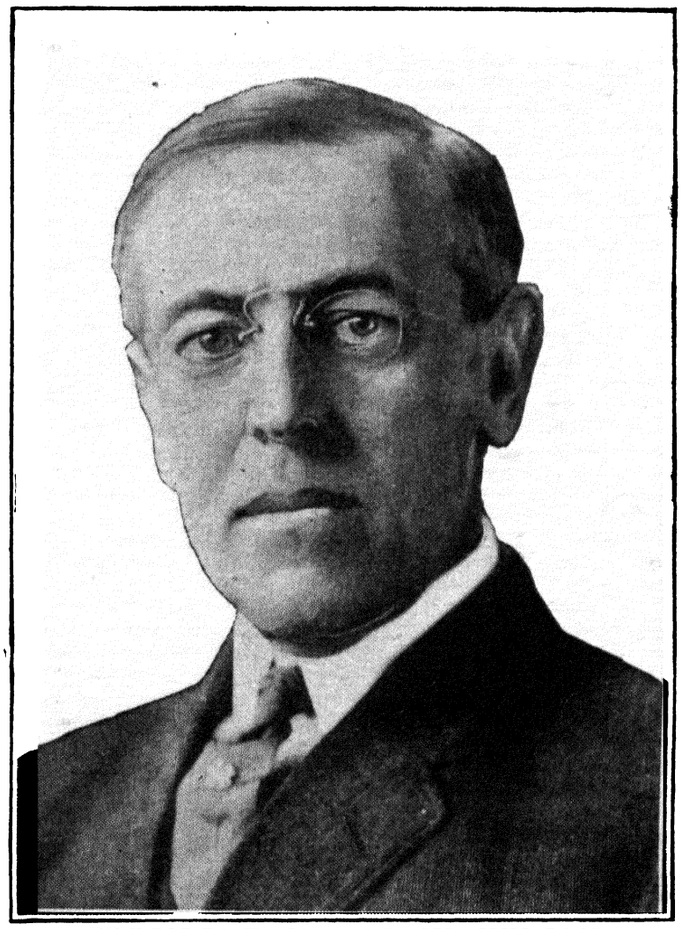
Early in his occupancy of the supreme office President Roosevelt recommended to congress the purchase of the rights of the French Panama Canal Company for £8,000,000, and this led to the inauguration of the greatest engineering enterprise ever undertaken by the great republic. After overcoming the greatest difficulties the canal was open to traffic in the autumn of 1914. Important incidents rapidly followed each other. In 1903 the Pacific cable was completed, and the dispute with Britain over the Alaskan boundary was settled in favour of America by an arbitration award. But 1904 was a "Roosevelt year," for, by a sweeping majority, the president was re-elected, defeating Judge Allen B. Parker. William H. Taft, who had been Governor of the Philippines, became Secretary of War.

Roosevelt at the White House

One of President Roosevelt's last measures was to summon a great conference for the consideration of the incalculable waste of national resources, especially through the wanton destruction of the magnificent forests and the reckless consumption of coal. Finally, he firmly refused the multitudinous solicitation to accept nomination for a third term, but openly and strenuously commended the candidature of William H. Taft, of Cincinnati, O., his celebrated Secretary of War. Once more W. J. Bryan tried his fortune, but Taft won a magnificent victory over America's most gifted orator, and entered the White House as President on March 4th, 1909.

Before the close of President Taft's term of office a violent cleavage took place in the ranks of the Republican party, and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt announced his intention of again contesting the Presidency. Mr. Taft declined to withdraw, and was also nominated, while the candidate of the Democratic party was Dr. Woodrow Wilson. At the elections in November, 1912, the result of the feud between the supporters of ex-President Roosevelt and retiring President Taft was seen in the utter rout of the

Republican party. Dr. Wilson secured no less than 425 votes from the Electoral College of the States, against 94 votes for Mr. Roosevelt and 12 for Mr. Taft. The elections to the Senate transferred 10 votes from the Republicans to the Democrats, giving the latter 42 members to 50 Republicans in the new Congress, where formerly they had but 32 members to 60 Republicans. In the House of Representatives the change was far greater, for the Democrats returned 226 Representatives and the Republicans 165. In the previous Congress the numbers had been 219 Republicans and 172 Democrats. With the exception of Grover Cleveland's victories in 1885 and 1893, the Democratic party had never returned their candidate for the Presidency nor held a majority in Congress since the Civil War. Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the new President, was a distinguished University man, quite unlike the European notion of a typical American politician. Born in 1856, in Virginia, he graduated at Princeton University and studied law at the University of Virginia and John Hopkins University. For twenty years he was Professor of Politics and Jurisprudence at Princeton, and from 1902 to 1910 President of that University. His writings on historical and political subjects had attracted considerable attention, and he was generally recognised as a public spirited and patriotic American. This reputation was further enhanced when Dr. Wilson laid aside his academic work to become Governor of New Jersey in 1910, a post he filled with credit, resigning it to become the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. At his inauguration address, in March, 1913, Dr. Wilson emphasised the changes necessary in the Democratic programme, notably in the matter of tariffs; and in his first message to Congress a month later, tariff was the sole subject mentioned. The Bill that was then introduced into Congress, and subsequently passed into law, reduced the existing tariff on a certain number of necessary articles, natural products in danger of being exhausted, and commodities produced by trusts, and gave free entry for raw wool. In addition it prohibited the importation to the United States of the plumage of wild birds, either as raw material or manufactured, save for scientific or educational purposes. The Bill also instituted a graduated income tax on all incomes over £600, and exempted from income tax the incomes of married persons with dependants up to £200 a year.



PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

The social question in the United States, as in every other country where capital is concentrated and industry highly organised, has claimed persistent attention in recent years. Under the Anti-Trust Law, proceedings have been taken from time to time against alleged offenders, and in 1913 the Supreme Court decided in the case of extensive cotton buying on a local exchange that an attempt to "corner" a commodity was a violation of the law. The Tobacco Trust was dissolved in the same year by decree of the Supreme Court, and actions for dissolution were taken against a number of companies. Various railway companies were also attacked for violation of the Anti-Trust Law. But, in spite of these attempts to diminish the economic power of the millionaires, the concentration of capital has suffered no real defeat. With the growth of the trust has grown the organisation of labour in trade unions, and the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World, an association avowedly revolutionist and holding syndicalist rather than socialist doctrines. Between capital and labour

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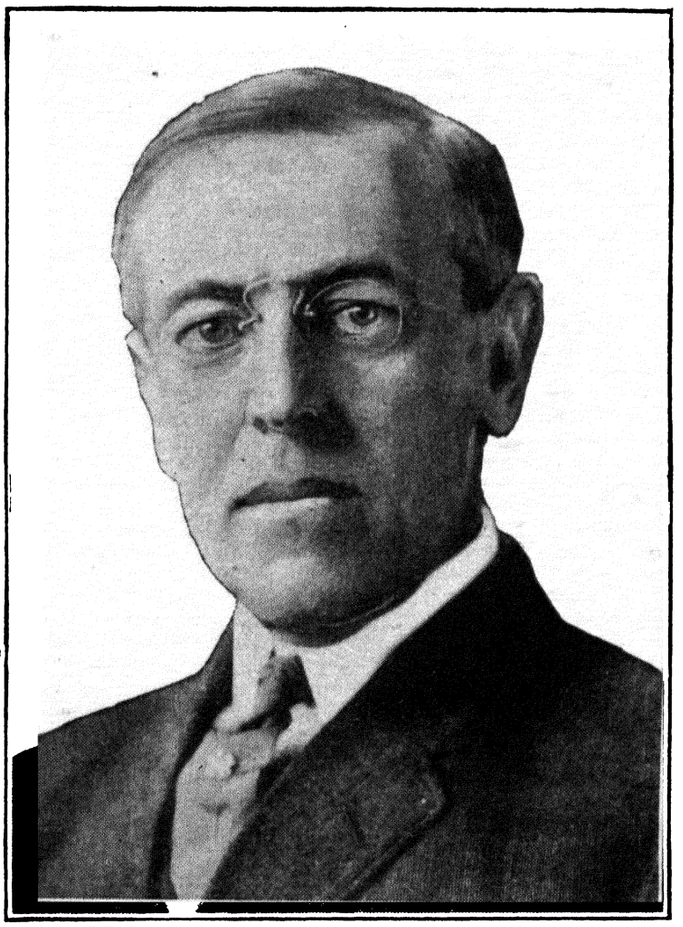

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the strife is nowhere so bitter and so violent as in the United States. Riots, destruction of property and loss of life have become the accompaniments of the strike and lock-out, and the civil warfare in Colorado in connection with a mining dispute was particularly serious in 1914. The fact that the trade unionists and socialists in the United States cannot achieve the political influence they exercise in European countries—owing to the highly specialised character of the political machinery of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the close control of the machinery by the party managers—is a good deal responsible for the increase of revolutionary agitation amongst the working class, and for the growing belief in the value of direct action by the strike as a more effective weapon for obtaining better social conditions than the old process of seeking reform by legislation.

On both sides—capitalist and labour—the disregard for human life and liberty when a strike is taking place is appalling, and the separate Government Department of Labour, set up by President Taft's administration, has not succeeded in reducing the violence of the combatants in industrial disputes.

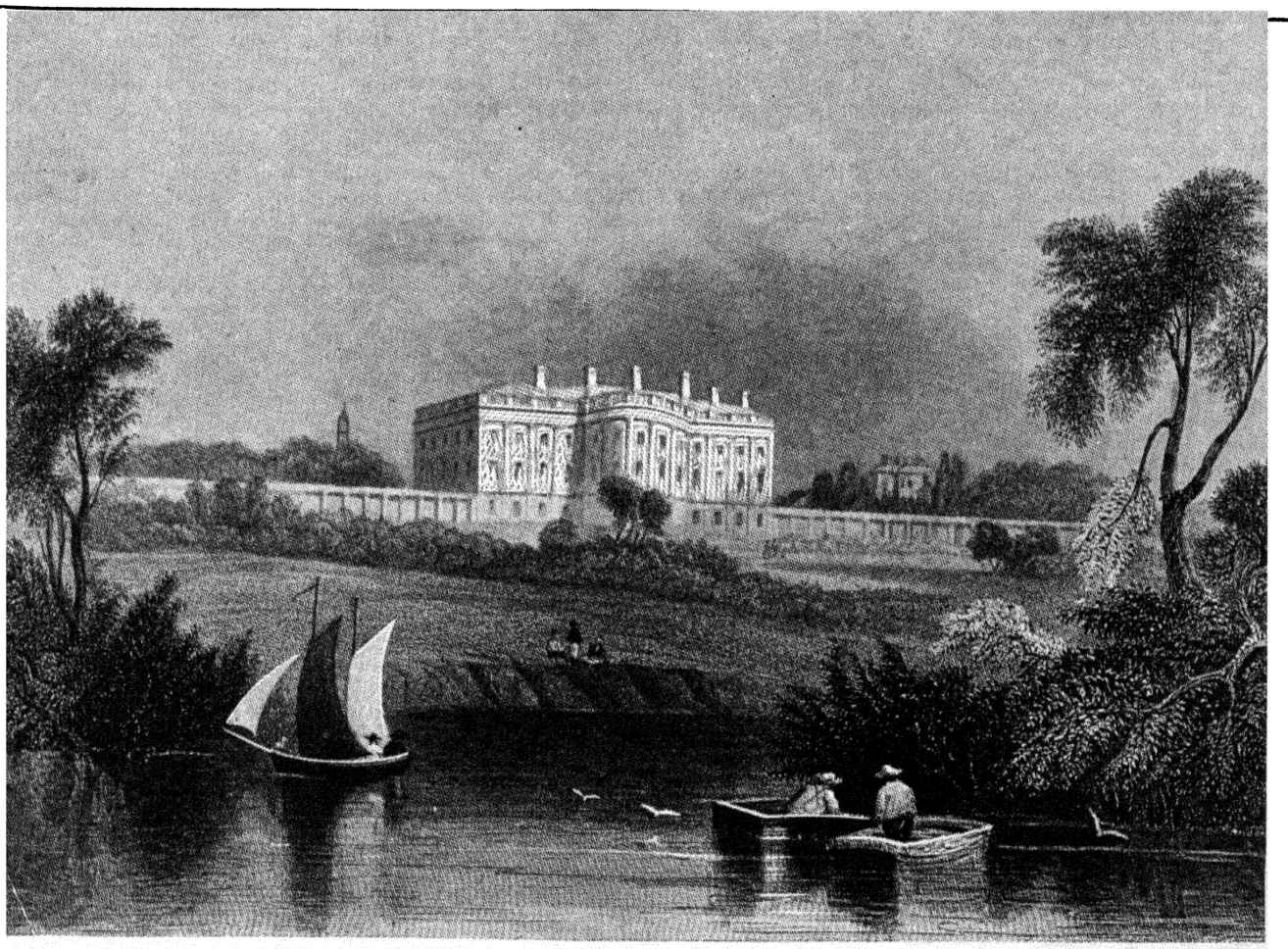
Apart from the social question at home, President Wilson was early involved in the troublesome problem of Mexico. Relations between the two countries were strained from the day General Huerta proclaimed himself President of Mexico, in February, 1913. For, while Great Britain and Germany recognised the new government within a few months, the United States declined all recognition of General Huerta's administration until constitutional elections had been held, and Huerta himself had undertaken to retire from office and not seek re-election. The outbreak of civil war and the revolt against General Huerta increased the international ill-feeling, the rebels—it was alleged—purchasing arms and ammunition from United States citizens. In April, 1914, the crisis came when certain seamen of the United States were insulted in Mexico and General Huerta's apology was deemed inadequate by President Wilson. After an ultimatum the United States declared war on Mexico, with the result that the rebels in Mexico promptly declared they would fight for their country against a foreign invader. The offer to arbitrate between the two countries made by the Governments of Brazil, Chile and Peru was subsequently accepted before any serious loss of life occurred.

No account of modern times in the United States would be complete which omitted to mention the increase of population and of wealth in the great Republic. The population multiplied from 62,622,250 in 1890, to 91,972,266 in 1910, and, in spite of stringent laws for the exclusion of "undesirable aliens," the stream of immigration steadily flowed. The average number of immigrants was less than 500,000 a year between 1880 and 1900. It mounted up over a million in 1905, 1906, 1907, and 1910, dropped to nearly 800,000 in 1908, 1909, and the figures for 1911 and 1912 were 878,487 and 838,172 respectively. The main body of these immigrants in 1912 came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, while Great Britain contributed 57,000, Germany 27,000, Ireland 25,000, and Sweden and Norway 21,000. Only 16,000 immigrants were refused admission.

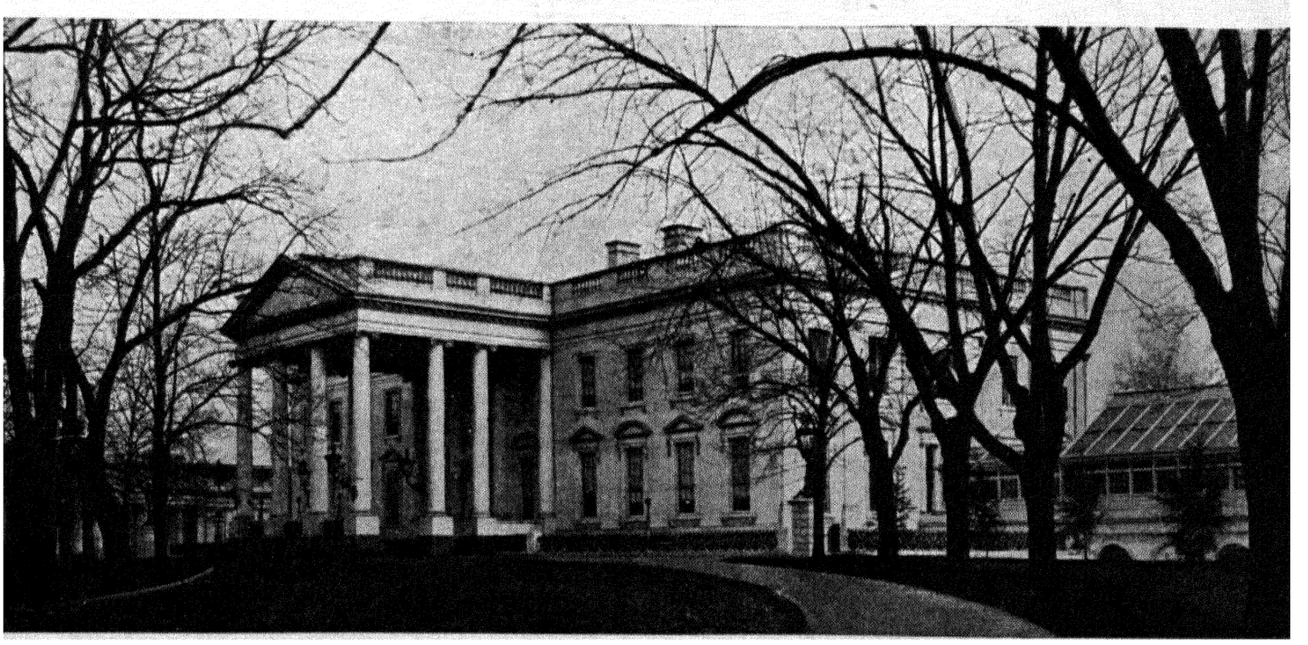
The material progress of the United States can be judged not only by the increase of population, but also by the official returns of the wealth of the country. In 1890 this wealth was estimated by the Census Office at $663,037,091,197, or £13,000,000,000; in 1900 at $88,517,306,775, or £17,700,000,000; in 1904 at $107,104,211,917, or £21,420,000,000; and in 1907 at £25,000,000,000. Yet, with all this vast wealth and the enormous resources of the country, the contrast of riches and poverty is as great in the United States as in any European land, and the conditions of labour are far worse in certain of the States than in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Politically, the "triumphant democracy" of the United States has been subjected to repeated criticism for many years past by its own citizens, chiefly on the ground that the excessive decentralisation had made it impossible to check the power of the political "boss" and his army of followers, by whom the country is really governed. Originally called into being to enlighten and initiate the foreign element in the cities into American politics, the party "boss" is now a feature in every State, and with party politics a profession to so many corruption is inevitable. At the same time the well expressed desire for "clean" government must not be ignored.

NOTABLE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

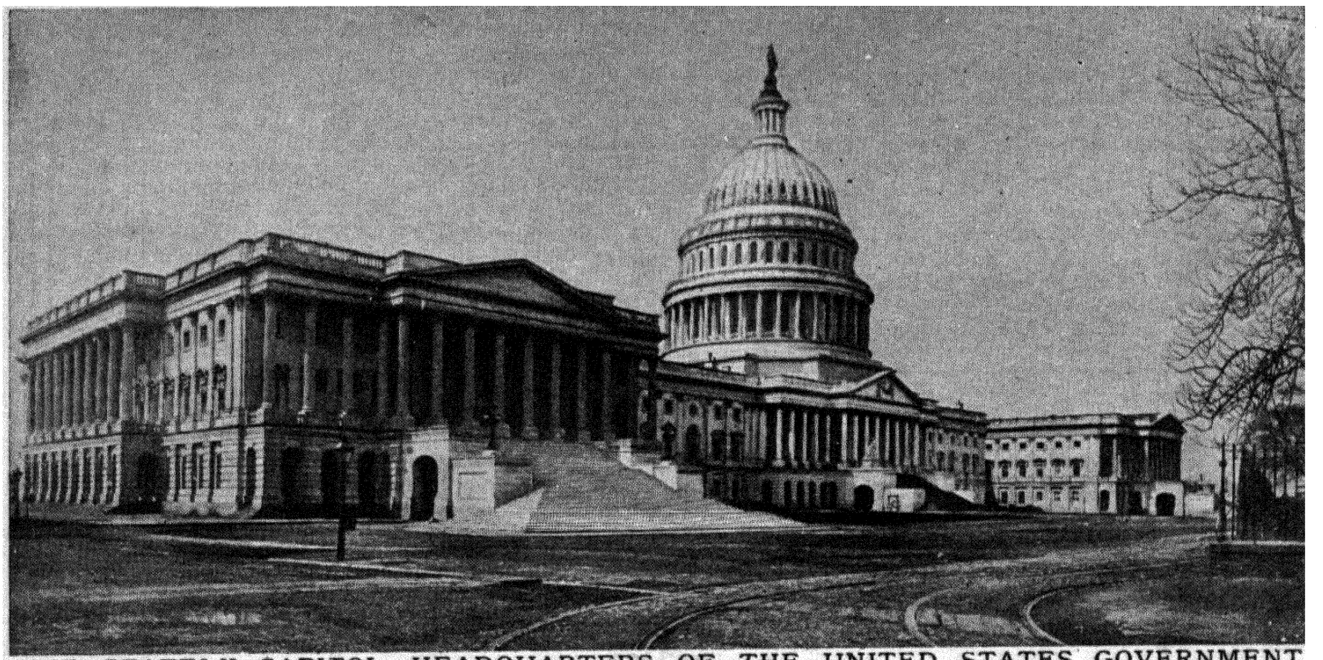
SCENES OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT



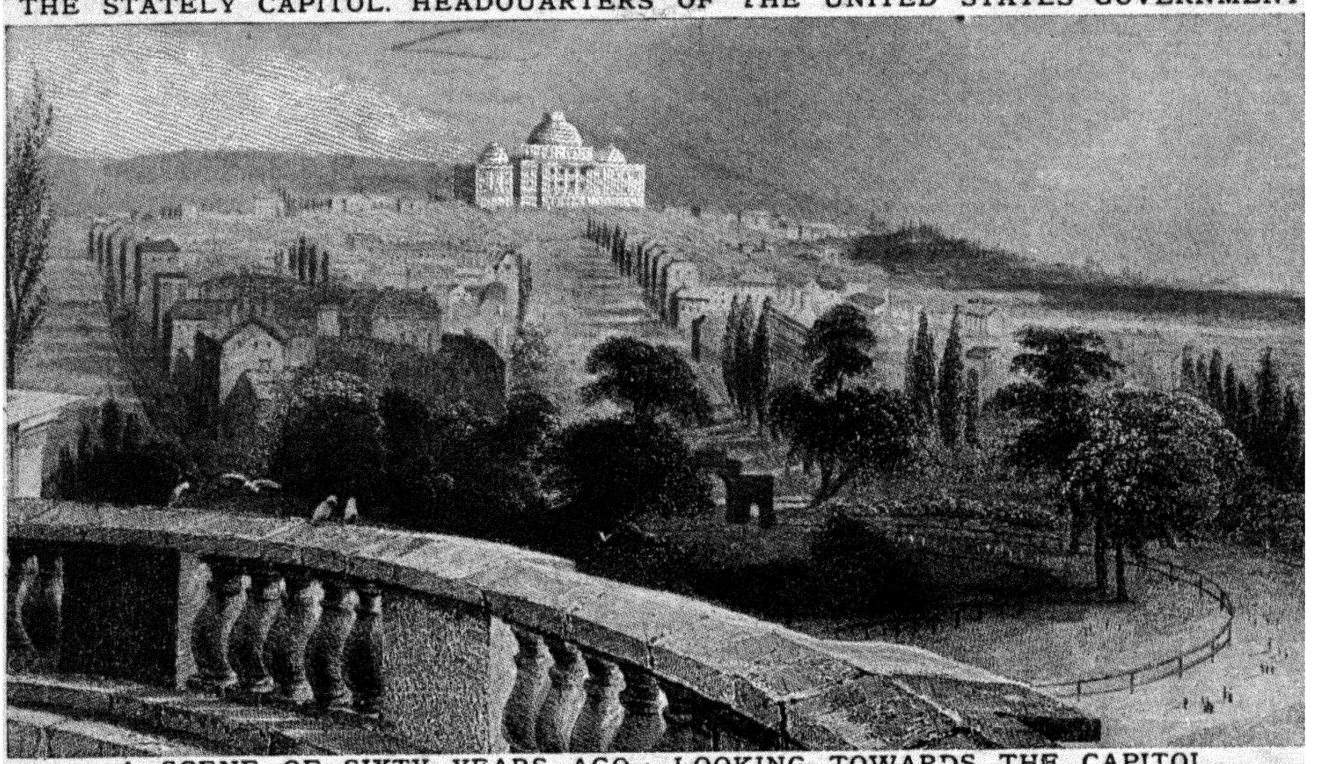
THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE IN THE YEAR 1850



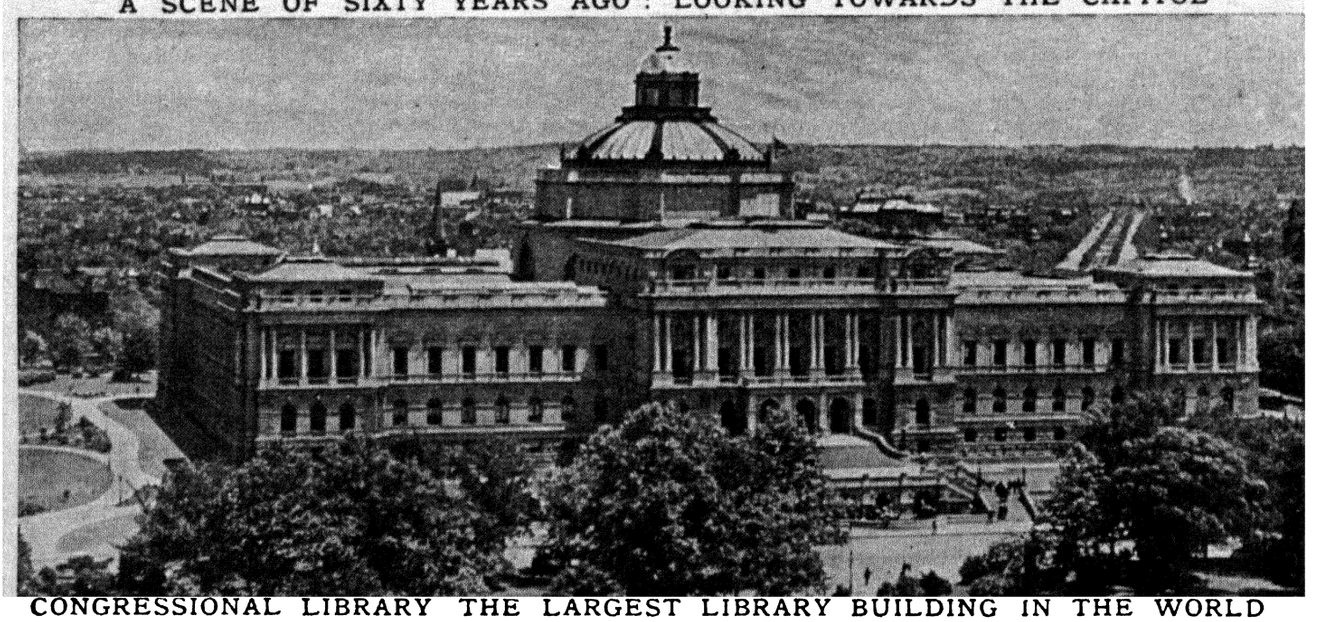
THE HOUSE OF THE PRESIDENT AS IT IS TO-DAY



THE STATELY CAPITOL. HEADOUARTERS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT



A SCENE OF SIXTY YEARS AGO : LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOL



CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY THE LARGEST LIBRARY BUILDING IN THE WORLD

WASHINGTON, THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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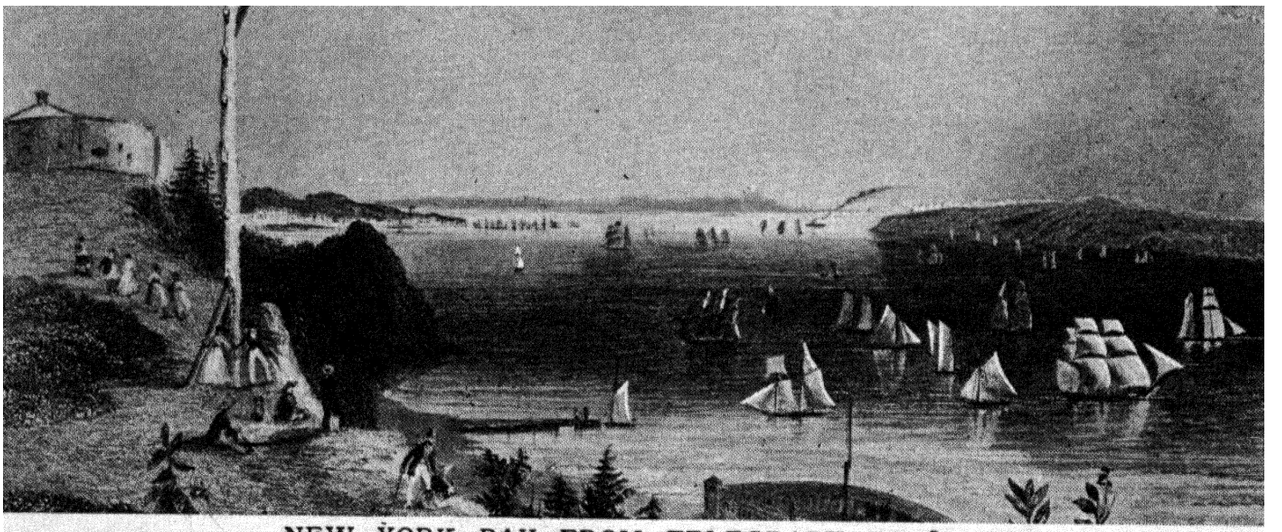
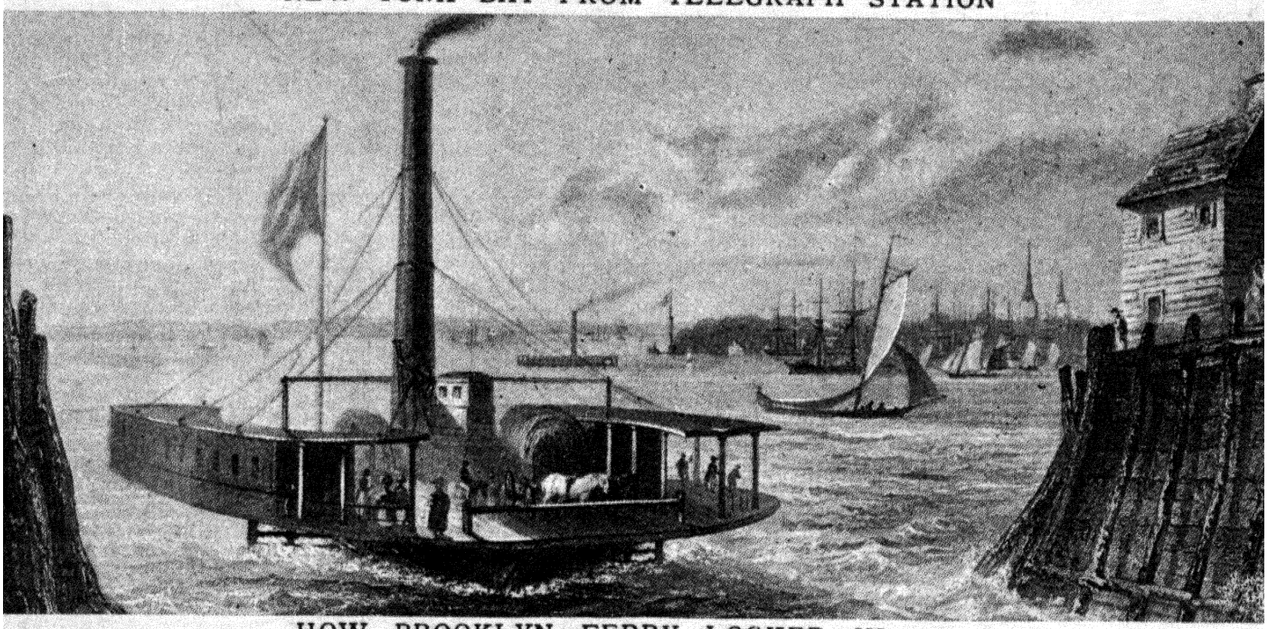
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF UNION STOCK YARDS

AN EVERYDAY SCENE IN STATE STREET

CHICAGO, THE SECOND LARGEST CITY IN AMERICA



NEW YORK BAY FROM TELEGRAPH STATION



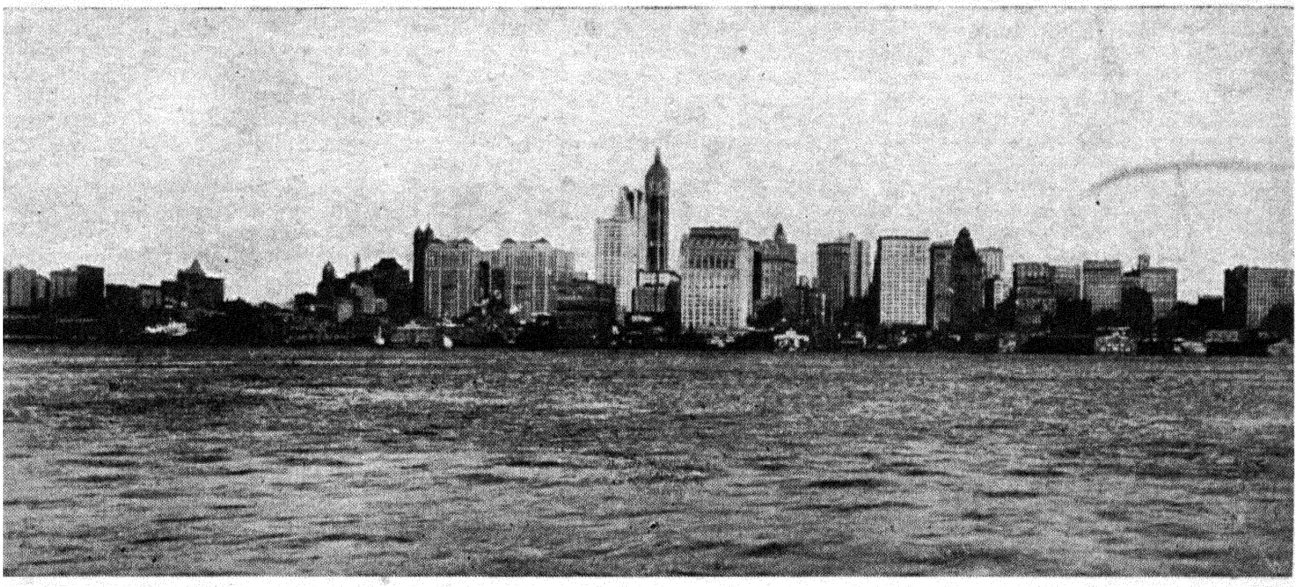
HOW BROOKLYN FERRY LOOKED IN 1860

THE OLD CITY HALL, WITH THE PARK IN THE FOREGROUND

NEW YORK AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR

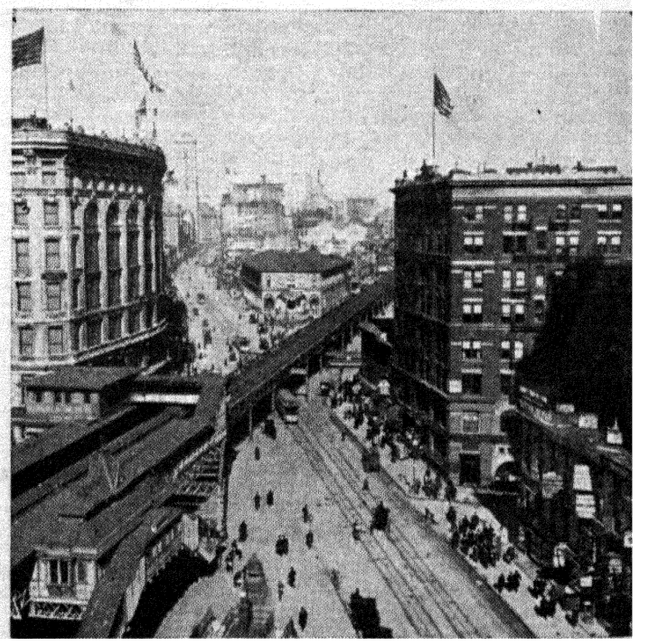
"FLAT-IRON" BUILDING, FIFTH AVENUE

"SKYSCRAPERS" ALONG BROADWAY



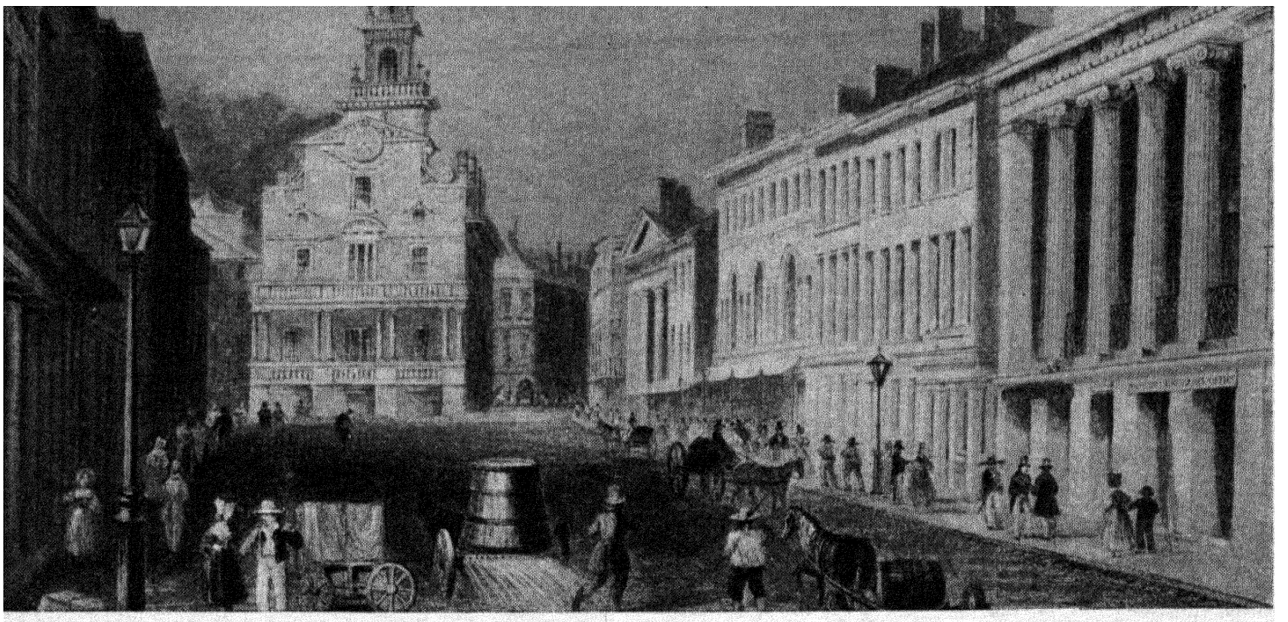
WATER FRONT OF NEW YORK CITY, AS SEEN FROM JERSEY CITY

"THE GREAT WHITE WAY" ILLUMINATED

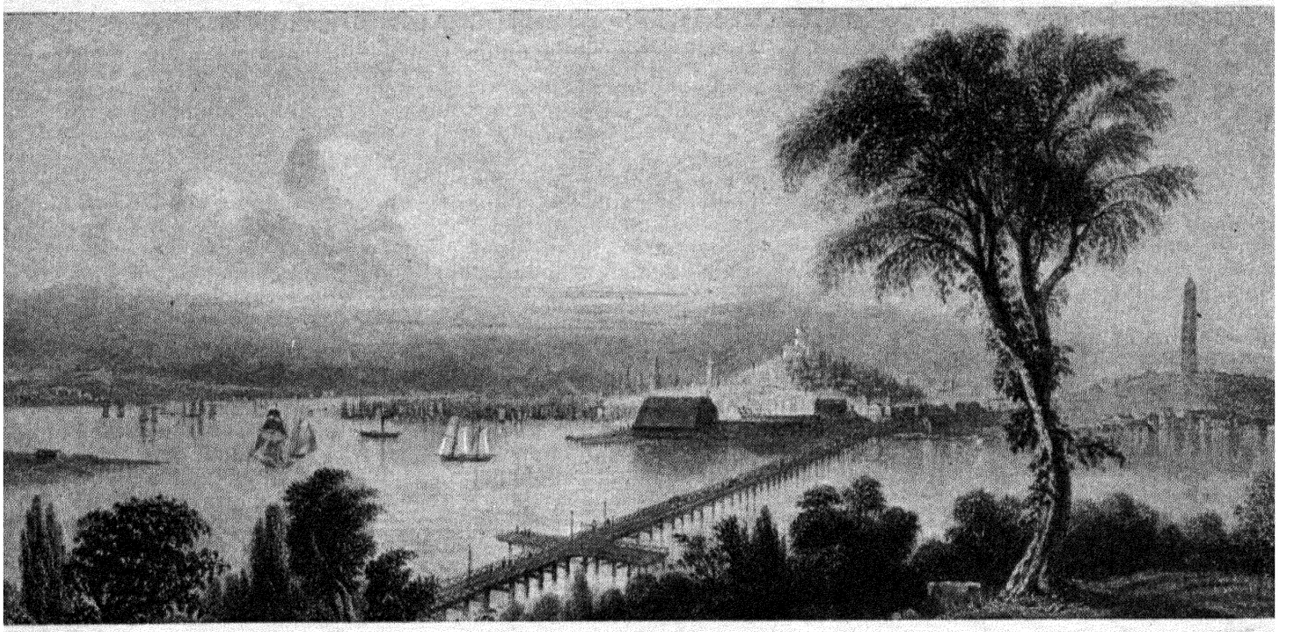


ELEVATED RAILWAY CROSSING BROADWAY

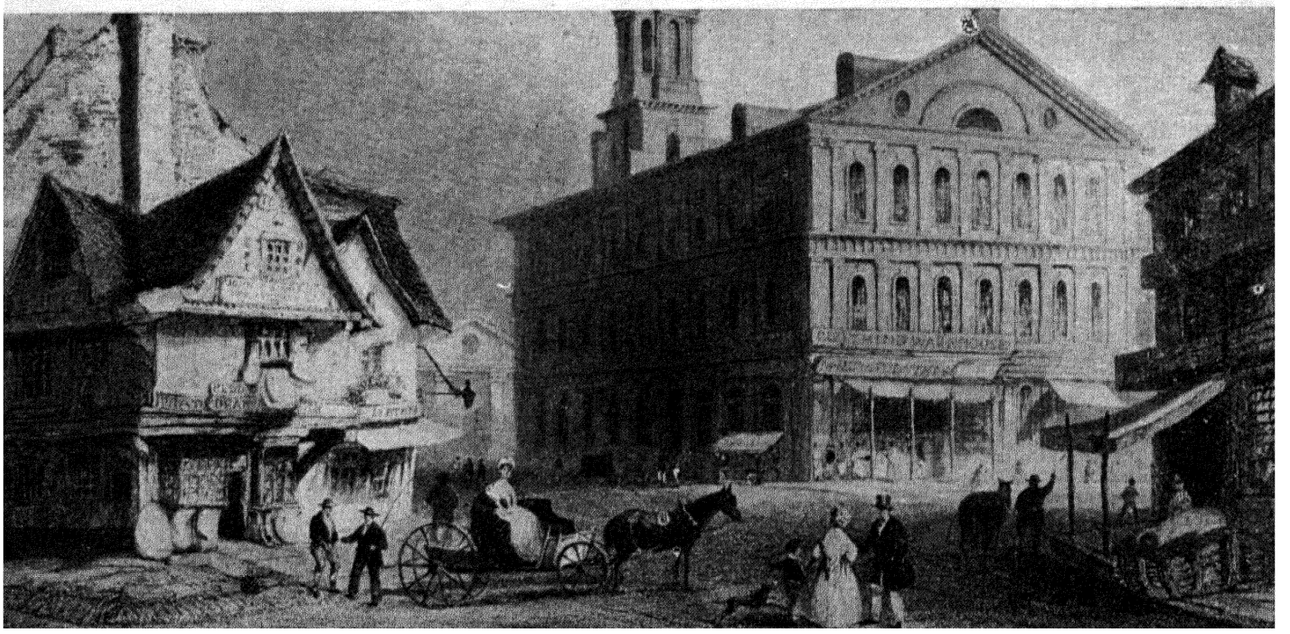
SCENES IN NEW YORK, THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE UNITED STATES



STATE STREET, BOSTON'S MAIN THOROUGHFARE, IN 1860



BOSTON HARBOUR, WITH BUNKER HILL ON THE RIGHT



A QUAINT CORNER IN THE OLD CITY

BOSTON AS IT WAS IN THE EARLY 'SIXTIES

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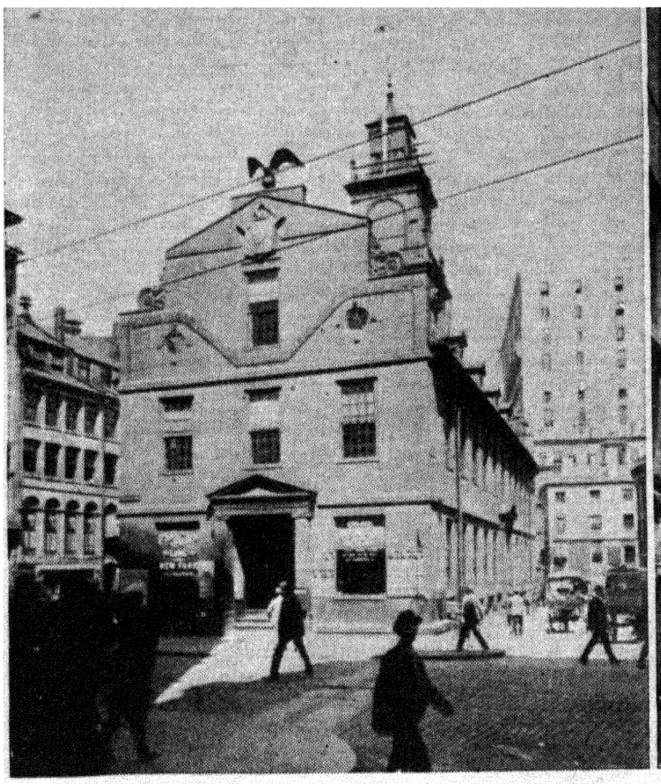
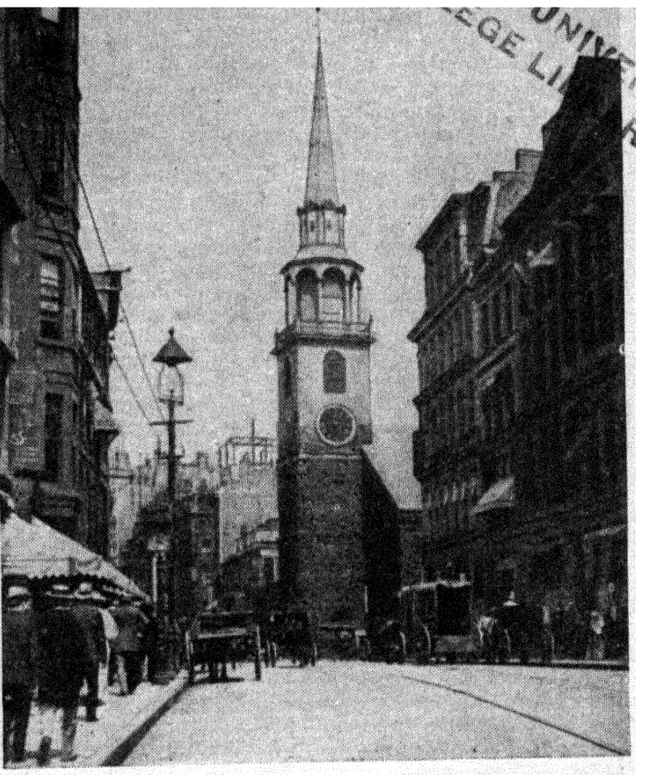
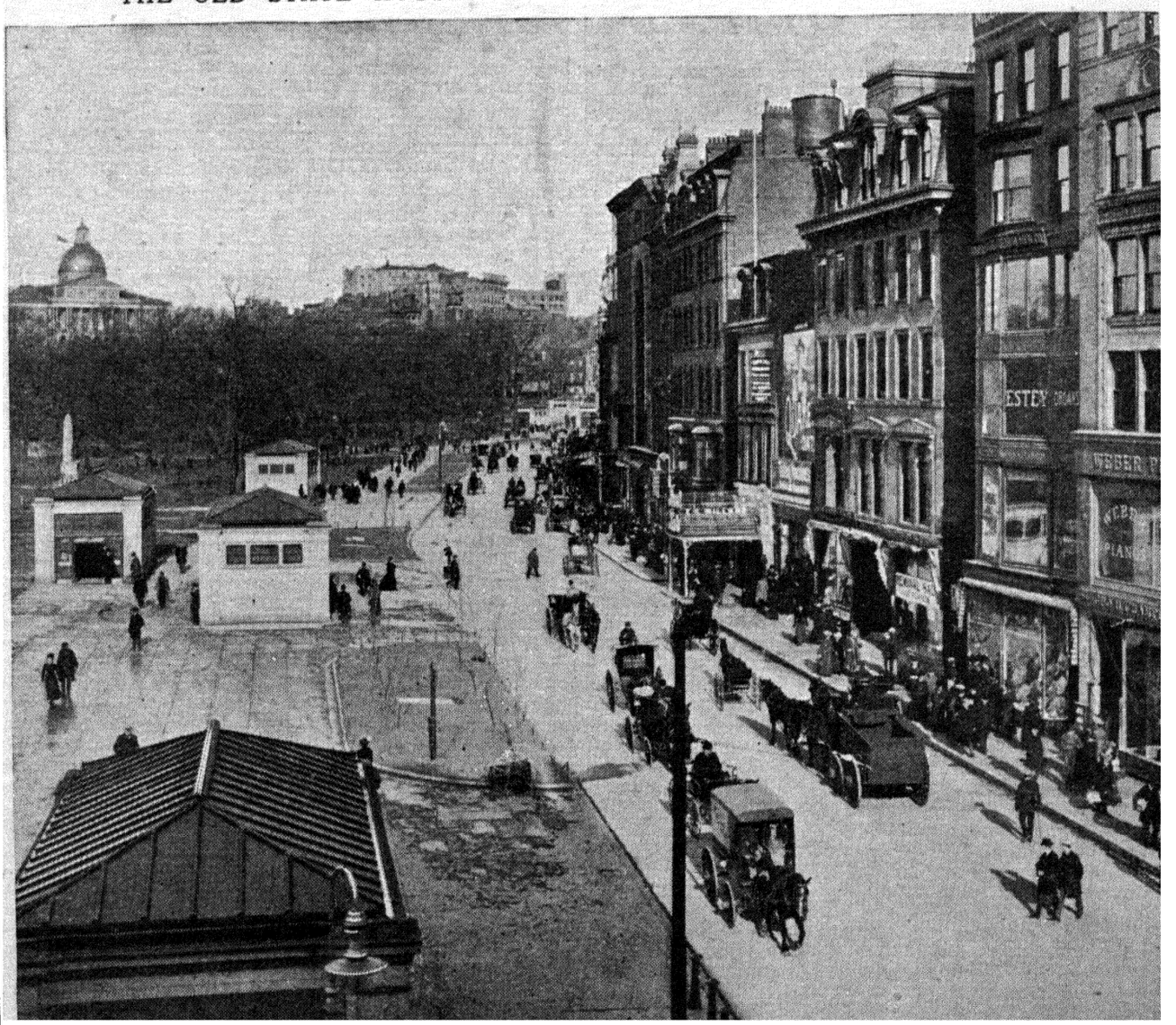


THE OLD STATE HOUSE



OLD SOUTH CHURCH



TREMONT STREET, ONE OF THE LEADING THOROUGHFARES

BOSTON, THE CENTRE OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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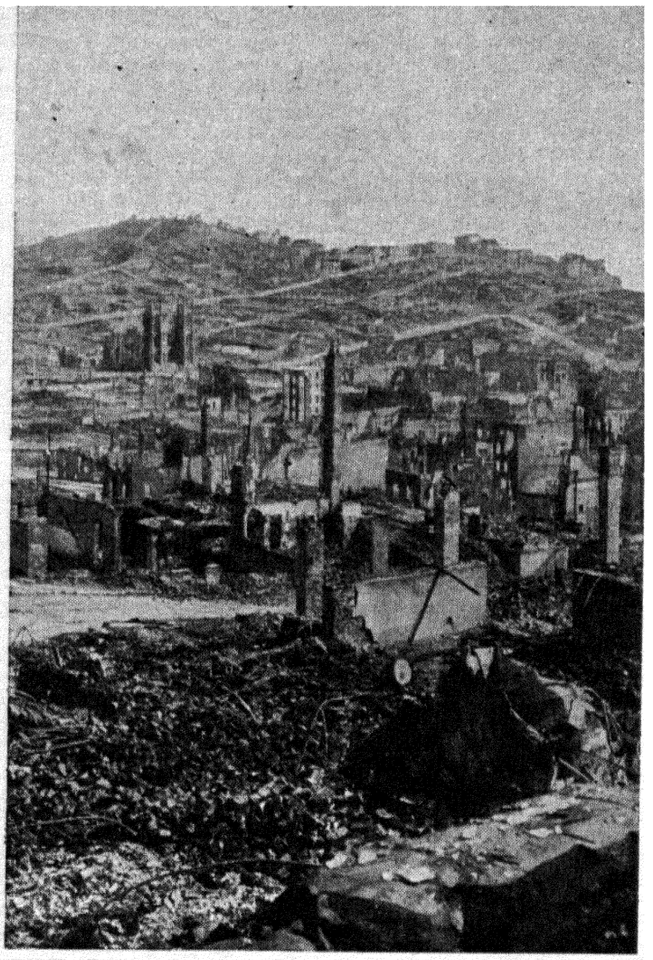
RUINS OF THE HALL OF JUSTICE



THE DEVASTATION OF TELEGRAPH HILL

A STRIKING SCENE OF DESTRUCTION

OVERLOOKING KEARNY STREET

SAN FRANCISCO · SCENES IN THE RUINED CITY

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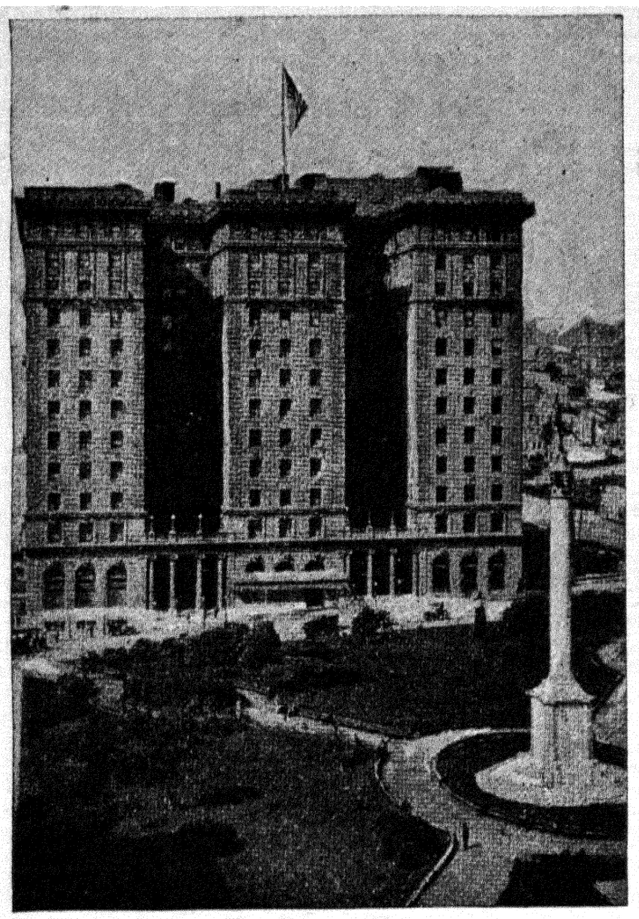
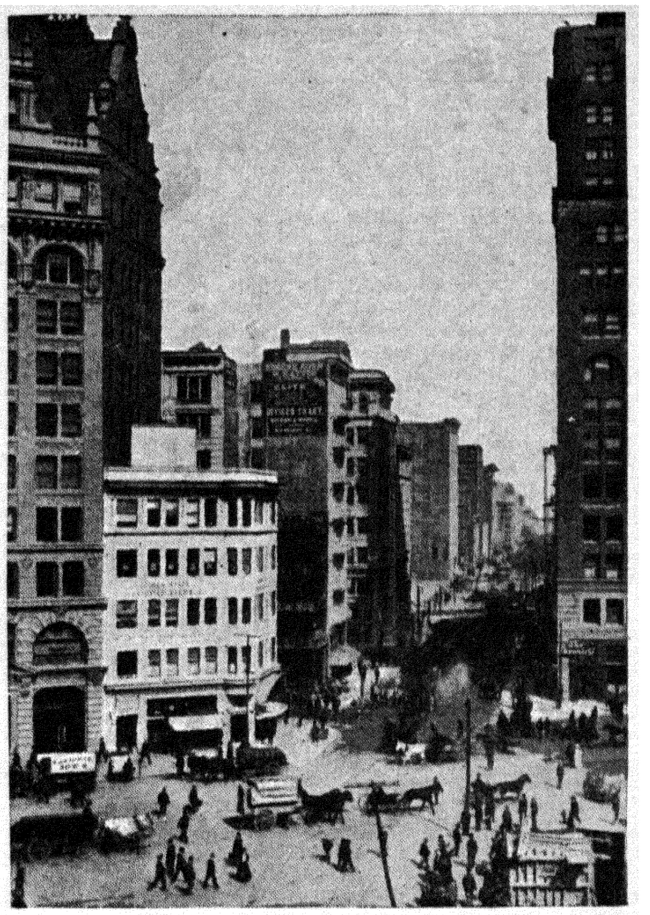
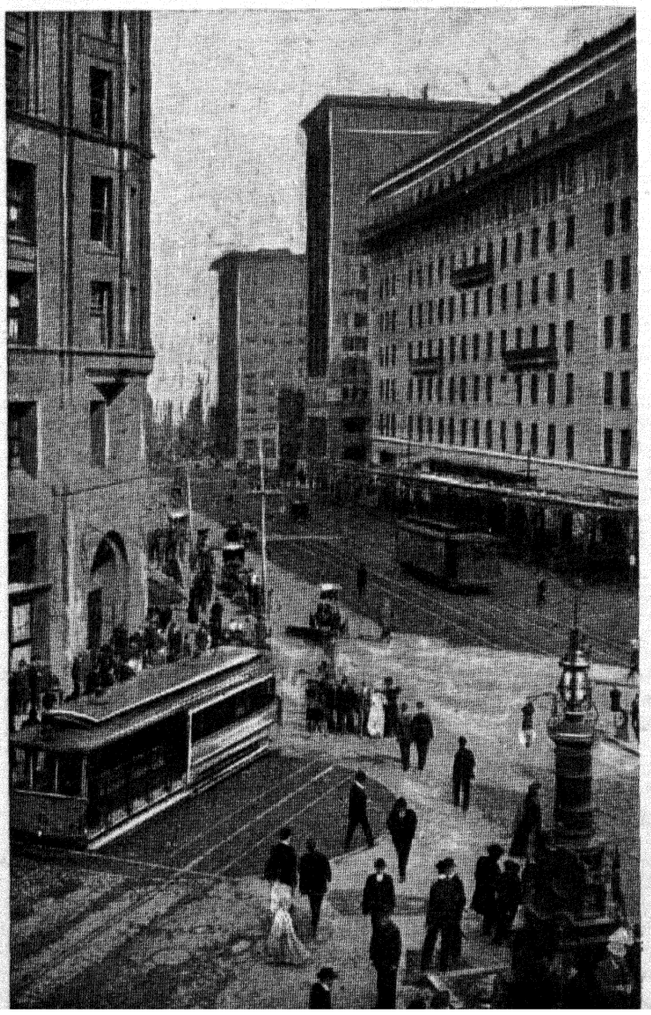


UNION SQUARE, WITH ST. FRANCIS HOTEL



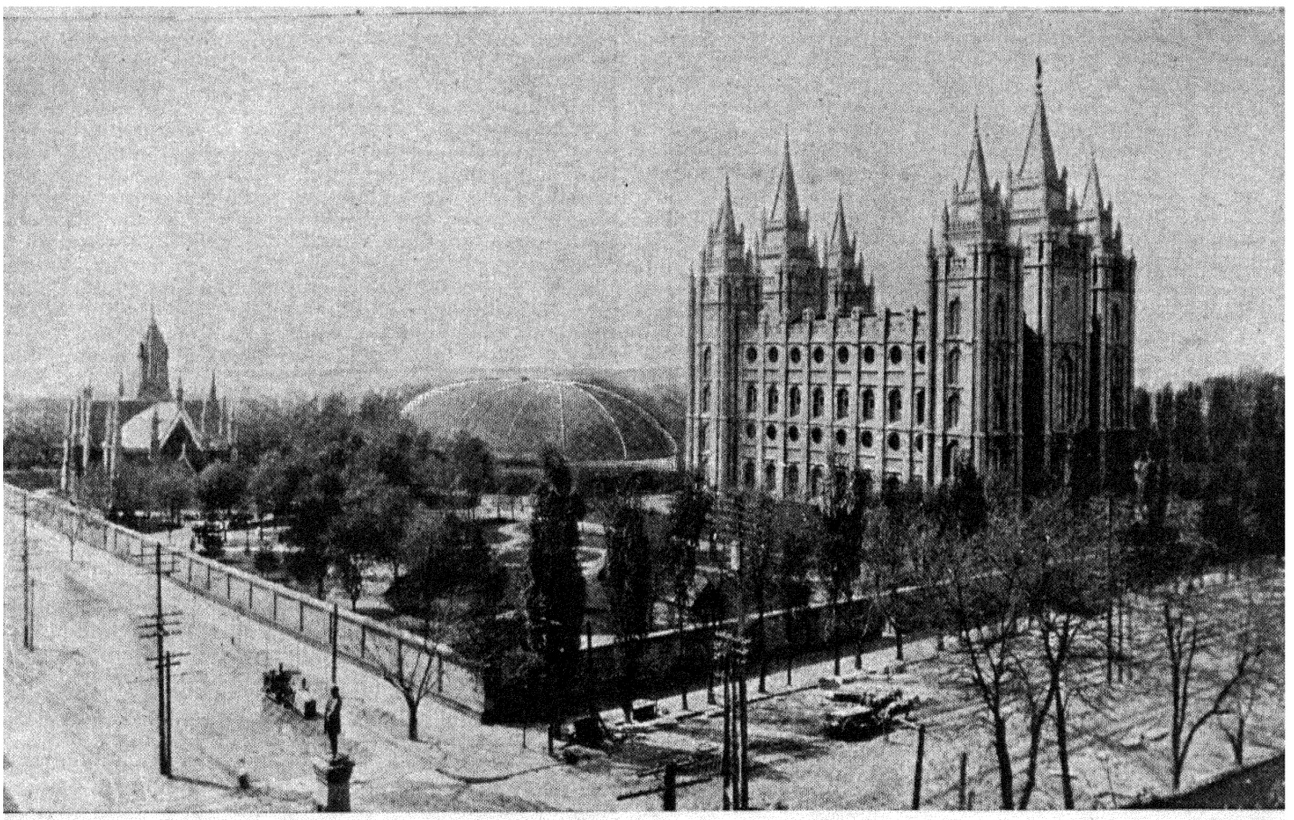
NEWSPAPER SQUARE



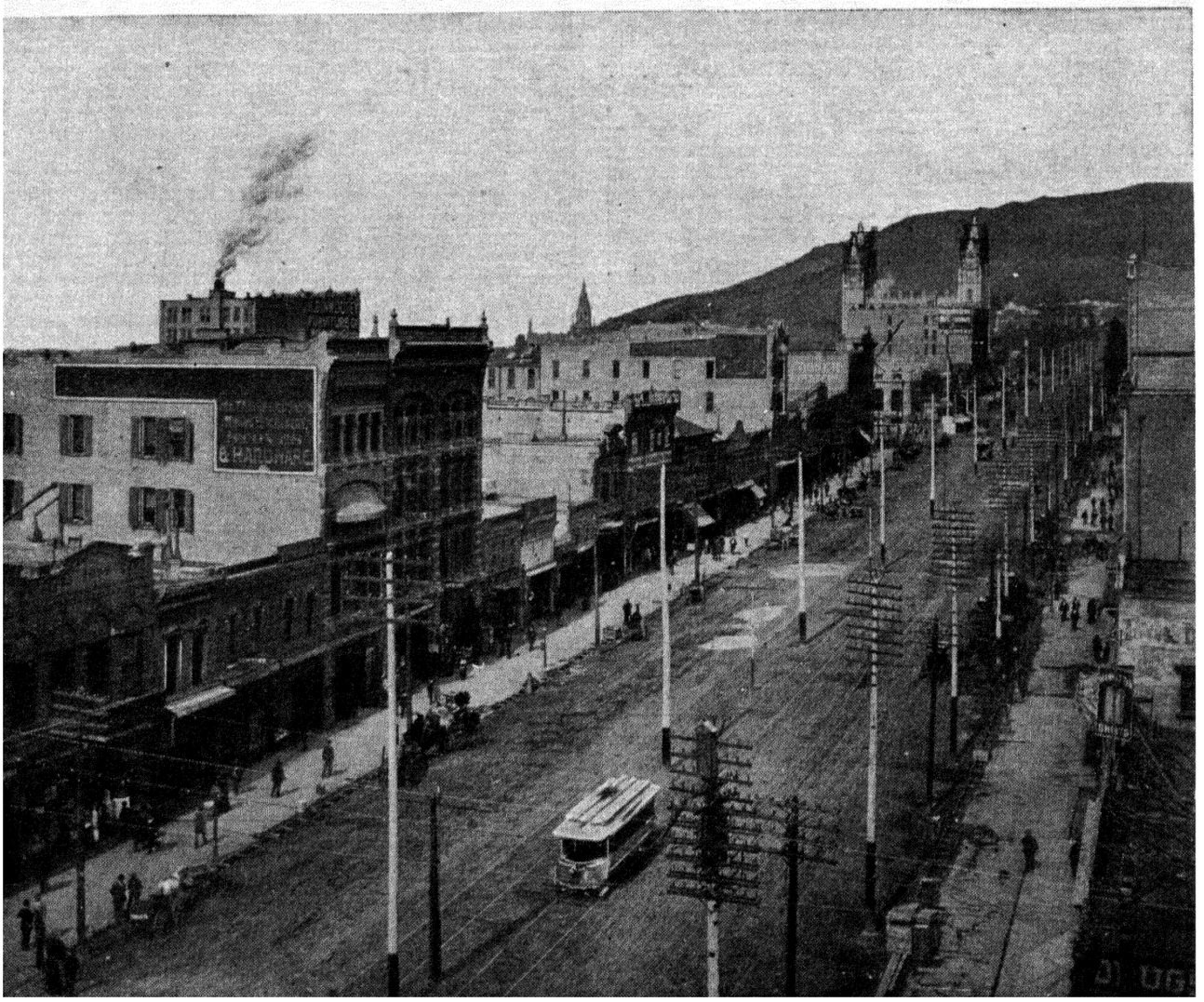
MARKET AND KEARNY STREETS

TYPICAL BUILDINGS OF THE NEW CITY

SAN FRANCISCO: THE REMAKING OF THE CITY

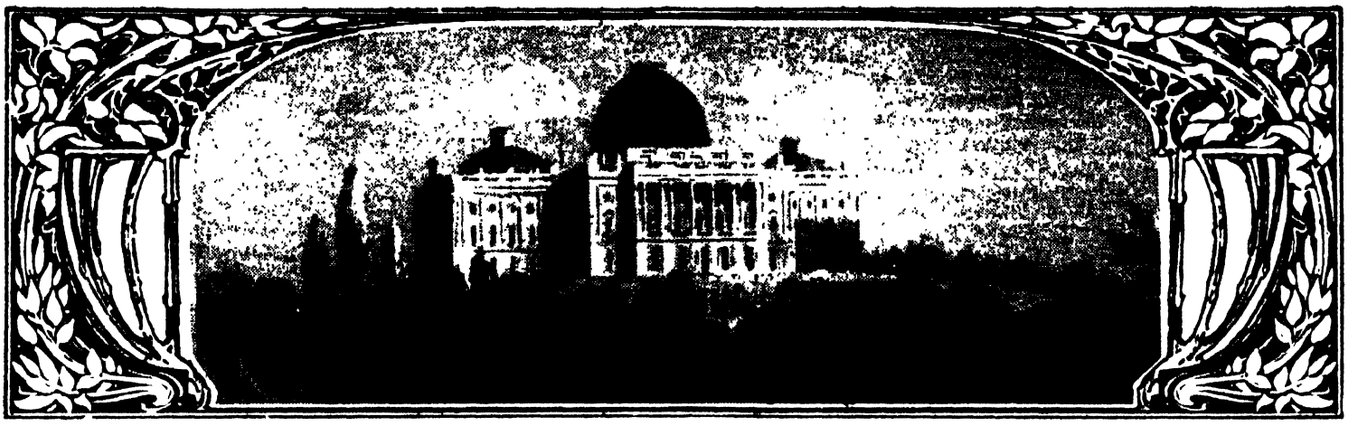


THE IMPOSING NEW MORMON TABERNACLE



MAIN STREET, THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN THE CITY

SALT LAKE CITY, THE CENTRAL SEAT OF MORMON POWER



SOCIAL CONDITIONS & THE SOCIAL FUTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY H. G. WELLS

THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE social conditions and social future of America constitute a system of problems quite distinct and separate from the social problems of any other part of the world. The nearest approach to parallel conditions, and that on a far smaller and narrower scale, is found in the British colonies and in the newly settled parts of Siberia. For while in nearly every other part of the world the population of to-day is more or less completely descended from the prehistoric population of the same region, and has developed its social order in a slow growth extending over many centuries, the American population is essentially a transplanted population, a still fluid and imperfect fusion of great fragments torn at this point or that from the gradually evolved societies of Europe. The European social systems grow and flower upon their roots, on soil which has made them and to which they are adapted.

The Mixed Races of America

The American social accumulation is a various collection of cuttings thrust into a new soil and respiring a new air, so different that the question is still open to doubt, and, indeed, there are those who do doubt, how far these cuttings are actually striking root and living and growing; whether, indeed, they are destined to more than a temporary life in the new hemisphere. We propose to discuss and weigh certain arguments for and against the belief that these 92,000,000 people who constitute the United States of America are destined to develop into a great distinctive nation with a character and culture of its own. Humanly speaking, the United States of America—and the same is true of Canada and all the more prosperous, populous and progressive regions of South America—is a vast sea of newly-arrived and unstably-rooted people.

Of the 92,000,000 inhabitants recorded by the 1910 census, 13,500 000 were born and brought up in one or other of the European social systems, and the parents of another 26,000,000 were foreigners. Another 11,000,000 are of African negro descent; 14,000,000 of the 81,000,000 native born are living not in the state of their birth, but in other states to which they have migrated. Of the 30,500,000 whites whose parents on both sides were native Americans, a high proportion probably had one, if not more, grandparents foreign born. Nearly 5,500,000 out of 33,500,000 whites in 1870 were foreign born, and another 5,250,000 the children of foreign-born parents. The children of the latter 5,250,000 count, of course, in the 1900 census as native born of native parents. Immigration, naturally enough, varies enormously with the activity of business, but in 1905 it rose for the first time on record above a million.

These figures may be difficult to grasp. The facts may be seen in a more concrete form by the visitor to Ellis Island, the receiving station for the immigrants into New York harbour. One goes to this place by tugs from the United States barge office in Battery Park, and in order to see the thing properly one needs a letter of introduction to the commissioner in charge. Then one is taken through vast barracks littered with people of every European race to a central hall in which the gist of the examining goes on. The floor

At the Receiving Station

of this hall is divided up into a sort of maze of winding passages between lattice work, and along these passages, day after day incessantly, the immigrants go—wild-eyed gypsies, Armenians, Greeks, Italians, Ruthenians, Cossacks, German peasants, Scandinavians, a few Irish still, impoverished English, occasional Dutch. They halt for a moment at little desks to exhibit papers, at other little desks to show their money and prove they are not paupers, to have their eyes scanned by this doctor and their general bearing by that. Their thumb-marks are taken, names and heights and weights and so forth are recorded for the card index, and so slowly they pass along towards America, and at last reach a little wicket—the gate of the New World.

The Steady Stream of Immigration

Through this metal wicket drips the immigration stream; all day long, every two or three seconds, an immigrant with a valise or a bundle passes the little desk and goes on past the well-managed money-changing place, past the carefully organised separating ways that go to this railway or that, past the guiding, protecting officials into a new world. The great majority are young men and young women between seventeen and thirty—good, youthful, hopeful peasant stock. They stand in a long string, waiting to go through that wicket, with bundles, with little tin boxes, with cheap portmanteaux, with odd packages, in pairs, in families, alone, women with children, men with strings of dependents, young couples. All day that string of human beads waits there, jerks forward, waits again; all day and every day, constantly replenished, constantly dropping the end beads through the wicket, till the units mount to hundreds and the hundreds to thousands.

In such a prosperous year as 1906 more immigrants passed through that wicket into America than children were born in the whole of France. This figure of a perpetual stream of new stranger citizens will serve to mark the primary distinction between the American social problem and that of any European or Asiatic community. The vast bulk of the population of the United States has, in fact, only got there from Europe in the course of the last hundred years, and mainly since the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain. This is the first fact that the student of the American social future must realise. Only an extremely small proportion of its blood goes back now to those who fought for freedom in the days of George Washington. The American community is not an expanded colonial society that has become autonomous. It is a great and deepening pool of population accumulating upon the area their predecessors freed, and since fed copiously by affluents from every European community. Fresh ingredients are still being added in enormous quantity, in quantity so great as to materially change the racial quality in a score of years. It is particularly noteworthy that each accession of new blood seems to sterilise its predecessors.

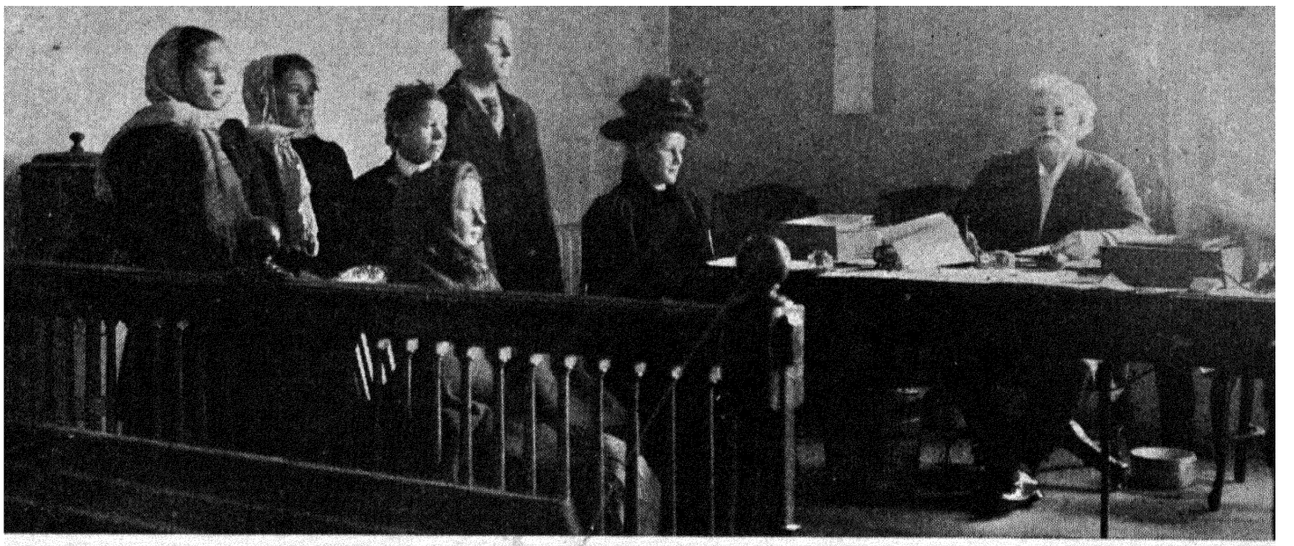
Europe the Feeding-place of America

Had there been no immigration at all into the United States, but had the rate of increase that prevailed in 1810–1820 prevailed to 1900, the population, which would then have been a purely native American one, would have amounted to 100,000,000; that is to say, to more than 11,000,000 in excess of the total population in 1914. The new waves are for a time amazingly fecund, and then comes a rapid fall in the birth-rate. The proportion of colonial and early republican blood in the population is therefore probably considerably smaller even than the figures I have quoted would suggest. These accesses of new population have come in a series of waves, very much as if successive reservoirs of surplus population in the Old World had been tapped, drained and exhausted. First came the Irish and Germans, then Central Europeans of various types; then Poland and Western Russia began to pour out their teeming peoples, and more particularly their Jews; Bohemia, the Slavonic states, Italy, and Hungary followed, and the latest arrivals include great numbers of Levantines, Armenians, and other peoples from Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. The Hungarian immigrants have still a birth-rate of forty-six per 1,000, the highest birth-rate in the world.

Old World's Surplus Population

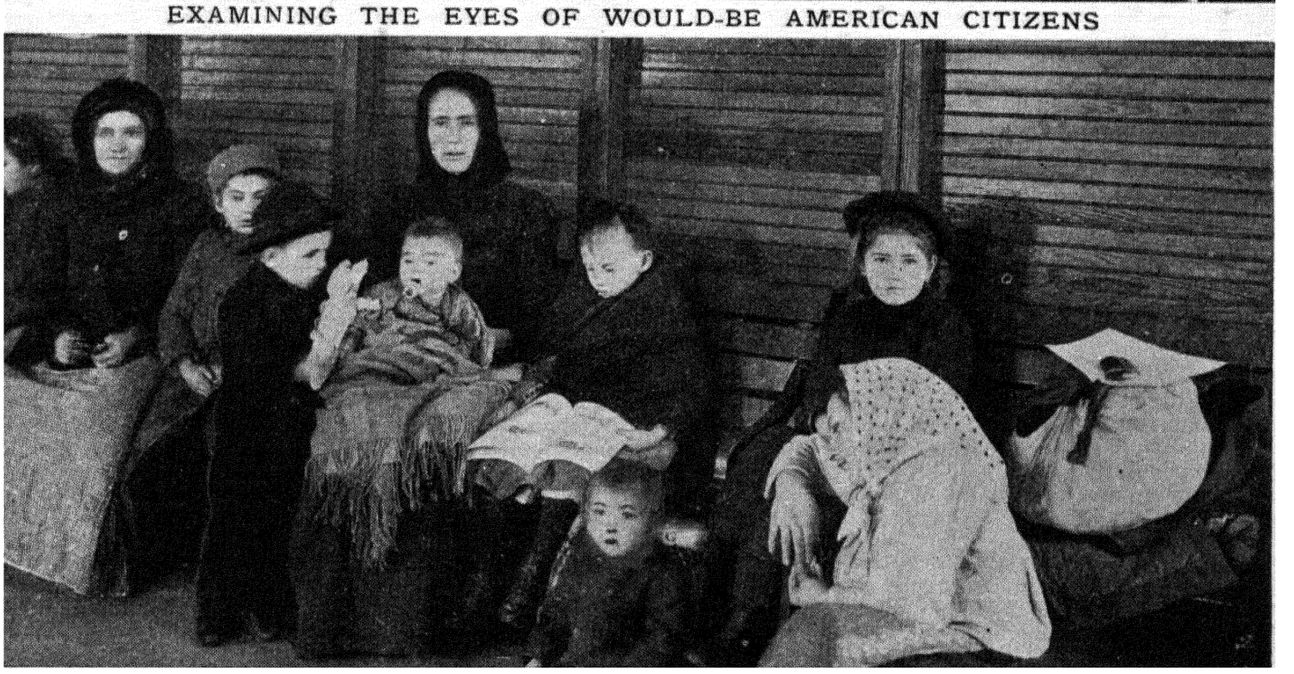
A considerable proportion of the Mediterranean arrivals, it has to be noted, and more especially the Italians, do not come to settle. They work for a season or a few years, and then return to Italy. The rest come to stay.

A vast proportion of these accessions to the American population since 1840 has, with the exception of the East European



IMMIGRANTS SHOWING THEIR CREDENTIALS

EXAMINING THE EYES OF WOULD-BE AMERICAN CITIZENS



WAITING THEIR TURN: A TYPICAL BATCH OF ALIEN IMMIGRANTS

AT THE GATE OF THE NEW WORLD: AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

Immediately upon arrival in New York harbour aliens are taken direct to the United States Immigration Offices in Ellis Island, where they undergo a rigid examination before being permitted to pass through the gates into the New World. Thumb-marks are taken and, with names, heights and weights, are recorded for the immigration index.

Jews, consisted of peasantry, mainly or totally illiterate, accustomed to a low standard of life and heavy bodily toil. For most of them the transfer to a new country meant severance from the religious communion in which they had been bred and from the servilities or subordinations to which they were accustomed.

A Pool of Mixed Humanity

They brought little or no positive social tradition to the synthesis to which they brought their blood and muscle. The earlier German, English and Scandinavian incomers were drawn from a somewhat higher social level, and were much more closely akin in habits and faith to the earlier founders of the republic. Our inquiry is this: What social structure is this pool of mixed humanity developing or likely to develop?

If we compare any European nation with the American we perceive at once certain broad differences. The former, in comparison with the latter, is evolved and organised; the latter, in comparison with the former, is aggregated and chaotic. In nearly every European country there is a social system, often quite elaborately classed and defined; each class with a sense of function, with an idea of what is due to it and what is expected of it.

Nearly everywhere you find a governing class, aristocratic in spirit, sometimes no doubt highly modified by recent economic and industrial changes, with more or less of the tradition of a feudal nobility; then a definite great mercantile class; then a large, self-respecting middle class of professional men—minor merchants and so forth; then a new industrial class of employees in the manufacturing and urban districts, and a peasant population rooted to the land. There are, of course, many local modifications of this form. In France the nobility is mostly expropriated; in England, since the days of John Ball, the peasant has lost his common rights and his holding, and become an "agricultural labourer" to a newer class of more extensive farmer. But these are differences in detail; the fact of the organisation, and the still more important fact of the traditional feeling of organisation, remain true of all these older communities.

Degrees of Social Orders

And in nearly every European country, though it may be somewhat despoiled here and shorn of exclusive predominance there, or represented by a dislocated "reformed" member, is the Church; custodian of a great moral tradition, closely associated with the national universities and the organisation of national thought. The typical European town has its castle or great house, its cathedral or church, its middle class and lower class quarters. Five miles off one can see that the American town is on an entirely different plan. In his remarkable "American Scene" Mr. Henry James calls attention to the fact that the Church as one sees it and feels it universally in Europe is altogether absent, and he adds a comment as suggestive as it is vague. Speaking of the appearance of the churches, so far as they do appear amidst American urban scenery, he says:

> Looking for the most part no more established or seated than a stopped omnibus, they are reduced to the inveterate bourgeois level—that of private, accommodated pretensions merely—and fatally despoiled of the fine old ecclesiastical arrogance. . . .
>
> The field of American life is as bare of the Church as a billiard-table of a centre-piece; a truth that the myriad little structures "attended" on Sundays and on the "off" evenings of their "sociables" proclaim as with the audible sound of the roaring of a million mice. . . . And, however one indicates one's impression of the clearance, the clearance itself, in its completeness, with the innumerable odd connected circumstances that bring it home, represents, in the history of manners and morals, a deviation in the mere measurement of which hereafter may well reside a certain critical thrill. I say hereafter because it is a question of one of those many measurements that would as yet, in the United States, be premature. Of all the solemn conclusions one feels as "barred," the list is quite headed in the states, I think, by this particular abeyance of judgment. When an ancient treasure of precious vessels, over-scored with glowing gems and wrought artistically into wondrous shapes, has, by a prodigious process, been converted, through a vast community, into the small change, the simple circulating medium of dollars and "nickels," we can only say that the consequent permeation will be of values of a new order. Of *what* order we must wait to see.

No Church in America

America has no Church. Neither has it a peasantry nor an aristocracy; and until well on in the Victorian epoch it had no disproportionately rich people.

In America, except in the regions where the negro abounds, there is no lower stratum. There is no "soil people" to this community at all; your bottomest man is a mobile freeman who can read, and who has no ideas above digging and pigs and poultry-keeping, except incidentally for his own ends. No one owns to subordination. As a consequence, any position

REFUGEES FROM LIBAU SEEKING FREEDOM IN AMERICA

IMMIGRANTS WITH THEIR COMPLETE BELONGINGS AFTER PASSING THE AUTHORITIES

EUROPE'S DREGS ENTERING THE NEW WORLD

It is estimated that over a million foreigners seek admission into the United States every year. They represent all the races under the sun, coming mostly from China, Japan and Russia. Only those who are fit to battle with life, who have a clean record, and who are not paupers, are allowed to land; the rest—thieves, anarchists, imbeciles, and persons suffering from disease, so far as can be ascertained, are sent back to their own countries in the steamships that brought them over. Of this group of undesirables between 6,000 and 12,000 are excluded within the course of a twelvemonth.

which involves the acknowledgment of an innate inferiority is difficult to fill; there is, from the European point of view, an extraordinary dearth of servants, and this endures in spite of a great peasant immigration. The servile tradition will not root here now; it dies forthwith. An enormous importation of European serfs and peasants goes on; but as they touch this soil their backs immediately begin to stiffen with a new assertion. And at the other end of the scale, also, one misses an element. There is no territorial aristocracy, no aristocracy at all, no throne, no legitimate and acknowledged representative of that upper social structure of leisure, power and state responsibility which in the old European theory of society was supposed to give significance to the whole. The American community, one cannot too clearly insist, does not correspond to an entire European community at all, but only to the middle masses of it, to the trading and manufacturing class between the dimensions of the magnate and the clerk and skilled artisan. It is the central part of the European organism without either the dreaming head or the subjugated feet.

A Country Without an Aristocracy

Even the highly feudal slave-holding "county family" traditions of Virginia and the south pass now out of memory. So that in a very real sense the past of the American nation is in Europe, and the settled order of the past is left behind there. This community was, as it were, taken off its roots, clipped of its branches, and brought hither. It began neither serf nor lord, but burgher and farmer; it followed the normal development of the middle class under progress everywhere, and became capitalistic. The later immigration has converged upon the great industrial centres, and added merely a vast non-servile element of employees to the scheme. America has been, and still very largely is, a one-class country. It is a great sea of human beings detached from their traditions of origin. The social difference from Europe appears everywhere, and nowhere more strikingly than in the railway carriages. In England the compartments in these are either "first class," originally designed for the aristocracy; or "second class," for the middle class; or "third class," for the populace. In America there is only one class, one universal simple democratic car. In the Southern states, however, a proportion of these simple democratic cars are inscribed with the word "White," whereby 10,000,000 people are excluded. But to this original even-handed treatment there was speedily added a more sumptuous type of car, the parlour car, accessible to extra dollars; and then came special types of train, all made up of parlour cars and observation cars, and the like. In England nearly every train remains still first, second and third, or first and third. And now, quite outdistancing the differentiation of England, America produces private cars and private trains, such as Europe reserves only for crowned heads.

The Seat of Triumphant Democracy

The evidence of the American railways, then, suggests very strongly what a hundred other signs confirm, that the huge classless sea of American population is not destined to remain classless, is already developing separations and distinctions, and structures of its own. Monstrous architectural portents in Boston and Salt Lake City encourage one to suppose that even the churchless aspect, which so stirred the speculative element in Mr. Henry James, is only the opening, formless phase of a community destined to produce not only classes, but intellectual and moral forms of the most wonderful and remarkable kind.

America's Vast Area of Land

It is well to note how these 98,000,000 of people whose social future we are discussing are distributed. This huge development of human appliances and resources is here going on in a community that is still, for all the dense crowds of New York, the teeming congestion of East Side, extraordinarily scattered. America, one recalls, is still an unoccupied country, across which the latest developments of civilisation are rushing. We are dealing here with a continuous area of land, which is, leaving Alaska out of account altogether, equal to Great Britain, France, the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Holland, Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Norway, Turkey in Europe, Egypt, and the whole Empire of India; and the population spread out over this vast space is still less than the joint population of the first two countries named, and not a quarter that of India. Moreover, it is not spread at all evenly. Much of it is in undistributed clots. Neither is

it upon the soil; barely half of it is in holdings and homes and authentic communities. It is a population of an extremely modern type. Urban concentration has already gone far with it; 10,000,000 of it are crowded into and about four great cities; other 13,500,000 make up fifty-six towns. Between these centres of population run railways indeed, telegraph wires, telephone connections, tracks of various sorts; but to the European eye these are mere scratchings on a virgin surface. An empty wilderness manifests itself through this thin network of human conveniences, appears in the meshes even at the railroad side.

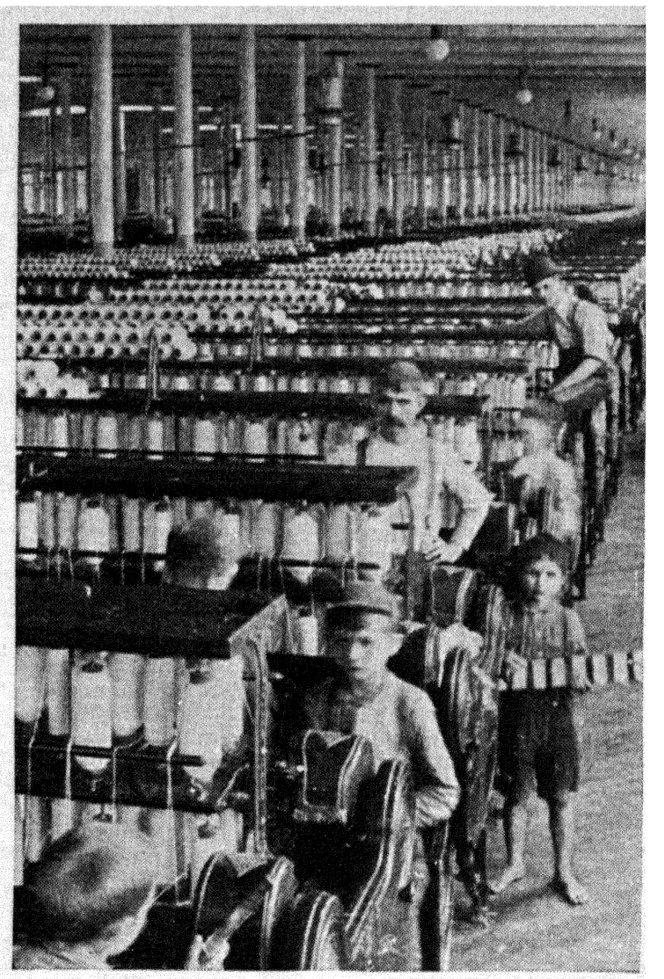
Essentially, America is still an unsettled land, with only a few incidental good roads in favoured places, with no universal police, with no wayside inns where a civilised man may rest, with still only the crudest of rural postal deliveries, with long stretches of swamp and forest and desert by the track side, still unassailed by industry. This much one sees clearly enough eastward of Chicago. Westward it becomes more and more the fact. In Idaho, at last, comes the untouched and perhaps invincible desert, plain and continuous through the long hours of travel. Huge areas do not contain one human being to the square mile, still vaster portions fall short of two.

It is upon Pennsylvania and New York state and the belt of great towns that stretch out past Chicago to Milwaukee and Madison that the nation centres and seems destined to centre. One needs but examine a tinted population map to realise that. The other concentrations are provincial and subordinate; they have the same relation to the main axis that Glasgow or Cardiff has to London in the British scheme.

NEW YORK'S GHETTO: AN EVERY-DAY SCENE IN THE JEWISH COLONY

One of the most notable features in the social life of the United States is the yearly increase of the Jewish population, which, since 1840, when it numbered only 50,000 souls, has reached 1,200,000. Of these it is estimated that no fewer than 500,000 have made their homes in New York State, a large proportion living in the city itself. Mostly refugees from Poland and desperately poverty-stricken, they follow almost every industrial pursuit, frequently at sweating wages and under most unfavourable conditions. The above picture shows a typical every-day scene in the Jewish colony, New York City, where the frugal housewife does her marketing.

MILL SURROUNDED BY GROWING COTTON



IN A GREAT COTTON-SPINNING ROOM

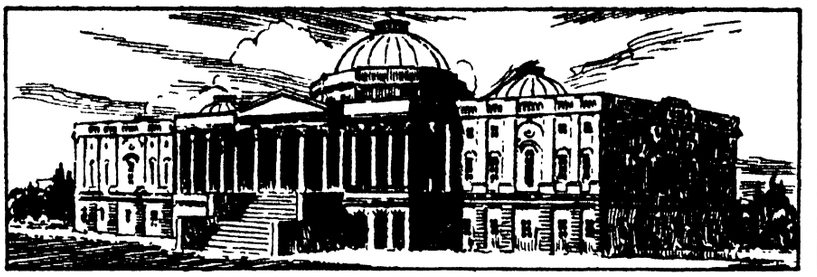
"DOG BOYS" EMPLOYED IN THE FACTORIES

GIRLS WHO RUN SPINNING-FRAMES

Photos: H. C. White

CHILD LABOUR IN THE UNITED STATES: SCENES OF FACTORY LIFE

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL FUTURE



IN THE UNITED STATES II BY H. G. WELLS

THE AMERICAN TRADITION

A STUDY OF NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

WHEN I speak of this vast multitude, these 92,000,000 souls of the United States of America, as being for the most part peasants de-peasantised and common people cut off from their own social traditions I do not intend to convey that the American community is, as a whole, traditionless. There is in America a very distinctive tradition indeed, which not only animates the entire nation, but gives a unique idiom to its Press and all its public utterances, and is manifestly the starting point from which the adjustments of the future must be made.

The mere sight of the stars and stripes serves to recall it; "Yankee" in the mouth of a European gives something of its quality. One thinks at once of a careless abandonment of any pretension, of tireless energy and daring enterprise, of immense self-reliance, of a disrespect for the past so complete that a mummy is in itself a comical object, and the blowing out of an ill-guarded sacred flame a delightful jest. One thinks of the enterprise of the skyscraper and the humour of "A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur," and of "Innocents Abroad." Its dominant notes are democracy, freedom and confidence. It is religious-spirited without superstition, consciously Christian in the vein of a nearly Unitarian Christianity, fervent but broadened—broadened as a halfpenny is broadened by being run over by an express train—substantially the same, that is to say, but with a marked loss of outline and detail.

Democracy Freedom and Confidence

It is a tradition of romantic concession to good and inoffensive women and a high development of that personal morality which puts sexual continence and alcoholic temperance before any public virtue. It is equally a tradition of sporadic emotional public-spiritedness, entirely of the quality of gallantry, of handsome and surprising gifts to the people, disinterested occupation of office and the like. It is emotionally patriotic, hypothetising fighting and dying for one's country as a supreme good, while inculcating also that working and living for oneself is quite within the sphere of virtuous action. It adores the flag, but suspects the state. One sees more national flags and fewer national servants in America than in any country in the world. Its conception of manners is one of free plain-spoken men revering women and shielding them from most of the realities of life, scornful of aristocracies and monarchies, while asserting simply, directly, boldly and frequently, an equal claim to consideration with all other men. If there is any traditional national costume at all it is shirt-sleeves. And it cherishes the glorious rights of property above any other right whatsoever.

The Only National Costume

Such are the details that come clustering into one's mind in response to the phrase, the American tradition.

From the War of Independence onward until our own times, that tradition, that very definite ideal, has kept pretty steadily the same. It is the image of a man and not the image of a state. Its living spirit has been the spirit of freedom at any cost, unconditional and irresponsible. It is the spirit of men who have thrown off a yoke, who are jealously resolved to be unhampered masters of their "own," to whom nothing else is of anything but secondary importance. That was the spirit of the English small gentry and mercantile class, the comfortable property owners, the parliamentarians, in Stuart times. Indeed, even earlier, it is very largely the spirit of More's Utopia. It was the spirit that sent Oliver Cromwell himself packing for America, though a heedless and ill-advised and unforeseeing king would not let him go. It was the spirit that made taxation for public purposes the supreme wrong and provoked each country,

The Living Spirit of Liberty

first the Mother Country and then in its turn the daughter country, to armed rebellion. It has been the spirit of the British Whig and the British Nonconformist almost up to the present day. In the Reform Club of London, framed and glazed over against Magna Charta, is the American Declaration of Independence; kindred trophies they are of the same essentially English spirit of stubborn insubordination. But the American side of it has gone on unchecked by the complementary aspect of the English character which British Toryism expresses.

The Thirst for Freedom at any Cost

The War of Independence raised that Whig suspicion of and hostility to government, and the freedom of private property and the repudiation of any but voluntary emotional and supererogatory co-operation in the national purpose, to the level of a religion; and the American Constitution, with but one element of elasticity in the Supreme Court decisions, established these principles impregnably in the political structure. It organised disorganisation. Personal freedom, defiance of authority, and the stars and stripes have always gone together in men's minds; and subsequent waves of immigration—the Irish fleeing famine, for which they held the English responsible, and the Eastern European Jews escaping relentless persecutions—brought a persuasion of immense public wrongs as a necessary concomitant of systematic government, to refresh without changing this defiant thirst for freedom at any cost whatsoever.

In my book, "The Future in America," I have tried to make an estimate of the working quality of this American tradition of unconditional freedom for the adult male citizen. I have shown that from the point of view of anyone who regards civilisation as an organisation of human interdependence and believes that the stability of society can be secured only by a conscious and disciplined co-ordination of effort, it is a tradition extraordinarily and dangerously deficient in what I have called a "sense of the state." And by a sense of the state I mean not merely a vague and sentimental show of public-spiritedness—of that the states have enough and to spare—but a real sustaining conception of the collective interest embodied in the state as an object of simple duty and as a determining factor in the life of each individual. It involves a sense of function and a sense of "place," a sense of a general responsibility and of a general well-being overriding the individual's well-being, which are exactly the senses the American tradition attacks and destroys.

Weaknesses of the National Tradition

For the better part of a century the American tradition, quite as much by reason of what it disregards as of what it suggests, has meant a great release of human energy, a vigorous, if rough and untidy, exploitation of the vast resources that the European invention of railways and telegraphic communication put within reach of the American people. It has stimulated men to a greater individual activity, perhaps, than the world has ever seen before. Men have been wasted by misdirection, no doubt, but there has been less waste by inaction and lassitude than was the case in any previous society.

Great bulks of things and great quantities of things have been produced, huge areas brought under cultivation, vast cities reared in the wilderness. But this tradition has failed to produce the beginnings or promise of any new phase of civilised organisation; the growths have remained largely invertebrate and chaotic, and concurrently with its gift of splendid and monstrous growth it has also developed portentous political and economic evils. No doubt the increment of human energy has been considerable, but it has been much less than appears at first sight. Much of the human energy that America has displayed in the last century is not a development of new energy, but a diversion. It has been accompanied by a fall in the birth-rate that even the immigration torrent has not altogether replaced. Its insistence upon the individual, its disregard of the collective organisation, its treatment of women and children as each man's private concern, has had its natural outcome.

The Selfish Policy of Individualism

Men's imaginations have been turned entirely upon individual and immediate successes, and upon concrete triumphs; they have had no regard, or only an ineffectual sentimental regard, for the race. Every man was looking after himself, and there was no one to look after the future. Had the promise of 1815 been fulfilled, there would now be in the United States of America 100,000,000 descendants of the homogeneous and free-spirited native

population of that time. There are not, as a matter of fact, more than 35,000,000. There are probably, as I have pointed out, much less. Against the assets of cities, railways, mines, and industrial wealth won, the American tradition has to set the price of 75,000,000 native citizens who have never found time to be born, and whose place is now more or less filled by alien substitutes. Biologically speaking, this is not a triumph for the American tradition. It is, however, very clearly an outcome of the intense individualism of that tradition. Under the sway of that it has burnt its future in the furnace to keep up steam.

The next and necessary evil consequent upon this exaltation of the individual and private property over the state—over the race, that is, and over public property—has been a contempt for public service. It has identified public spirit with spasmodic acts of public beneficence. The American political ideal became a Cincinnatus whom nobody sent for, and who therefore never left his plough. There has ensued a corrupt and undignified political life, speaking clap-trap, dark with violence, illiterate and void of statesmanship or science, forbidding any healthy social development through public organisation at home, and, every year that the increasing facilities of communication draw the alien nations closer, deepening the risks of needless and disastrous wars abroad.

Corruption in American Politics

And, in the third place, it is to be remarked that the American tradition has defeated its dearest aims of a universal freedom and practical equality. The economic process of the last half century, so far as America is concerned, has completely justified the generalisations of Marx. There has been a steady concentration of wealth and of the reality, as distinguished from the forms, of power, in the hands of a small energetic minority, and a steady approximation of the condition of the mass of the citizens to that of the so-called proletariat of the European communities. The tradition of individual freedom and equality is, in fact, in process of destroying the realities of freedom and equality out of which it rose.

Instead of the 600,000 families of 1790, all at about the same level of property and, excepting the peculiar condition of 700,000 blacks, with scarcely anyone in the position of a hireling, we have now as the most striking though by no means the most important fact in American social life, a frothy confusion of millionaires' families, just as wasteful, foolish and vicious as irresponsible human beings with unlimited resources have always shown themselves to be. And concurrently with the appearance of these concentrations of great wealth we have appearing also poverty—poverty of a degree that was quite unknown in the United States for the first century of their career as an independent nation. In the last few decades slums as frightful as any in Europe have appeared with terrible rapidity, and there has been a development of the viler side of industrialism, of sweating, and base employment of the most ominous kind.

Poverty and Slums on the Increase

In Mr. Robert Hunter's "Poverty" one reads of "not less than 80,000 children, most of whom are little girls, at present employed in the textile mills of this country. In the south there are now six times as many children at work as there were twenty years ago. Child labour is increasing yearly in that section of the country. Each year more little ones are brought in from the fields and hills to live in the degrading and demoralising atmosphere of the mill towns . . ."

Children are deliberately imported by the Italians. I gathered from Commissioner Watchorn at Ellis Island that the proportion of little nephews and nieces, friends' sons and so forth, brought in by them is peculiarly high, and I heard him try and condemn a doubtful case. It was a particularly unattractive Italian in charge of a dull-eyed, emaciated little boy of no ascertainable relationship.

In the worst days of cotton-milling in England the conditions were hardly worse than those now existing in the south. Children, the tiniest and frailest, of five and six years of age, rise in the morning and, like old men and women, go to the mills to do their day's labour; and, when they return home, "wearily fling themselves on their beds, too tired to take off their clothes." Many children work all night, "in the maddening racket of the machinery, in an atmosphere insanitary and clouded with humidity and lint.

Child Slaves in the South

"It will be long," adds Mr. Hunter, in his description, "before I forget the face of a little boy of six years, with his hands stretched forward to rearrange a bit of

THE OLD-TIME NEGRO AND HIS ILL-BUILT PLANK HUT

THE NEGRO OF THE OLD TYPE AND HIS PICCANINNIES

THE CHILDREN OF A PROSPEROUS NEGRO OF TO DAY

HOUSE OF A WELL-TO-DO NEGRO IN A SOUTHERN CITY

THE OLD AND THE NEW: THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

In 1790 the coloured population numbered less than 700,000. At the present time there are more than 10,000,000 negroes in the States. Since the dark days of slavery the black man's status has also improved. The old nigger and his plank hut are things of the past; to-day he takes active interest in the administration of the republic, and has his own colleges and churches.

machinery, his pallid face and spare form already showing the physical effects of labour. This child, six years of age, was working twelve hours a day."

From Mr. Spargo's "Bitter Cry of the Children" I learn this much of the joys of certain among the youth of Pennsylvania: "For ten or eleven hours a day children of ten or eleven stoop over the chute and pick out the slate and other impurities from the coal as it moves past them. The air is black with coal-dust, and the roar of the crushers, screens and rushing mill-race of coal is deafening. Sometimes one of the children falls into the machinery and is terribly mangled, or slips into the chute and is smothered to death. Many children are killed in this way. Many others, after a time, contract coal-miners' asthma and consumption, which gradually undermine their health. Breathing continually day after day the clouds of coal-dust, their lungs gradually become black and choked with small particles of anthracite . . ."

The Hard Lot of the Children

In Massachusetts, at Fall River, the Hon. J. F. Carey tells how little naked boys, free Americans, work for a well-known New York millionaire, packing cloth into bleaching vats, in a bath of chemicals that bleaches their little bodies like the bodies of lepers.

Altogether it would seem that at least 1,500,000 children are growing up in the United States of America stunted and practically uneducated because of unregulated industrialism. These children, ill-fed, ill-trained, mentally benighted, since they are alive and active, since they are an active and positive and not a negative evil, are even more ominous in the American outlook than those five and sixty million of good race and sound upbringing who will now never be born. It must be repeated that the American tradition is really the tradition of one particular ingredient in this great admixture and stirring up of peoples. This ingredient is the colonial British, whose seventeenth century Puritanism and eighteenth century mercantile radicalism and rationalism manifestly furnished all the stuff out of which the American tradition is made.

Source of the American Tradition

It is this stuff planted in virgin soil, and inflated to an immense and buoyant optimism by colossal and unanticipated material prosperity and success. From that British middle-class tradition comes the individualist Protestant spirit, the keen self-reliance and personal responsibility, the irresponsible expenditure, the indiscipline and mystical faith in things being managed properly if they are only let alone. "State-blindness" is the natural and almost inevitable quality of a middle-class tradition, a class that has been forced neither to rule nor obey, which has been concentrated and successfully concentrated on private gain.

The middle-class British section of the American population was, and is to this day, the only really articulate ingredient in its mental composition. And so it has had a monopoly in providing the American forms of thought. The other sections of people that have been annexed by, or have come into, this national synthesis are silent so far as any contribution to the national stock of ideas and ideals is concerned. There are, for example, those great elements, the Spanish Catholics, the French Catholic population of Louisiana, the Irish Catholics, the French Canadians —who are now ousting the sterile New Englander from New England —the Germans, the Italians, the Hungarians. Comparatively, they say nothing. From all the ten million of coloured people come just two or three platform voices, Booker Washington, Dubois, Mrs. Church Terrell, mere protests at specific wrongs.

American German and His Beer

The clever restless Eastern European Jews, too, have still to find a voice. Professor Münsterberg has written with a certain bitterness of the inaudibility of the German element in the American population. They allow themselves, he remonstrates, to count for nothing. They did not seem to exist, he points out, even in politics until prohibitionist fury threatened their beer. Then, indeed, the American German emerged from silence and obscurity, but only to rescue his mug and retire again with it into enigmatical silences.

If there is any exception to this predominance of the tradition of the English-speaking, originally middle-class, English-thinking Northerner in the American mind, it is to be found in the spread of social democracy outward from the festering tenement houses of Chicago into the mining and agrarian regions of the middle west. It is a fierce form of Socialist teaching that spreads throughout these regions, far more closely akin to the revolutionary Socialism

of the continent of Europe than to the constructive and evolutionary Socialism of Great Britain. Its typical organ is "The Appeal to Reason," which circulates more than a quarter of a million copies weekly from Kansas City. It is a Socialism reeking with class feeling and class hatred, and altogether anarchistic in spirit; a new and highly indigestible contribution to the American moral and intellectual synthesis. It is remarkable chiefly as the one shrill exception in a world of plastic acceptance.

Now, it is possible to believe that this vast silence of these imported and ingested factors that the American nation has taken to itself is as acquiescent as it seems. No doubt they are largely taking over the traditional forms of American thought and expression quietly and without protest, and wearing them; but they will wear them as a man wears a misfit, shaping and adapting it every day more and more to his natural form, here straining a seam and there taking in a looseness.

A force of modification must be at work. It must be at work in spite of the fact that, with the exception of social democracy, it does not anywhere show as a protest or a fresh beginning or a challenge to the prevailing forms. How far it has actually been at work is perhaps to be judged best by an observant stroller, surveying the crowds of a Sunday evening in New York, or read in the sheets of such a mirror of popular taste as the Sunday edition of the "New York American" or the "New York Herald." In the former just what I mean by the silent modification of the old tradition is quite typically shown. Its leading articles are written by Mr. Arthur Brisbane, the son of one of the Brook Farm Utopians, that gathering in which Hawthorne and Henry James senior and Margaret Fuller participated, and in which the whole brilliant world of Boston past, the world of Emerson, Longfellow, Thoreau, was interested. Mr. Brisbane is a very distinguished man, quite over and above the fact that he is paid the greatest salary of any journalist in the world.

A Great Living Force for Righteousness

He writes with a wit and directness that no other living man can rival, and he holds up constantly what is substantially the American ideal of the past century to readers who evidently need strengthening in it. It is, of course, the figure of a man and not of a state; it is a man, clean, clean-shaven, and almost obtrusively strong-jawed, honest, muscular, alert, pushful, chivalrous, self-reliant, non-political, except when he breaks into shrewd and penetrating voting—"you can fool all the people some of the time," etc., and independent—independent—in a world which is therefore certain to give way to him. His doubts, his questionings, his aspirations are dealt with by Mr. Brisbane with a simple direct fatherliness, with all the beneficent persuasiveness of a revivalist preacher. Millions read these leaders and feel a momentary benefit, en route for the more actual portions of the paper. He asks: "Why are all men gamblers?" He discusses our longing for Immortal Imperfection, and "Did we once live on the moon?"

Leaders that are Read by Millions

He recommends the substitution of whisky and soda for neat whisky, drawing an illustration from the comparative effect of the diluted and of the undiluted liquid as an eye-wash (Try whisky on your friend's eyeball, is the heading), sleep; (The man who loses sleep will make a failure of his life, or at least diminish greatly his chances of success), and the education of the feminine intelligence (The cow that kicks her weaned calf is all heart). He makes identically the same confident appeal to the moral motive which was for so long the salvation of the Puritan Individualism from which the American tradition derives. "That hand," he writes, "which supports the head of the new-born baby, the mother's hand, supports the civilisation of the world."

But that sort of thing is not saving the old native strain in the population. It moves people, no doubt, but inadequately. And here is a passage that is quite the quintessence of Americanism, of all its deep moral feeling and sentimental untruthfulness. I wonder if any man but an American or a British Nonconformist in a state of rhetorical abandonment ever believed that Shakespeare wrote his plays or Michael Angelo painted in a mood of humanitarian exaltation, "for the good of other men"?

What is the Purpose of Life?

> What *shall* we strive for? *Money?*
> Get a thousand millions. Your day will come, and in due course the graveyard rat will gnaw as calmly at your bump of acquisitiveness as at the mean coat of the pauper.
> Then shall we strive for *power?*
> The names of the first great kings of the world are forgotten, and the names of all those whose

NEGRO HOME-LIFE IN THE OLD PLANTATION DAYS

THE TYPICAL HOME OF A MODERN WELL-TO-DO NEGRO

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Few people imagined, probably least of all the small band of Virginian colonists who bargained for the first batch of negroes from a Dutch man-of-war in 1619, that the coloured man was to become such a factor in the social life of America. The picture on the top of this page shows him in the old days, shortly after his emancipation, when he toiled and struggled on the land; the second as he is to-day, not the laughing negro of plantation lore, but the American citizen who takes the business of life in grim earnest, and who enters into open competition with his white brothers.

power we envy will drift to forgetfulness soon. What does the most powerful man in the world amount to standing at the brink of Niagara, with his solar plexus trembling? What is his power compared with the force of the wind or the energy of one small wave sweeping along the shore?

The power which man can build up within himself, for himself, is nothing. Only the dull reasoning of gratified egotism can make it seem worth while. Then what is worth while? Let us look at some of the men who have come and gone, and whose lives inspire us. Take a few at random: Columbus, Michael Angelo, Wilberforce, Shakespeare, Galileo, Fulton, Watt, Hargreaves—these will do.

Working for the Good of Others

Let us ask ourselves this question: "Was there any *one thing* that distinguished *all* their lives, that united all these men, active in fields so different?"

Yes. Every man among them, and every man whose life-history is worth the telling, did something for *the good of other men*. . . .

Get money if you can. Get power if you can. Then, if you want to be more than the ten thousand million unknown mingled in the dust beneath you, see what good you can do with your money and your power.

If you are one of the many millions who have not, and can't get, money or power, see what good you can do without either.

You can help carry a load for an old man. You can encourage and help a poor devil trying to reform. You can set a good example to children. You can stick to the men with whom you work, fighting honestly for their welfare.

Time was when the ablest man would rather kill ten men than feed a thousand children. That time has gone. We do not care much about feeding the children, but we care less about killing the men. To that extent we have improved already.

The day will come when we shall prefer helping our neighbour to robbing him—legally—of a million dollars.

Do what good you can *now*, while it is unusual, and have the satisfaction of being a pioneer and an eccentric.

It is the voice of the American tradition strained to the utmost to make itself audible to the New World, and cracking into italics and breaking into capitals with the strain. The rest of that enormous bale of paper is eloquent of a public void of moral ambitions, lost to any sense of comprehensive things, deaf to ideas, impervious to generalisations, a public which has carried the conception of freedom to its logical extreme of entire individual detachment. These tell-tale columns deal all with personality and the drama of personal life. They witness to no interest but the interest in intense individual experiences. The engagements, the love affairs, the scandals of conspicuous people are given in pitiless detail in articles adorned with vigorous portraits and sensational pictorial comments. Even the eavesdroppers who write this stuff strike the personal note, and their heavily muscular portraits frown beside the initial letter.

A Public Void of Moral Ambitions

Murders and crimes are worked up to the keenest pitch of realisation, and any new indelicacy in fashionable costume, any new medical device, any new dance or athleticism, any new breach in the moral code, any novelty in sea bathing, or the woman's seat on horseback, or the like, is given copious and moving illustration, stirring headlines and eloquent reprobation. There is a coloured supplement of knockabout fun written chiefly in the quaint dialect of the New York slums. It is a language from which "th" has vanished, and it presents a world in which the kicking by a mule of an endless succession of victims is an inexhaustible joy to young and old. "Dat ole Maud!"

There is a smaller bale dealing with sport, and another with the political prospects of the purely personal independence party of Mr. Hearst. In the advertisement columns one finds nothing of books, nothing of art; but great choice of bust-developers, hair restorers, nervous tonics, clothing sales, self-contained flats, and business opportunities. Individuality has, in fact, got home to itself, and, as people say, taken off its frills. All but one; Mr. Arthur Brisbane's eloquence one may consider as the last stitch of the old costume. Excitement remains the residual object in life. The "New York American" represents a clientèle, a clientèle to be counted by the hundred thousand, manifestly with no other solicitudes, just burning to live and living to burn.

Excitement the Object of Life

The modifications of the American tradition that will occur through its adoption by these silent foreign ingredients in the racial synthesis are not likely to add to it or elaborate it in any particular way. They tend merely to simplify it to bare irresponsible non-moral individualism. It is with the detail and qualification of a tradition as with the inflexions of a language; when another people takes it over, the refinements entirely disappear. But there are, however, other forces of modification at work upon the American tradition of an altogether more hopeful kind. It has entered upon a constructive

phase. Were it not so, then the American social outlook would indeed be hopeless. The effectual modifying force at work is not the strangeness or the temperamental maladjustment of the new elements of population, but the conscious realisation of the inadequacy of this tradition on the part of the more intelligent sections of the American population. That blind national conceit that would hear no criticism and admit no deficiency has disappeared. In the last decade such a change has come over the American mind as sometimes comes over a vigorous and wilful child. Suddenly it seems to have grown up, to have begun to weigh its powers and consider its possible deficiencies.

There was a time when American confidence and self-satisfaction seemed impregnable; at the slightest qualm of doubt America took to violent rhetoric as a drunkard resorts to drink. Now, the indictment I have drawn up harshly, bluntly and unflatteringly would receive the endorsement of American after American. The falling birth-rate of all the best elements in the state, the cankering effect of political corruption, the crumbling of independence and quality before the progressive aggregation of wealth —he has to face them, he cannot deny them. There has arisen a new literature, the literature of national self-examination, that seems destined finally to modify the American tradition profoundly. To me it seems to involve the hope and possibility of a conscious collective organisation of social life.

A Great Epoch-Making Book

If ever there was an epoch-marking book it was surely Henry Demarest Lloyd's "Wealth against Commonwealth." It marks an epoch not so much by what it says as by what it silently abandons. It was published in 1894, and it stated in the very clearest terms the incompatibility of the almost limitless freedom of property set up by the constitution with the practical freedom and general happiness of the mass of men. It must be admitted that Lloyd never followed up the implications of this repudiation. He made his statements in the language of the tradition he assailed, and foreshadowed the replacement of chaos by order in quite chaotic and mystical appeals. Here, for instance, is a typical passage from "Man the Social Creator":

> Property is now a stumbling-block to the people, just as government has been. Property will not be abolished, but, like government, it will be democratised.
>
> The philosophy of self-interest as the social solution was a good living and working synthesis in the days when civilisation was advancing its frontiers twenty miles a day across the American continent, and every man for himself was the best social mobilisation possible.
>
> But to-day it is a belated ghost that has overstayed the cock-crow. These were frontier morals. But this same everyone for himself becomes most immoral when the frontier is abolished and the pioneer becomes the fellow-citizen, and these frontier morals are most uneconomic when labour can be divided and the product multiplied. Most uneconomic, for they make closure the rule of industry, leading not to wealth but to that awful waste of wealth which is made visible to every eye in our unemployed—not hands alone, but land, machinery, and, most of all, hearts. Those who still practise these frontier morals are like criminals who, according to the new science of penalogy, are simply reappearances of old types. Their acquisitiveness, once divine like Mercury's, is now out of place, except in gaol. Because out of place, they are a danger. A sorry day it is likely to be for those who are found in the way when the new people rise to rush into each other's arms, to get together, to stay together, and to live together. The labour movement halts because so many of its rank and file—and all its leaders—do not see clearly the golden thread of love on which have been strung together all the past glories of human association, and which is to serve for the link of the new Association of Friends who Labour, whose motto is "All for All."

The New Association of Labour

The establishment of the intricate co-operative commonwealth by a rush of 80,000,000 flushed and shiny-eyed enthusiasts, in fact, is Lloyd's proposal. He will not face, and few Americans to this day will face, the cold need of a great science of social adjustment and a disciplined and rightly ordered machinery to turn such enthusiasms to effect. However, he did express clearly enough the opening phase of American disillusionment towards the wild go-as-you-please that had been the conception of life in America for a vehement wasteful expanding century. And he was the precursor of what is now a bulky and extremely influential literature of national criticism. A number of writers, literary investigators one may call them, or sociological men of letters or magazine publicists—they are a little difficult to place—have taken up the inquiry into the condition of civic administration, into economic organisation, into national politics and racial interaction, with a frank fearlessness and an absence of windy eloquence that has been to many Europeans a surprising revelation of the

America's Reserve Forces

reserve forces of the American mind. President Roosevelt, that magnificent reverberator of ideas, that gleam of wilful humanity, that fortunate interruption to the succession of machine-made politicians at the White House, has echoed clearly and fearlessly to this movement and made it an integral part of the general intellectual movement of America. It is to these first intimations of the need of a "sense of the state" in America that I would particularly direct the reader's attention in this discussion. They are the beginnings of what is quite conceivably a great and complex reconstructive effort. I admit they are but beginnings. They may quite possibly wither and perish presently; they may much more probably be seized upon by adventurers and converted into a new public cant almost as empty and fruitless as the old.

The fact, however, remains that through this busy and immensely noisy confusion of 80,000,000 of people these little voices go on intimating more and more clearly the intention to undertake public affairs in a new spirit and upon new and sounder principles, to strengthen the state and the law against individual enterprise, to have done with those national superstitions under which hypocrisy and disloyalty and private plunder have sheltered and prospered for so many long years.

Just so far as these reform efforts succeed and develop is the organisation of the United States of America into a great, self-conscious, civilised nation, unparalleled in the world's history, possible; just so far as they fail is failure written over the American future. The real interest of America for the next century to the student of civilisation will be the development of these attempts, now in their infancy, to create and realise out of this racial hotchpotch, this human chaos, an idea of the collective commonwealth as the datum of reference for every individual life.

TRAINING THE NEGRO: THE LARGEST BLACK MAN'S COLLEGE IN THE WORLD

Brought to America first of all to work as plantation slaves, the African negroes have gone on steadily increasing in numbers, and what to do with their gigantic black population has for many years been a serious problem with the United States. In some ways, the negro is himself striving to settle the difficulty, endeavouring by education to fit himself to take his stand by the side of his white brother. The Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, in Virginia—the carpentry shop of which is shown in the above picture—has done much to improve the status of the coloured man, while at Tuskegee, in Alabama, the institution founded by Mr. Booker T. Washington on the plan of Hampton has developed in quite a remarkable way, and is turning out yearly a large number of highly efficient men.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL FUTURE

IN THE UNITED STATES III BY H. G. WELLS

THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM

FACTORS IN THE MAKING OF THE CIVILISED AMERICAN STATE

A THIRD influence that may also contribute very materially to the reconstruction of the American tradition is the Socialist movement. It is true that so far American Socialism has very largely taken an anarchistic form, has been, in fact, little more than a revolutionary movement of the wages-earning class against the property owner. It has already been pointed out that it derives not from contemporary English Socialism, but from the Marxist social democracy of the continent of Europe, and has none of the constructive spirit that has been developed by the English Socialists of the Fabian and Labour party group or by the newer German evolutionary Socialists.

Nevertheless, whenever Socialism is intelligently met by discussion, or whenever it draws near to practicable realisation, it becomes, by virtue of its inherent implications, a constructive force, and there is no reason to suppose that it will not be intelligently met, on the whole and in the long run, in America. The alternative to a developing Socialism among the labouring masses in America is that revolutionary anarchism from which it is slowly but definitely marking itself off. In America we have to remember that we are dealing with a huge population of people who are for the most part, and more and more evidently, destined under the present system of free industrial competition to be either very small traders, small farmers on the verge of debt, or wages-earners for all their lives. They are going to lead limited lives and worried lives; and they know it.

Anarchism the Alternative to Socialism

And it has to be borne in mind also that these people are so far under the sway of the American tradition that each thinks himself as good as any man, and as much entitled to the fulness of life. Whatever social tradition their fathers had, whatever ideas of a place to be filled humbly and seriously, and duties to be done, have been left behind in Europe. No church dominates the scenery of this new land and offers in authoritative and convincing tones consolations hereafter for lives obscurely but faithfully lived. Whatever else happens in his national future, upon one point the patriotic American may feel assured, and that is of an immense general discontent in the working class, and of a powerful movement in search of a general betterment.

Labour's Gloomy Outlook

The practical forms and effects of that movement will depend almost entirely upon the average standard of life among the workers and their general education. Sweated and ill-organised foreigners, such as one finds in New Jersey, living under conditions of great misery, will be fierce, impatient and altogether darkened. They will be acutely exasperated by every picture of plutocratic luxury in their newspaper; they will readily resort to destructive violence. The western miner, the western agriculturist, worried beyond endurance between the money-lender and railway combinations, will be almost equally prone to savage methods of expression.

"The Appeal to Reason," for example, which voices the feelings of a quarter of a million of subscribers, chiefly in the middle west, is furious to wreck the present capitalist system; but it is far too angry and impatient for that satisfaction to produce any clear suggestion of what shall replace it. To call this discontent of the seething underside of the American system Socialism is a misnomer. Were there no Socialism there would be just as much of this discontent, just the same insurgent force and desire for violence, taking some other title, and far more destructive methods,

Angry and Impatient Discontent

This discontent is a part of the same planless confusion that gives on the other side the wanton irresponsible extravagances of the smart people of New York. But Socialism alone, of all the forms of expression adopted by the losers in the economic struggle, contains constructive possibilities and leads its adherents towards that ideal of an organised state, planned and developed, from which these terrible social stresses may be eliminated; which is also the ideal to which sociology and the thoughts of every constructive-minded and foreseeing man in any position of life tend to-day. In the Socialist hypothesis of collective ownership and administration as the social basis, there is the germ of a sense of the state that may ultimately develop into comprehensive conceptions of social order, conceptions upon which enlightened millionaires and enlightened workers may meet at last in generous co-operation.

Shadows of a Class War

The chances of the American future, then, seem to range between two possibilities, just as a more or less constructive Socialism does or does not get hold of and inspire the working mass of the population. In the worst event—given an emotional and empty hostility to property, as such, masquerading as Socialism—one has the prospect of a bitter and aimless class war between the expropriated many and the property-holding few, a war not of general insurrection, but of localised outbreaks, strikes and brutal suppressions, rising to bloody conflicts and sinking to coarsely corrupt political contests in which one side may prevail in one locality and one in another, and which may even develop into a chronic civil war in the less settled parts of the country or an irresistible movement for secession between west and east.

That is, assuming the greatest imaginable vehemence and short-sighted selfishness and the least imaginable intelligence on the part of both workers and the plutocrat-swayed government. But if the more powerful and educated sections of the American community realise in time the immense moral possibilities of the Socialist movement, if they will trouble to understand its good side instead of emphasising its bad, if they will keep in touch with it and help in the development of a constructive content to its propositions, then it seems to me that popular Socialism may count as a third great factor in the making of the civilised American state. In any case it does not seem to me probable that there can be any national revolutionary movement or any complete arrest in the development of an aristocratic phase in American history. The area of the country is too great, and the means of communication between the workers in different parts inadequate for a concerted rising, or even for effective political action in mass.

The Hope of the Socialist Movement

In the worst event—and it is only in the worst event that a great insurrectionary movement becomes probable—the newspapers, telephones and telegraphs, all the apparatus of discussion and popular appeal, the railways, arsenals, guns, flying machines, and all the material of warfare, will be in the hands of the property owners; and the average of betrayal among the leaders of a class, not racially homogeneous, embittered, suspicious, united only by their discomforts and not by any constructive intentions, will necessarily be high. So that though the intensifying trouble between labour and capital may mean immense social disorganisation and lawlessness, though it may even supply the popular support in new attempts at secession, I do not see in it the possibility and force for that new start which the revolutionary Socialists anticipate; I see it merely as one of several forces, making, on the whole, and particularly in view of the possible mediatory action of the universities, for construction and reconciliation.

Forces that Make for Construction

What changes are likely to occur in the more intimate social life of the people of the United States? Two influences are at work that may modify this profoundly. One is that spread of knowledge and that accompanying change in moral attitude which is more and more sterilising the once prolific American home; and the second is the rising standard of feminine education. There has arisen in this age a new consciousness in women. They are entering into the collective thought to a degree unprecedented in the world's history, and with portents at once disquieting and confused.

I enumerated above what I called the silent factors in the American synthesis, the immigrant European aliens, the Catholics, the coloured blood, and so forth. I would now observe that in the making

of the American tradition the women also have been to a large extent and quite remarkably a silent factor. That tradition is not only fundamentally middle class and English, but it is also fundamentally masculine. The citizen is the man. The woman belongs to him. He votes for her, works for her, does all the severer thinking for her. She is in the home behind the shop, or in the dairy of the farmhouse with her daughters. She gets the meal while the men talk.

The American imagination and American feeling centre largely upon the family and upon "mother." American ideals are homely. The social unit is the home, and it is another and a different set of influences and considerations that are never thought of at all when the home sentiment is under discussion, that indeed it would be indelicate to mention at such a time, which are making that social unit the home of one child or of no children at all.

That ideal of a man-owned, mother-revering home has been the prevalent American ideal from the landing of the Mayflower right down to the leader writing of Mr. Arthur Brisbane. And it is clear that a very considerable section among one's educated women contemporaries do not mean to stand this ideal any longer. They do not want to be owned and cherished, and they do not want to be revered. How far they represent their sex in this matter it is very hard to say. In England, in the professional and most intellectually active classes, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that all the most able women below five and thirty are workers for the suffrage and the ideal of equal and independent citizenship, and active critics of the conventions under which women live to-day.

Passing of a Cherished Ideal

It is plausible to suppose that a day is approaching when the alternatives between celibacy or a life of economic dependence and physical subordination to a man who has chosen her, and upon whose kindness her happiness depends, or prostitution, will no longer be a satisfactory outlook for the great majority of women, and when with a newly aroused political consciousness they will be prepared to exert themselves as a class to modify this situation. It may be that this is incorrect, and that in devotion to an accepted male and his children most women do still and will continue to find their greatest satisfaction in life. But it is the writer's impression that so simple and single-hearted a devotion is rare, and that, released from tradition—and education, reading and discussion do mean release from tradition—women are as eager for initiative, freedom and experience as men. In that case they will persist in the present agitation for political rights, and these secured, go on to demand a very considerable reconstruction of our present social order. It is interesting to point the direction in which this desire for independence will probably take them. They will discover that the dependence of women at the present time is not so much a law-made as an economic dependence due to the economic disadvantages their sex imposes upon them.

Woman's Political Agitation

Maternity and the concomitants of maternity are the circumstances, exhausting energy and earning nothing, that place them at a discount. From the stage when property ceased to be chiefly the creation of feminine agricultural toil—the so-called primitive matriarchate—to our present stage women have had to depend upon a man's willingness to keep them in order to realise the organic purpose of their being. Whether conventionally equal or not, whether voters or not, that necessity for dependence will still remain under our system of private property and free independent competition. There is only one way by which women, as a class, can escape from that dependence each upon an individual man, and from all the practical inferiority this dependence entails, and that is by so altering their status as to make maternity and the upbringing of children a charge not upon the husband of the mother, but upon the community.

The public endowment of maternity is the only route by which the mass of women can reach that personal freedom and independent citizenship so many of them desire. Now, this idea of the endowment of maternity—or, as it is frequently phrased, the endowment of the home—is at present put forward by the modern Socialists as an integral part of their proposals, and it is interesting to note that there is this convergent possibility which may bring the feminist movement at last altogether into line with constructive Socialism. Obviously, before anything in the direction

Proposed Endowment of the Home

of family endowment becomes practicable, public bodies and the state organisation will need to display far more integrity and efficiency than they do in America at the present time. That is the trend of things in all contemporary civilised communities, and it is a trend that will find a powerful reinforcement in men's solicitudes as the increasing failure of the unsupported private family to produce offspring adequate to the needs of social development becomes more and more conspicuous. The impassioned appeals of Mr. Roosevelt have already brought home the race suicide of the native-born to every American intelligence, but mere rhetoric will not in itself suffice to make people, insecurely employed and struggling to maintain a comfortable standard of life against great economic pressure, prolific.

The Cry Against Race Suicide

Presented as a call to a particularly onerous and quite unpaid social duty, the appeal for unrestricted parentage fails. Husband and wife alike dread an excessive burden. Travel, leisure, freedom, comfort, property and increased ability for business competition are the rewards of abstinence from parentage, and even the disapproval of Mr. Roosevelt and the pride of offspring are insufficient counterweights to these inducements. Large families disappear from the states and more and more couples are childless. Those who have children restrict their number in order to afford those they have some reasonable advantage in life. This, in the presence of the necessary knowledge, is as practically inevitable a consequence of individualist competition and the old American tradition as the appearance of slums and a class of millionaires.

These facts go to the very root of the American problem. I have already pointed out that, in spite of a colossal immigration, the population of the United States was, at the end of the nineteenth century, over twenty millions short of what it should have been through its own native increase had the birth-rate of the opening century been maintained. For a hundred years America had been "fed" by Europe. That feeding process will not go on indefinitely. The immigration came in waves, as if reservoir after reservoir was tapped and exhausted. Nowadays, England, Scotland, Ireland, France and Scandinavia send hardly any more people—they have no more to send. Germany and Switzerland send only a few. The South European and Austrian supply is not so abundant as it was. There may come a time when Europe and Western Asia will have no more surplus population to send, when even Eastern Asia will have passed into a less fecund phase, and when America will have to look to its own natural increase for the continued development of its resources. If the present isolated family of private competition is still the social unit, it seems improbable that there will be any greater natural increase than there is in France.

How Long will Europe Feed America?

Will the growing idea of a closer social organisation have developed by that time to the possibility of some collective effort in this matter? Or will that only come about after the population of the world has passed through a phase of absolute recession? The peculiar constitution of the United States gives a remarkable freedom of experiment in these matters to each individual state, and local developments do not need to wait upon a national change of opinion; but, on the other hand, the superficial impression of an English visitor is that any such profound interference with domestic autonomy runs counter to all that Americans seem to hold dear at the present time. These are, however, new ideas and new considerations that have still to be brought adequately before the national consciousness, and it is quite impossible to calculate how a population living under changing conditions and with a rising standard of education, and a developing feminine consciousness, may not think and feel and behave in a generation's time. At present, for all political and collective action, America is a democracy of untutored individualist men who will neither tolerate such interference between themselves and the women they choose to marry as the endowment of motherhood implies, nor view the "kids" who will at times occur even in the best regulated families as anything but rather embarrassing, rather amusing by-products of the individual affections.

A Democracy of Untutored Individualists

I find in a London weekly paper for August 15th, 1908, a description by Mr. Jerome K. Jerome of "John Smith," the average British voter. John Smith might serve, I think, in some respects, for the common man of all the modern civilisations. Among other things that John Smith thinks and wants, he wants:

A little house and garden in the country all to himself. His idea is somewhere near half an acre of ground. He would like a piano in the best room; it has always been his dream to have a piano. The youngest girl, he is convinced, is musical. As a man who has knocked about the world and has thought, he quite appreciates the argument that by co-operation the material side of life can be greatly improved. He quite sees that by combining a dozen families together in one large house better practical results can be obtained. It is as easy to direct the cooking for a hundred as for half a dozen. There would be less waste of food, of coals, of lighting. To put aside one piano for one girl is absurd. He sees all this, but it does not alter one little bit of his passionate craving for that small house and garden all to himself. He is built that way. He is typical of a good many other men and women built on the same pattern. What are you going to do with them? Change them—their instincts, their very nature, rooted in the centuries? Or, as an alternative, vary Socialism to fit John Smith? Which is likely to prove the shorter operation?

That, however, is by the way. Here is the point at issue:

Mr. Jerome on John Smith

He has heard that Socialism proposes to acknowledge women's service to the state by paying her a weekly wage according to the number of children that she bears and rears. I don't propose to repeat his objections to the idea; they could hardly be called objections. There is an ugly look coming into his eyes; something quite undefinable, prehistoric, almost dangerous, looks out of them. . . . In talking to him on this subject you do not seem to be talking to a man. It is as if you had come face to face with something behind civilisation, behind humanity, something deeper down still among the dim beginnings of creation . . .

Now, no doubt Mr. Jerome is writing with emphasis here. But there is sufficient truth in the passage for it to stand here as a rough symbol of another factor in this question. John Smithism, that manly and individualist element in the citizen, stands over against and resists all the forces of organisation that would subjugate it to a collective purpose. It is careless of coming national cessation and depopulation, careless of the insurgent spirit beneath the acquiescences of Mrs. Smith, careless of its own inevitable defeat in the economic struggle, careless because it can understand none of these things; it is obstinately muddle-headed, asserting what it conceives to be itself against the universe and all other John Smiths whatsoever. It is a factor with all other factors.

The creative, acquisitive, aggressive spirit of those bigger John Smiths who succeed as against the myriads of John Smiths who fail, the wider horizons and more efficient methods of the educated man, the awakening class-consciousness of women, the inevitable futility of John Smithism, the sturdy independence that makes John Smith resent even disciplined co-operation with Tom Brown to achieve a common end, his essential incapacity indeed for collective action; all these things are against the ultimate triumph and make for the ultimate civilisation even of John Smith. It may be doubted if the increasing collective organisation of society to which the United States of America, in common with all the rest of the world, seem to be tending, will be to any very large extent a national organisation. The constitution is an immense and complicated barrier to effectual centralisation. There are many reasons for supposing the national government will always remain a little ineffectual and detached from the full flow of American life, and this notwithstanding the very great powers with which the president is endowed.

The Seat of National Government

One of these reasons is certainly the peculiar accident that has placed the seat of government upon the Potomac. To the thoughtful visitor to the United States, this hiding away of the central government in a minute district remote from all the great centres of thought, population and business activity, becomes more and more remarkable, more and more perplexing, more and more suggestive of an incurable weakness in the national government as he grasps more and more firmly the peculiarities of the American situation.

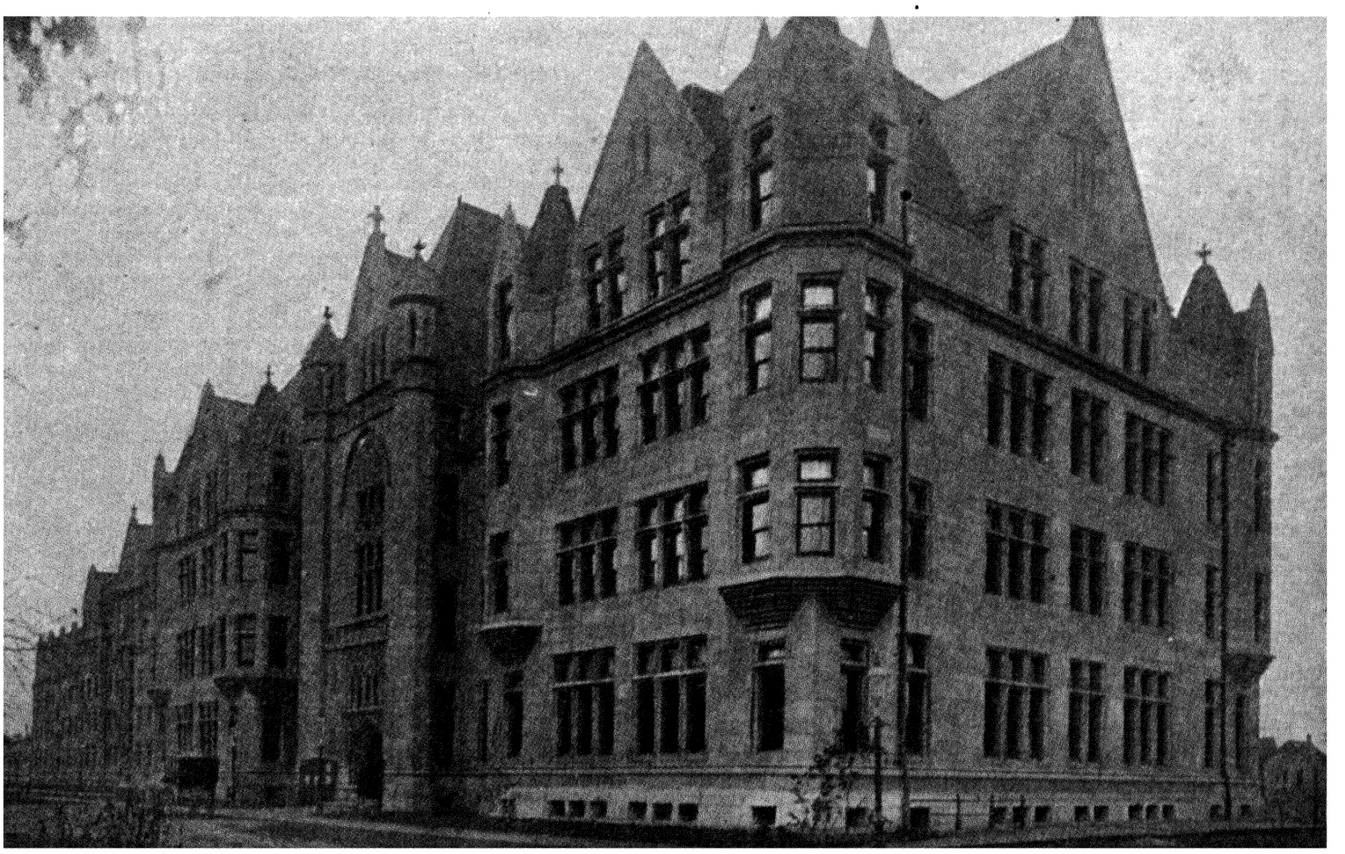
I do not see how the central government of that great American nation of which I dream can possibly be at Washington, and I do not see how the present central government can possibly be transferred to any other centre. But to go to Washington, to see and talk to Washington, is to receive an extraordinary impression of the utter isolation and hopelessness of Washington. The national government has an air of being marooned there. One goes from the abounding movement and vitality of the Northern cities to this sunny and enervating place through the negligently cultivated country of Virginia, and one discovers the slovenly, unfinished promise of a city, broad avenues lined by negro shanties and patches of cultivation, great public buildings and an immense post-office, a lifeless museum, an inert university, a splendid desert library, a

Disappointing Capital of the States

street of souvenir shops, a certain industry of "seeing Washington," an idiotic colossal obelisk. It seems an ideal nest for the tariff manipulator, a festering corner of delegates and agents and secondary people. In the White House the present writer found a transitory glow of intellectual activity; the spittoons and glass screens that once made it like a London gin-palace had been removed, and the former orgies of handshaking reduced to a minimum. It was, one felt, an accidental phase.

The assassination of McKinley was an interruption of the normal Washington process. To this place, out of the way of everywhere, come the senators and congressmen, mostly leaving their families behind them in their states of origin; and hither, too, are drawn a multitude of journalists and political agents and clerks —a crowd of underbred, mediocre men. For most of them there is neither social nor intellectual life. The thought of America is far away, centred now in New York; the business and economic development centres upon New York; apart from the president it is in New York that one meets the people who matter, and the New York atmosphere that grows and develops ideas and purposes. New York is the natural capital of the United States, and would need to be the capital of any highly organised national system. Government from the district of Columbia is in itself the repudiation of any highly organised national system. But government from this ineffectual, inert place is only the most striking outcome of that inflexible constitution the wrangling delegates of 1787–1788 did at last produce out of a conflict of state jealousies. They did their best to render centralisation or any coalescence of states impossible and private property impregnable, and so far their work has proved extraordinarily effective. Only a great access of intellectual and moral vigour in the nation can ever set it aside. And while the more and more sterile millions of the United States grapple with the legal and traditional difficulties that promise at last to arrest their development altogether, the rest of the world will be moving on to new phases. An awakened Asia will be reorganising its social and political conceptions in the light of modern knowledge and modern ideas; and South America will be working out its destinies, perhaps in the form of a powerful confederation of states. All Europe will be schooling its John Smiths to finer disciplines and broader ideas. But our present concern is the internal development of the United States of America, and it opens too wide a field to speculate how that may be affected or interrupted by foreign forces.

America's Internal Development



CHICAGO UNIVERSITY, THE LEADING INSTITUTE OF LEARNING IN THE WESTERN STATES

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL FUTURE

IN THE UNITED STATES IV BY H. G. WELLS

THE UNITED STATES OF TO-MORROW

REBUILDING THE SOCIAL SCHEME

I HAVE hinted in the last section that there is a possibility that the new wave of constructive ideas in American thought may speedily develop a cant of its own. But even then a constructive cant is better than a destructive one. Even the conscious hypocrite has to do something to justify his pretences; and the mere disappearance from current thought of the persuasion that organisation is a mistake and discipline needless clears the ground of one huge obstacle even if it guarantees nothing about the consequent building.

But, apart from this, are there more solid and effectual forces behind this new movement of ideas that makes for organisation in the American medley at the present time?

The speculative writer casting about for such elements lights upon four sets of possibilities which call for discussion. First, one has to ask: How far is the American plutocracy likely to be merely a wasteful and chaotic class and how far is it likely to become consciously aristocratic and constructive? Secondly, and in relation to this, what possibilities of pride and leading are there in the great university foundations of America? Will they presently begin to tell as a restraining and directing force upon public thought? Thirdly: Will the growing American Socialist movement, which at present is just as anarchistic and undisciplined in spirit as everything else in America, presently perceive the constructive implications of its general propositions and become statesmanlike and constructive after the fashion of the Socialist movement in England? And fourthly: What are the latent possibilities of the American women? Will women, as they become more and more aware of themselves as a class and the problem of their sex, become a force upon the anarchistic side—a force favouring race suicide—or upon the constructive side, which plans and builds and bears the future? The only possible answer to each one of these questions at present is guessing and an estimate. But the only way in which a conception of the American social future may be reached lies through their discussion. Let us begin by considering what constructive forces may exist in this new plutocracy, which already so largely sways American economic and political development. The first impression is one of extravagant expenditure, of a class irresponsible and wasteful beyond all precedent.

Future of the American Woman

Forces in the New Plutocracy

One gets a Zolaesque picture of that aspect in Mr. Upton Sinclair's "Metropolis," or the fashionable intelligence of the popular New York Sunday editions; and one finds a good deal of confirmatory evidence in many incidental aspects of the smart American life of Paris and the Riviera. The evidence in the notorious Thaw trial, after one has discounted its theatrical elements, was still a very convincing demonstration of a rotten and extravagant, because aimless and functionless, class of rich people. But one has to be careful in this matter if one is to do justice to the facts. If a thing is made up of two elements, and one is noisy and glaringly coloured, and the other is quiet and colourless, the first impression created will be that the thing is identical with the element that is noisy and glaringly coloured.

One is less likely to hear of the broad plans and the quality of the wise, strong and constructive individuals in a class than of their foolish wives, their spendthrift sons, their mistresses if they lapse from virtue, or their own moments of folly. In the making of very rich men there is always a factor of good fortune and a factor of design and will. One meets rich men at times who seem to be merely lucky gamblers, who strike one as just the thousandth man in a myriad of wild plungers, who are, in fact, chance nobodies

Rich Men in the Making

washed up by an eddy. Others, again, strike one as exceptionally lucky half-knaves. But there are others of a growth more deliberate and of an altogether higher personal quality. One takes such men as Mr. J. D. Rockefeller or Mr. Pierpont Morgan—the scale of their fortunes makes them public property—and it is clear that we are dealing with persons on a quite different level of intellectual power from the British Colonel Norths, for example, or the South African Joels. In my "Future in America" I have taken the former largely at Miss Tarbell's estimate, and treated him as a case of acquisitiveness raised in Baptist surroundings.

Types of America's Rich Men

But I doubt very much if that exhausts the man as he is to-day. Given a man brought up to saving and "getting on" as if to a religion, a man very acquisitive and very patient and restrained, and indubitably with great organising power, and he grows rich beyond the dreams of avarice. And having done so, there he is. What is he going to do? Every step he takes up the ascent to riches gives him new perspectives and new points of view.

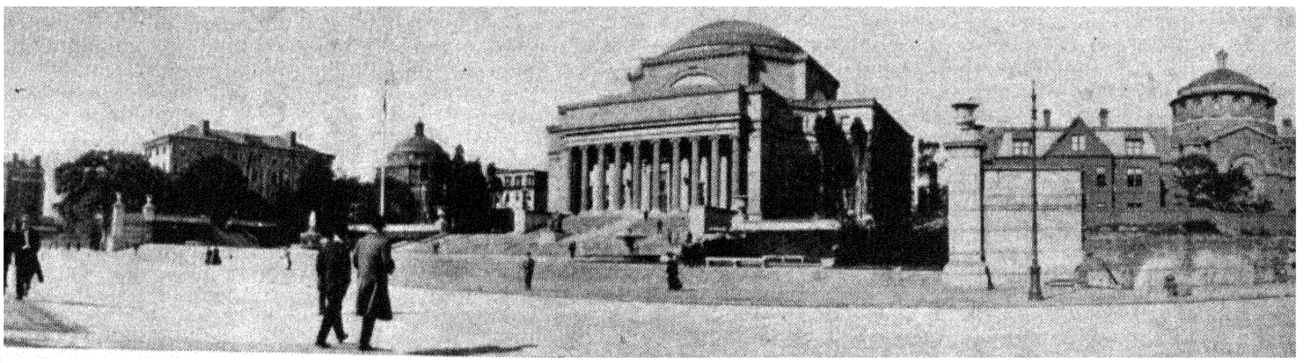
It may have appealed to the young Rockefeller, clerk in a Chicago house, that to be rich was in itself a supreme end. In the first flush of the discovery that he was immensely rich he may have thanked heaven as if for a supreme good, and spoken to a Sunday-school gathering as if he knew himself for the most favoured of men. But all that happened twenty years ago or more. One does not keep on in that sort of satisfaction; one settles down to the new facts. And such men as Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Pierpont Morgan do not live in a made and protected world with their minds trained, tamed and fed, and shielded from outside impressions as royalties do. The thought of the world has washed about them; they have read and listened to the discussion of themselves for some decades; they have had sleepless nights of self-examination. To succeed in acquiring enormous wealth does not solve the problem of life—indeed, it reopens it in a new form. "What shall I do with myself?" simply recurs again. You may have decided to devote yourself to getting on, getting wealthy. Well, you have got it. Now again comes the question: "What shall I do?" Mr. Pierpont Morgan, I am told, collects works of art. I can understand that satisfying a rich gentleman of leisure, but not a man who has felt the sensation of holding great big things in his great big hands. Saul, going out to seek his father's asses, found a kingdom, and became very spiritedly a king; and it seems to me that these big industrial and financial organisers, whatever in their youth they proposed to do or be, must many of them come to realise that their organising power is up against no less a thing than a nation's future. Napoleon, it is curious to remember, once wanted to run a lodging-house, and a man may start to corner oil and end the father of a civilisation.

Questions that Trouble the Millionaire

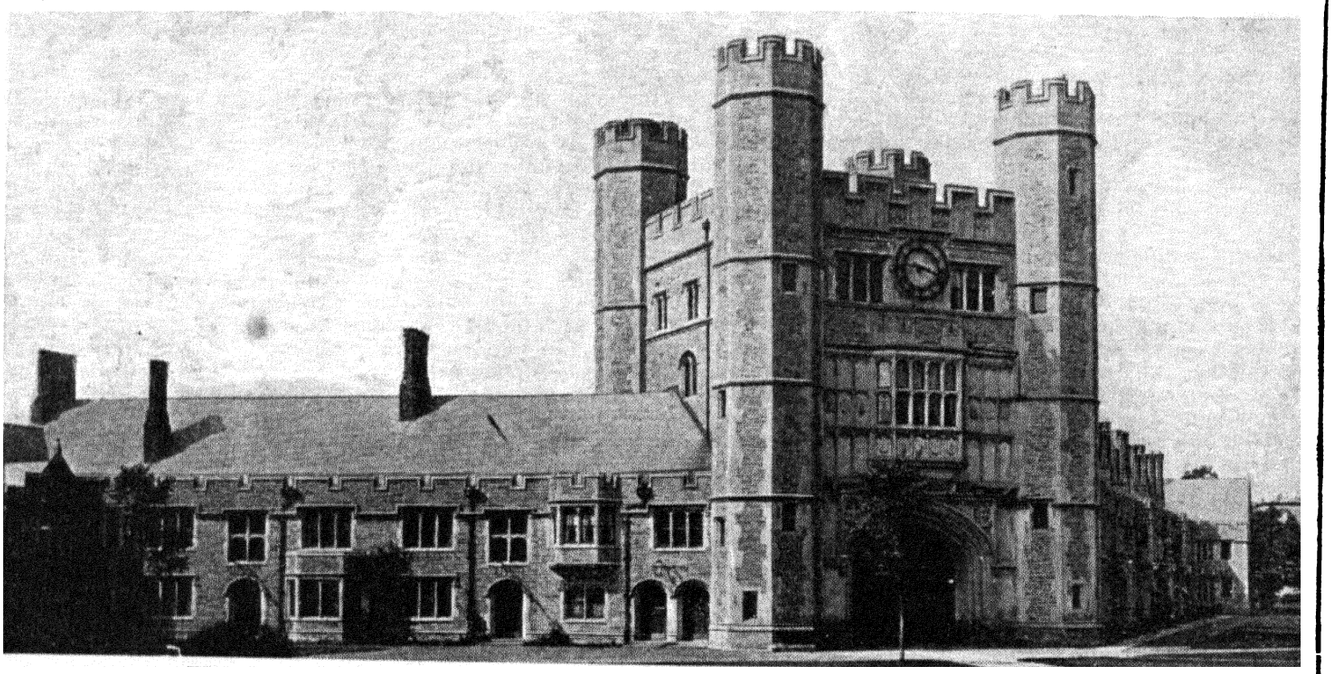
Now, I am disposed to suspect at times that an inkling of such a realisation may have come to some of these very rich men. I am inclined to put it among the possibilities of our time that it may presently become clearly and definitely the inspiring idea of many of those who find themselves predominantly rich. I do not see why these active rich should not develop statesmanship, and I can quite imagine them developing very considerable statesmanship. Because these men were able to realise their organising power in the absence of economic organisation, it does not follow that they will be fanatical for a continuing looseness and freedom of property. The phase of economic liberty ends itself, as Marx long ago pointed out. The American business world becomes more and more a managed world with fewer and fewer wild possibilities of succeeding. Of all people, the big millionaires should realise this most acutely, and, in fact, there are many signs that they do.

New Career for the Active Rich

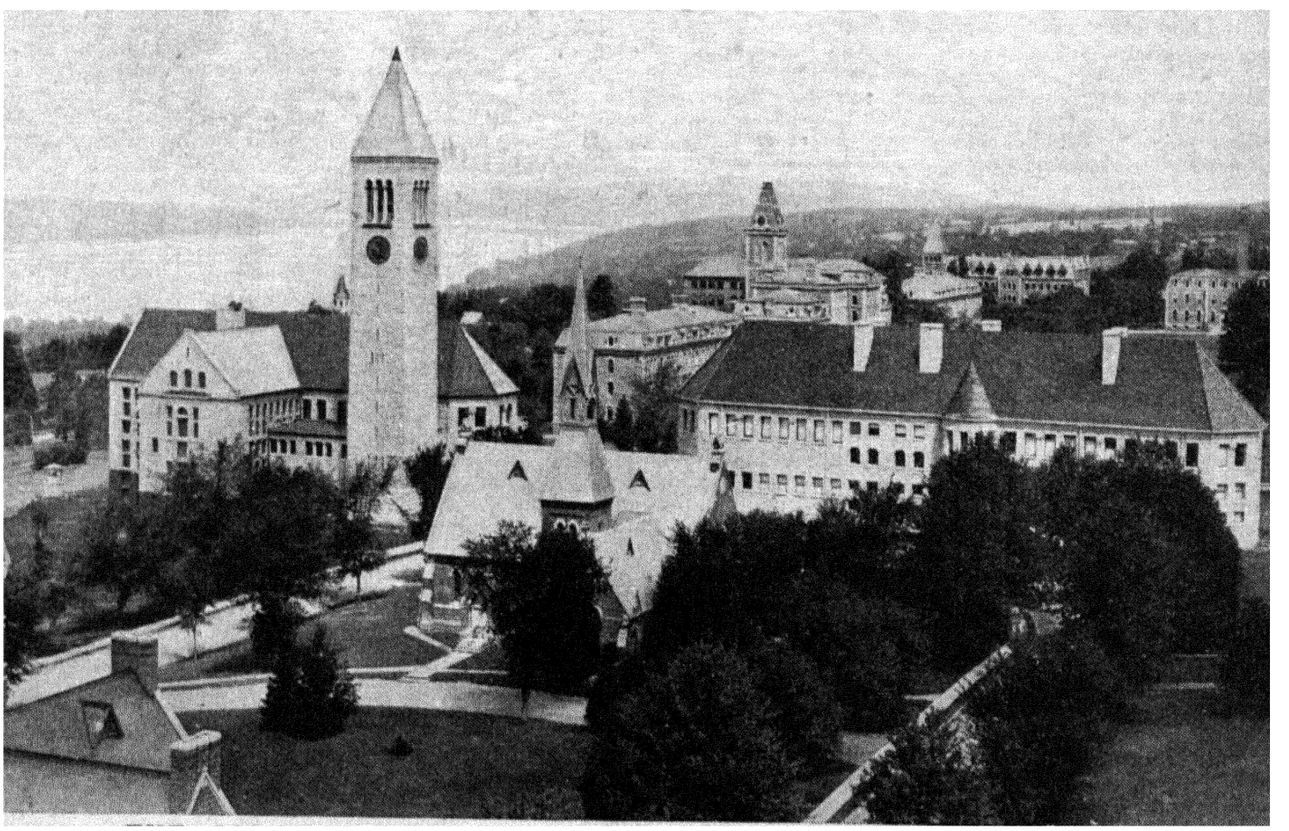
It seems to me that the educational zeal of Mr. Andrew Carnegie and the university and scientific endowments of Mr. Rockefeller are not merely showy benefactions; they express a definite feeling of the present need of constructive organisation in the social scheme. The time has come to build. There is, I think, good reason for expecting that statesmanship of the millionaires to become more organised and scientific and comprehensive in the coming years. It is plausible at least to maintain that the personal quality of the American plutocracy has risen in the last three decades, has risen from the quality of a mere irresponsible wealthy person towards that of a real aristocrat with a sense of the state.



THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK: VIEW OF THE LIBRARY



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, NEW JERSEY: THE BLAIR HALL



THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY AT ITHACA IN NEW YORK STATE

AMERICA'S SEATS OF LEARNING: VIEWS OF WELL-KNOWN UNIVERSITIES

That one may reckon the first hopeful possibility in the American outlook. And intimately connected with this development of an attitude of public responsibility in the very rich is the decay, on the one hand, of the preposterous idea once prevalent in America that politics is an unsuitable interest for a "gentleman," and, on the other, of the democratic jealousy of any but poor politicians. In New York they talk very much of "gentlemen," and by gentlemen they seem to mean a rich man "in society" with a college education. Nowadays, gentlemen seem more and more disposed towards politics, and less and less towards a life of business or detached refinement. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, was one of the pioneers in this new development, this restoration of virility to the gentlemanly ideal. His career marks the appearance of a new and better type of man in American politics, the close of the rule of the idealised nobody.

New York's Idea of Gentlemen

The prophecy has been made at times that the United States might develop a Cæsarism, and certainly the position of president might easily become that of an imperator. No doubt, in the event of an acute failure of the national system such a catastrophe might occur, but the more hopeful and probable line of development is one in which a conscious and powerful, if informal, aristocracy will play a large part. It may indeed never have any of the outward forms of an aristocracy or any definite public recognition.

The Americans are as chary of the coronet and the known aristocratic titles as the Romans were of the word king. Octavius, for that reason, never called himself king, nor Italy a kingdom. He was just the Cæsar of the republic, and the empire had been established for many years before the Romans fully realised that they had returned to monarchy. The American universities are closely connected in their development with the appearance and growing class-consciousness of this aristocracy of wealth. The fathers of the country certainly did postulate a need of universities, and in every state congress set aside public lands to furnish a university with material resources.

Education Assisted by the State

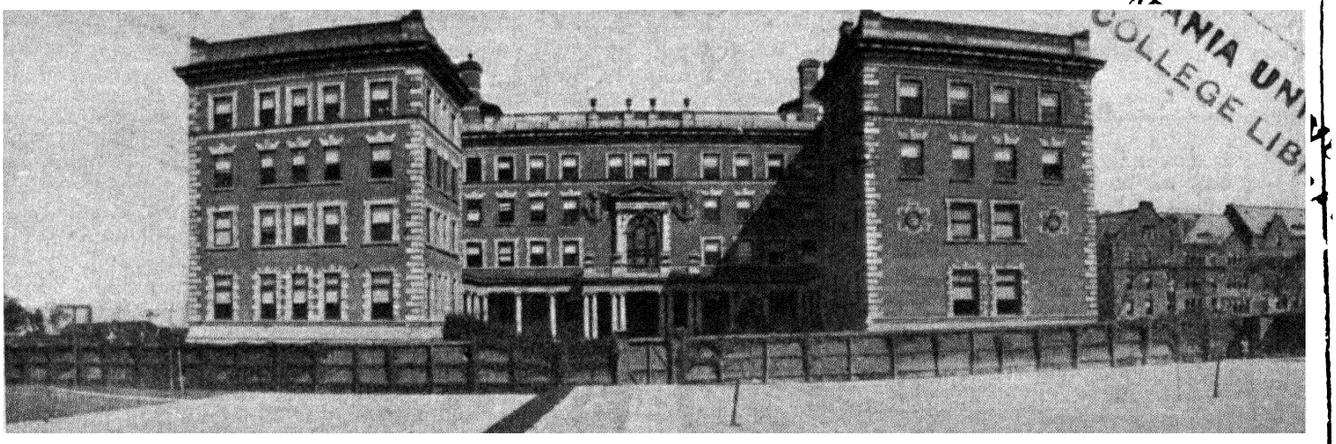
Every state does possess a university, though in many instances these institutions are in the last degree of feebleness. From the very beginning, side by side with the state universities, were the universities founded by benefactors; and with the evolution of new centres of population, new and extremely generous plutocratic endowments appeared. The dominant universities of America to-day, the treasure-houses of intellectual prestige, are almost all of them of plutocratic origin; and even in the state universities, if new resources are wanted to found new chairs, to supply funds for research or publication or what not, it is to the more state-conscious wealthy, and not to the state legislature, that the appeal is made almost as a matter of course. The common voter, the small individualist, has less constructive imagination, is more individualistic, than the big individualist.

This great network of universities that is now spread over the states, interchanging teachers, literature and ideas, and educating not only the professions, but a growing proportion of business leaders and wealthy people, must necessarily take an important part in the reconstruction of the American tradition that is now in progress. It is giving a large and increasing amount of attention to the subjects that bear most directly upon the peculiar practical problems of statecraft in America, to psychology, sociology and political science. It is influencing the Press more and more directly by supplying a rising proportion of journalists, and creating an atmosphere of criticism and suggestion. It is keeping itself, on the one hand, in touch with the popular literature of public criticism in those new and curious organs of public thought, the ten cent magazines, and, on the other, it is making a constantly more solid basis of common understanding upon which the newer generation of plutocrats may meet. That older sentimental patriotism must be giving place under its influence to a more definite and effectual conception of a collective purpose.

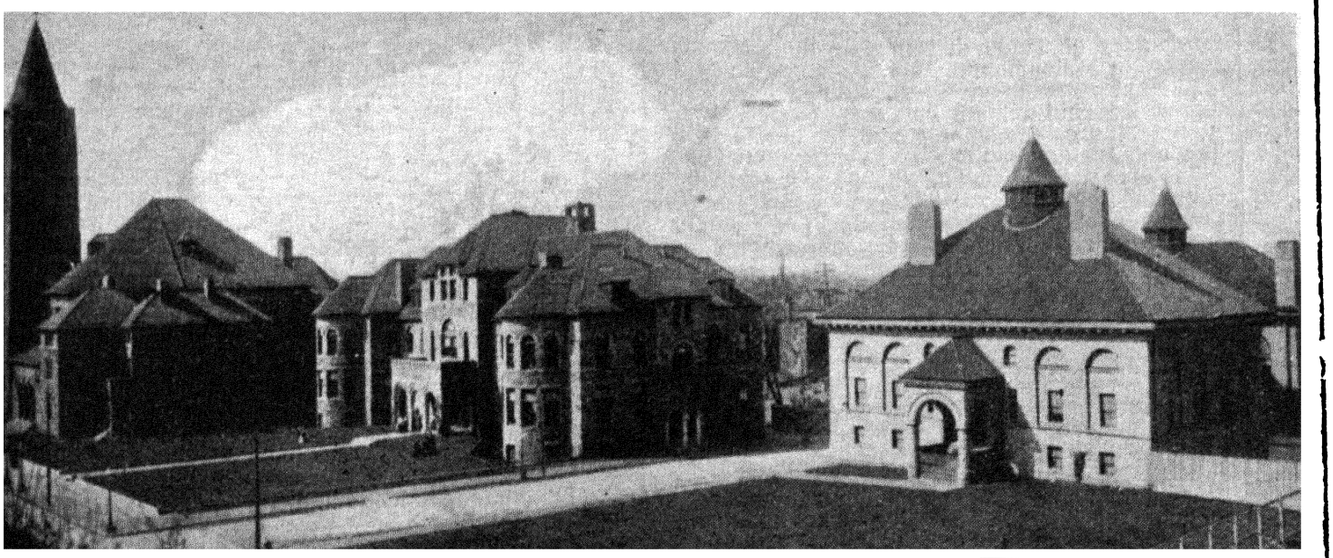
The Good Work of the Universities

It is to the intellectual influence of sustained scientific study in the universities, and a growing increase of the college-trained element in the population, that we must look if we are to look anywhere for the new progressive methods, for the substitution of persistent, planned and calculated social development for the former conditions of the systematic neglect and corruption in public affairs varied by epileptic seizures of "reform." H. G. WELLS

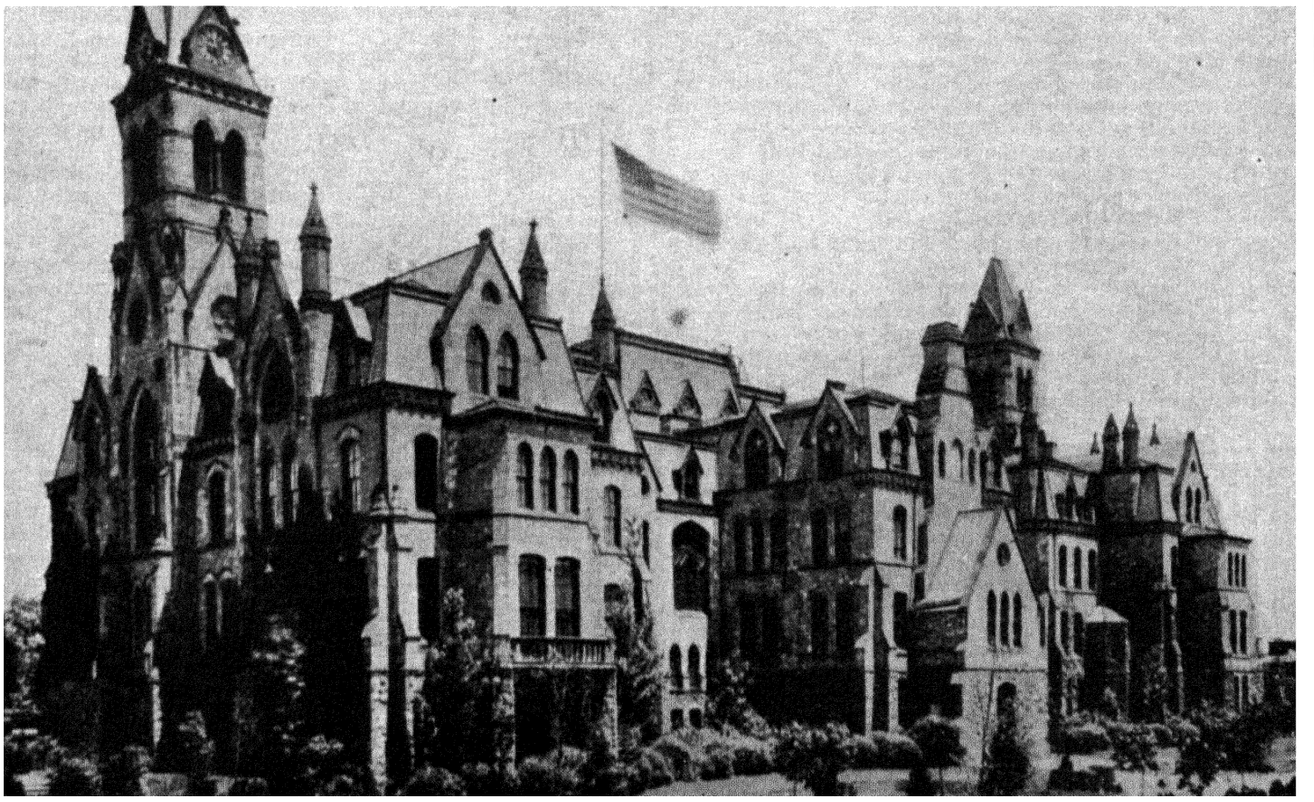
ANIA UNI
COLLEGE LIB



AMERICA'S PREMIER UNIVERSITY FOR WOMEN: BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK



THE AMERICAN GIRTON: THE FAMOUS WOMEN'S COLLEGE AT BALTIMORE



THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AT PHILADELPHIA, SHOWING COLLEGE HALL

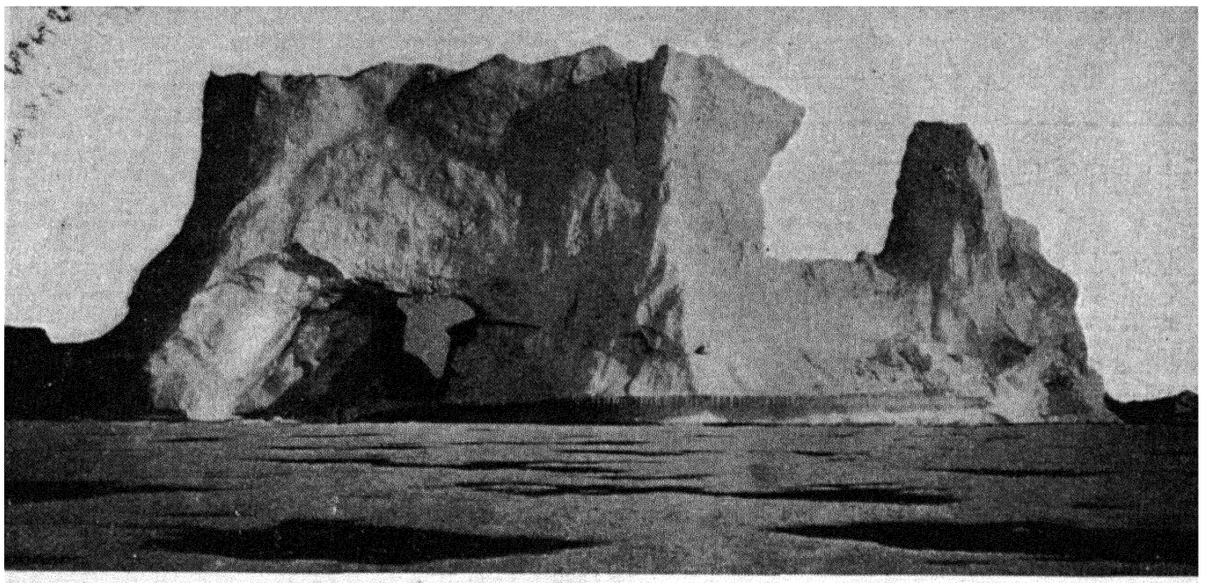
LEADING DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

A.D.	
1000	Discovery of Vinland by Leif Eriksen
1200	Rise of the Incas in Peru
1300	Reign of Maita Capak
1330	Reign of Capak Yupanki
1360	Inca Roca: traditional organiser of the Inca system
1390	Yahuar Capak: the reign of tears
1400	Tecpanec supremacy in Mexico. Tezozomoc emperor of Anahuac. Chibcha pentarchy on the Magdalena
1403	Huitzilihuitl in Mexico
1410	Huiracocha restores the Inca supremacy
1419	Fall of Ixtlilxochitl. Rise of Aztecs
1427	Maxtla succeeds Tezozomoc
1431	Alliance of Aztecs and Chichimecs to overthrow Tecpanecs. Intellectual ascendancy of Chichimecs. Progress of kingdom of Quito
1440	Yupanki Pachacutek expands the Inca empire. Montezuma I. organises the Aztec kingdom
1450	Supremacy of Tunja and Bogota on the Magdalena. Development of Aztec military ascendancy in Mexico
1460	Tupak Yupanki extends Inca empire
1468	Axayacotl succeeds Montezuma I.
1470	Tenochtitlan (Aztec: Mexico) absorbs Tlatelulco. Incorporation of Chimu with Inca empire
1480	Quito incorporated by the Incas
1492	Columbus reaches the West Indies
1493	Second voyage of Columbus
1497	John Cabot discovers Labrador
1499	The Cabots explore North American coast-line. Voyage of Amerigo Vespucci
1500	Cabral discovers Brazil. Huana Capak Inca emperor. Extension of Bogota supremacy on the Magdalena under Nemequene
1502	Bishoprics founded in Spanish dominion
1503	Casa de Contratacion founded. Bull of Pope Alexander VI.
1511	Audiencia of San Domingo established.
1512	Discovery of Florida. Montezuma II. supreme in Anahuac (Mexico)
1513	Balboa sights the Pacific from Panama
1514	Rio de la Plata discovered
1515	Bermudas discovered
1517	First importation of negro slaves. Yucatan discovered by Francesco de Cordoba
1519	Cortes invades Mexico
1520	Magelhaes passes Straits of Magellan, on the first voyage of circumnavigation
1526	Edict of Granada. Plate fleet organised
1527	Fishing fleets congregate off Newfoundland
1530	Struggle between Tunja and Bogota
1531	Brazil: capitanries established
1532	Atahualpa usurps the Inca sovereignty. Pizarro invades Peru
1534	Cartier on the St. Lawrence
1535	Mendoza founds Buenos Ayres
1536	Queseda's expedition. Submission of Bogota to Spain
1539	De Soto's Mississippi expedition
1545	Silver mines of Potosi discovered
1549	Jesuits in Brazil
1562	French Huguenot settlement in Florida
1568	Hawkins and Drake at San Juan d'Ulloa
1572	Drake's raid on Nombre de Dios
1576	John Oxenham on the Pacific. Frobisher's first Arctic voyage
1577	Drake sails on voyage of circumnavigation
1583	Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland
1584	Raleigh's first colony at Roanoke
1587	Discovery of Davis Strait by John Davis
1595	Raleigh's Guiana voyage
1600	French settlement at Tadoussac
1602	Gosnold's attempt to colonise Virginia
1603	Champlain's first voyage to the St. Lawrence
1604	Champlain's second voyage
1605	Port Royal (Annapolis) founded
1606	Charter of Virginia and Plymouth Companies
1607	Colony of Virginia: settlement at Jamestown
1608	Quebec founded. Jesuits in Paraguay
1609	Bermudas annexed. Second Virginia charter: Lord-Delaware governor
1612	Hudson's Bay claimed for England
1615	Recollet Fathers in Canada
1620	New Plymouth founded by Pilgrim Fathers
1621	Grant of Nova Scotia to Sir W. Alexander. Dutch West India Company; origin of Dutch Guiana
1622	Dutch found New Amsterdam (New York)
1625	Settlement of Barbados
1625	New constitution proclaimed for Virginia. Settlement of Lord Baltimore in Newfoundland
1627	Company of the Hundred Associates
1629	Charter of Massachusetts Company. Capture of Quebec by English
1630	Winthrop governor of Boston
1632	Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore. Canada and Acadia restored to France
1633	Champlain governor of Canada
1634	First committee of the Privy Council for control of plantations
1635	Colony of Connecticut. Death of Champlain
1636	Roger Williams at Providence
1637	David Kirke's settlement in Newfoundland
1639	Colony of Maine
1641	Montreal founded
1643	Confederation of New England colonies
1651	Commonwealth Navigation Act. De Lanson governor of "New France"
1654	English take possession of Acadia, which is ceded to them by treaty next year
1655	Capture of Jamaica by Penn and Venables
1661	Restoration Navigation Act. Colonies more stringently restricted
1663	Rhode Island Charter. Beginning of Carolina. Abolition of the Hundred Associates
1664	First Assembly in Jamaica. English capture New Amsterdam, renamed New York
1665	De Courcelles governor of New France
1666	Iroquois checked by De Tracy
1667	Carolina established as a colony. Treaty of Breda
1670	Acadia restored to France. Hudson's Bay Charter. Prince Rupert president
1672	Frontenac governor of New France
1673	French Mississippi expedition
1675	Indian wars of New England states
1676	Rising against the government in Virginia
1682	Pennsylvania Charter. Frontenac replaced in Canada by De la Barre
1683	Massachusetts Charter annulled
1685	De la Barre replaced by Denonville
1686	French attacks on Hudson's Bay Company
1687	French Iroquois war
1688	Andros appointed governor of all northern colonies
1689	Frontenac returns as governor of Canada. English colonies claim restoration of their old constitutions
1690	Expedition of Phipps against Acadia and Quebec
1691	New Massachusetts Charter
1695	French recover Acadia
1697	Anglo-French hostilities suspended by European Treaty of Ryswick
1698	Death of Frontenac
1699	D'Iberville's Mississippi expedition. Beginning of Louisiana
1702	Contests between South Carolina and Florida
1713	Treaty of Utrecht: Newfoundland acknowledged British; Acadia ceded (except Cape Breton) and becomes Nova Scotia. Asiento, giving monopoly of slave trade with Spanish colonies, with other trading rights, transferred to Great Britain
1719	Bahama pirates suppressed
1725	French establish Fort Niagara
1728	A government established in Newfoundland: Osborne first governor
1731	French fort at Crown Point
1733	Georgia Charter
1745	British capture Louisbourg
1748	Louisbourg restored by Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
1754	French establish Fort Duquesne
1755	Braddock's disaster
1756	Montcalm in Canada; he captures Fort Oswego
1757	Montcalm captures Fort William Henry
1758	Montcalm defeats Abercrombie at Ticonderoga. British capture forts Frontenac and Duquesne, and Louisbourg
1759	Capture of Quebec by Wolfe
1760	Capture of Montreal
1763	Treaty of Paris: France cedes Louisiana to Spain, and the rest of her North American colonies to Britain. Spain cedes Florida to Britain. In the West Indies, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago ceded to Britain

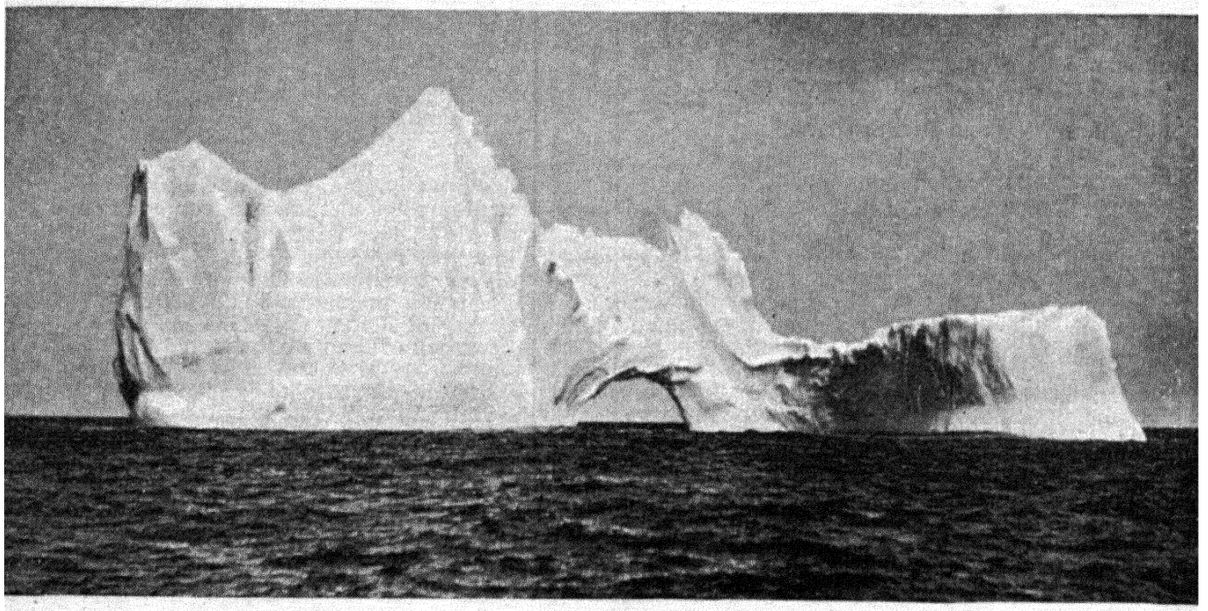
LEADING DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

A.D.	
1764	Grenville enforces existing commercial regulations. Pontiac's insurrection
1765	George Grenville's Stamp Act
1766	Rockingham Ministry repeals the Stamp Act and reduces Customs duties, but passes Declaratory Act affirming the abstract right of taxation. Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) governor at Quebec
1767	Townshend's taxes
1768	General Gage governor of Massachusetts. Massachusetts recognises a Convention in place of the suppressed Assembly. Expulsion of Jesuits from Paraguay.
1769	Prince Edward Island separated from Quebec. Bedford's Resolution for changing the venue of trials. Repeal of Townshend's taxes except that on tea
1770	Lord North's Ministry. The Boston massacre
1772	Burning of the Gaspee
1773	DEC.: The "Boston Tea-party"
1774	Penal Acts against Boston. Quebec Act makes Canada a Crown colony, and establishes Roman Catholicism. Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia
1775	American War of Independence begun by Battle of Lexington. Battle of Bunker's Hill. Washington commander-in-chief. Invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Benedict Arnold
1776	Collapse of Invasion of Canada. Boston evacuated. JULY: Declaration of Independence. British occupy New York. Battles of Brooklyn and Trenton
1777	Battles of Princeton and Brandywine Creek. British take Philadelphia. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Benjamin Franklin in Paris
1778	French alliance with Americans. North's conciliation proposals rejected. Death of Chatham. Beginning of Naval War
1779	Spain joins the War; siege of Gibraltar
1780	Campaign in the Southern colonies
1781	Surrender of Yorktown assures American independence
1782	Rodney recovers naval ascendancy at Battle of the [Saints
1783	Peace of Versailles; independence of the United States acknowledged. Emigration of U. E. Loyalists to Canada. Florida restored to Spain
1778	American Constitution ratified
1789	George Washington first president of U.S.A.
1791	Canada Act; separation of Upper and Lower Canada
1792	Washington re-elected president
1794	Jay's Treaty
1795	San Domingo partly ceded to France by Spain
1796	Toronto becomes capital of Upper Canada. British Guiana annexed
1797	John Adams president U.S.A., Washington having refused re-election. Capture of Trinidad by
1798	British Honduras secured [British
1799	Death of Washington
1800	Franco-American Treaty
1801	Thomas Jefferson president of U.S.A.
1803	Louisiana Purchase
1807	Whitelock defeated at Buenos Ayres
1808	Portuguese monarchy at Rio de Janeiro
1809	Madison president U.S.A. Risings in Spanish colonies
1810	Hidalgo's unsuccessful revolt in Mexico. Independent government proclaimed at Buenos
1811	Venezuela declares independence [Ayres
1812	War between U.S.A. and Great Britain. Invasion of Canada repulsed
1813	Bolivar at head of revolt in Northern Spanish colonies
1814	Capture of Washington. Peace of Ghent. Francia dictator of Paraguay
1815	Repulse of New Orleans. Brazil constituted a kingdom
1816	Argentine Republic established
1817	Monroe president U.S.A. Family Compact in Upper Canada. San Martin's invasion of Chili. O'Higgins president of Chili. Brazil declared independent
1819	Florida acquired by U.S.
1821	Missouri Compromise. Independence of Spanish colonies assured by battle of Carabobo. Bolivar president of Colombia

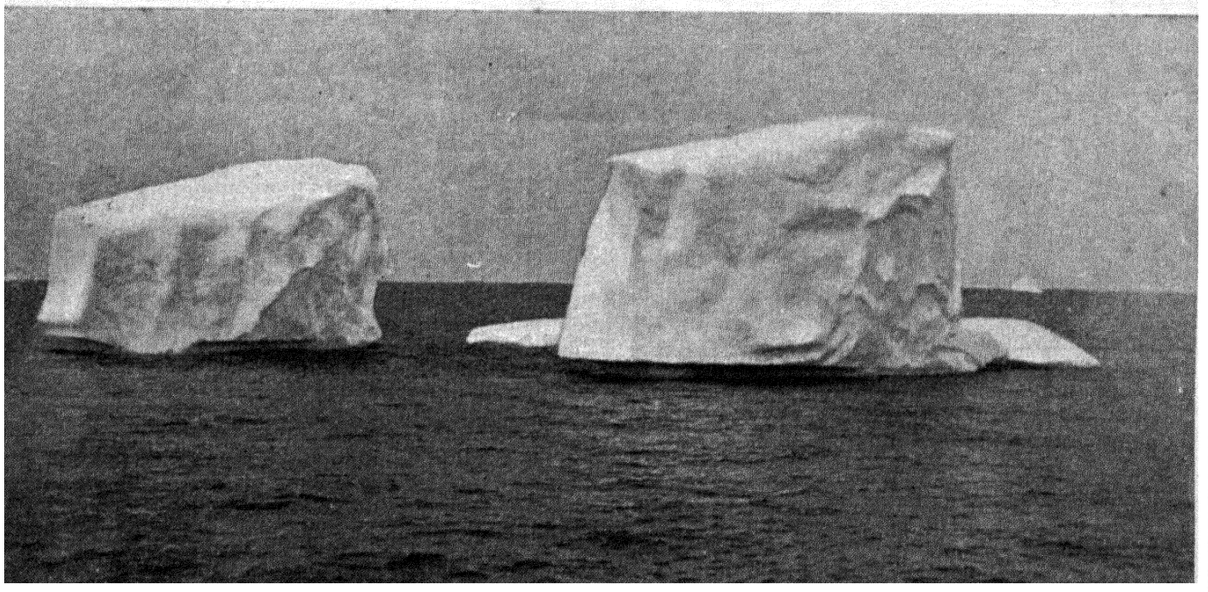
A.D.	
1822	Retirement of San Martin. Iturbide becomes Emperor of Mexico
1823	Monroe doctrine enunciated. Fall of Iturbide; Mexican Republic
1824	Bolivar dictator in Peru. Bolivia constituted
1825	John Quincy Adams president U.S.A. Independence of Uruguay. Federal Union of Central America
1827	Independence of Bolivia
1829	Andrew Jackson president U.S.A.
1830	Venezuela separates from Colombia. Bolivar resigns
1831	Colombia becomes Republic of New Granada
1833	S. Carolina repudiates tariff imposed by congress. Chilian constitution established
1835	Rosas dictator at Buenos Ayres
1837	Van Buren president U.S.A. Papineau's revolt in Canada
1838	Lord Durham in Canada
1839	Lord Durham's report. Central American Union dissolved. Chili, Peru and Bolivia separate states
1840	Canadian Act of Reunion
1841	Harrison president (dies April 4th). Vice-president Tyler becomes president U.S.A.
1842	Ashburton Treaty
1845	Polk president U.S.A. Annexation of Texas
1846	War between U.S. and Mexico
1848	Mexican War ended. U.S. victorious
1849	Repeal of British navigation acts. Zachary Taylor president U.S.A.
1850	Millard Fillmore president U.S.A.
1852	"Uncle Tom's Cabin" published
1853	Franklin Pierce president
1855	Slavery question in Kansas
1857	Buchanan president U.S.A. Dred Scott case
1858	Colony of British Columbia
1860	Secession of South Carolina
1861	Lincoln president U.S.A. War of North and South. Capture of Fort Sumter. Battle of Bull Run. The Trent affair. New Granada becomes United States of Colombia
1863	Lincoln's Slave Emancipation Proclamation
1864	Ulysses Grant Federal commander. Archduke Maximilian made emperor of Mexico
1865	Surrender of Lee and Johnston ends Civil War. Assassination of Lincoln. Andrew Johnson president. Jamaica disturbances suppressed by Governor Eyre
1867	U.S. Reconstruction Act. Purchase of Alaska. British North America Act. Execution of Emperor Maximilian; Juarez president of Mexican Republic
1869	Grant president U.S.A. Red River Rebellion
1870	Blanco dictator of Venezuela
1871	British Columbia in B.N.A. Confederation
1877	Hayes president U.S.A. Diaz president Mexico
1879	Canada adopts protection, under Sir J. Macdonald. War between Chili and Peru
1880	B.N.A., except Newfoundland, included in the dominion of Canada
1881	Garfield, president U.S.A., assassinated. Vice-President Arthur becomes president. Canadian Pacific Railway begun. End of Chili-Peruvian War
1885	Grover Cleveland president U.S.A. Riel's second rebellion
1886	Balmacéda president of Chili
1889	Harrison president U.S.A. Republic of Brazil established
1891	Fall of Balmacéda
1893	Cleveland (2) president U.S.
1896	Venezuela Boundary Arbitration
1897	McKinley president U.S.
1898	War between Spain and U.S.
1899	Castro president of Venezuela. Annexation of Philippines by U.S.A.
1901	McKinley assassinated. Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt becomes president U.S.A.
1905	Roosevelt re-elected president U.S.A.
1908	Expulsion of President Castro from Venezuela
1909	W. H. Taft inaugurated President U.S.A.
1912	Civil war in Mexico
1914	
1913	Dr. Woodrow Wilson, president U.S.A.



A MOUNTAIN OF ICE OFF THE COAST OF GREENLAND

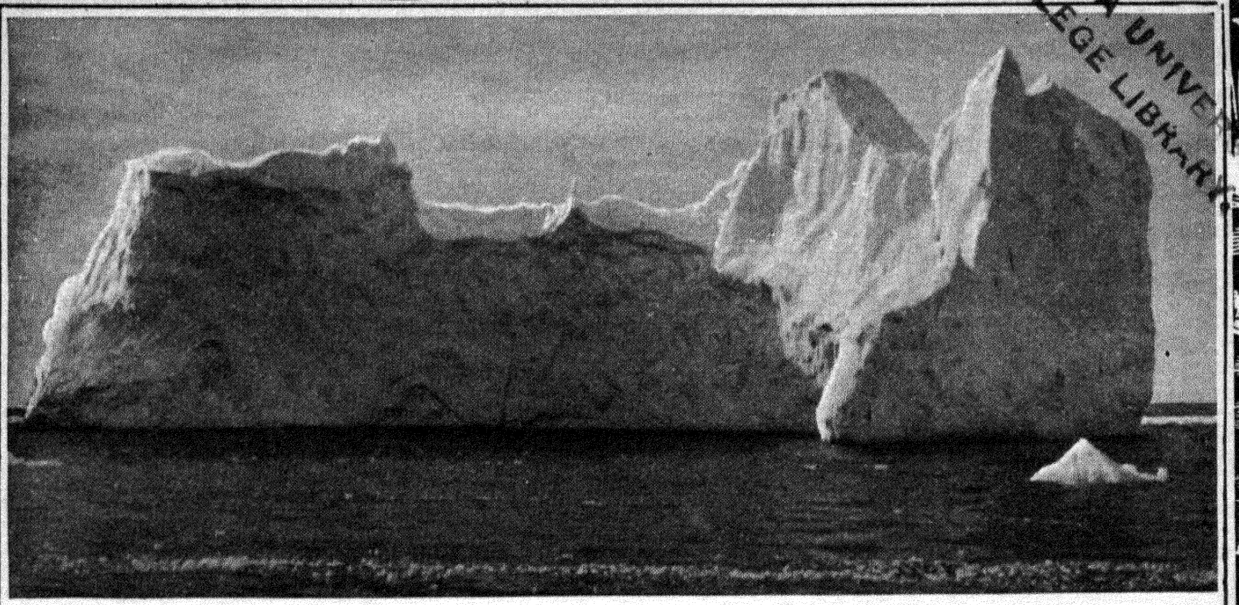


AN ICE WALL, SHOWING ARCH, NEAR ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

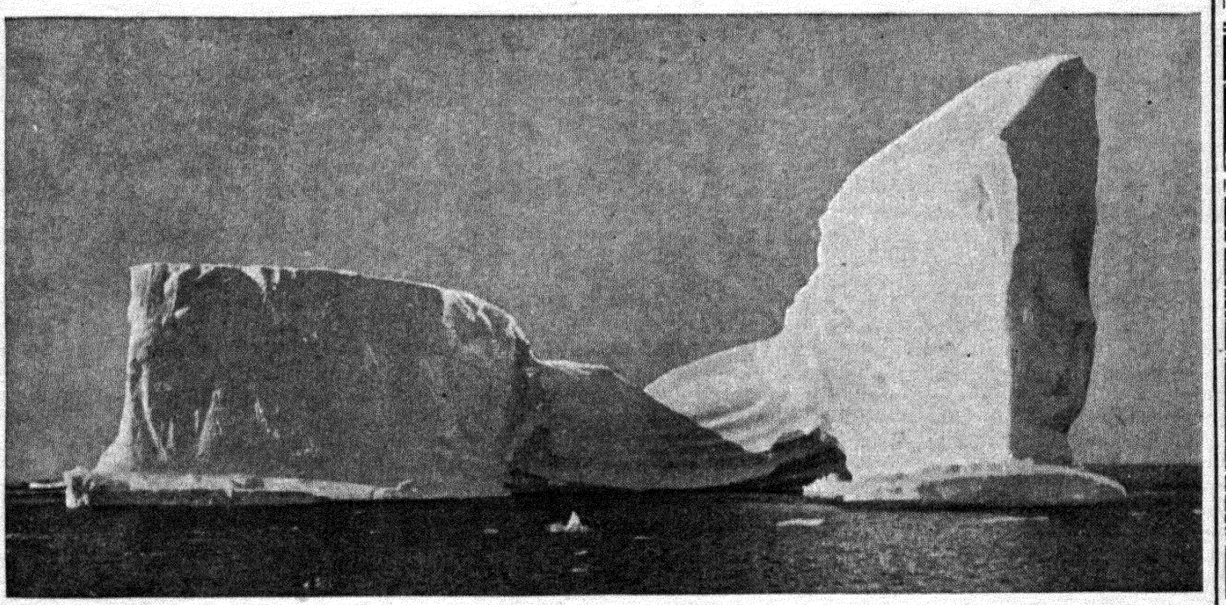


THE FROZEN TERRORS OF THE POLAR SEAS

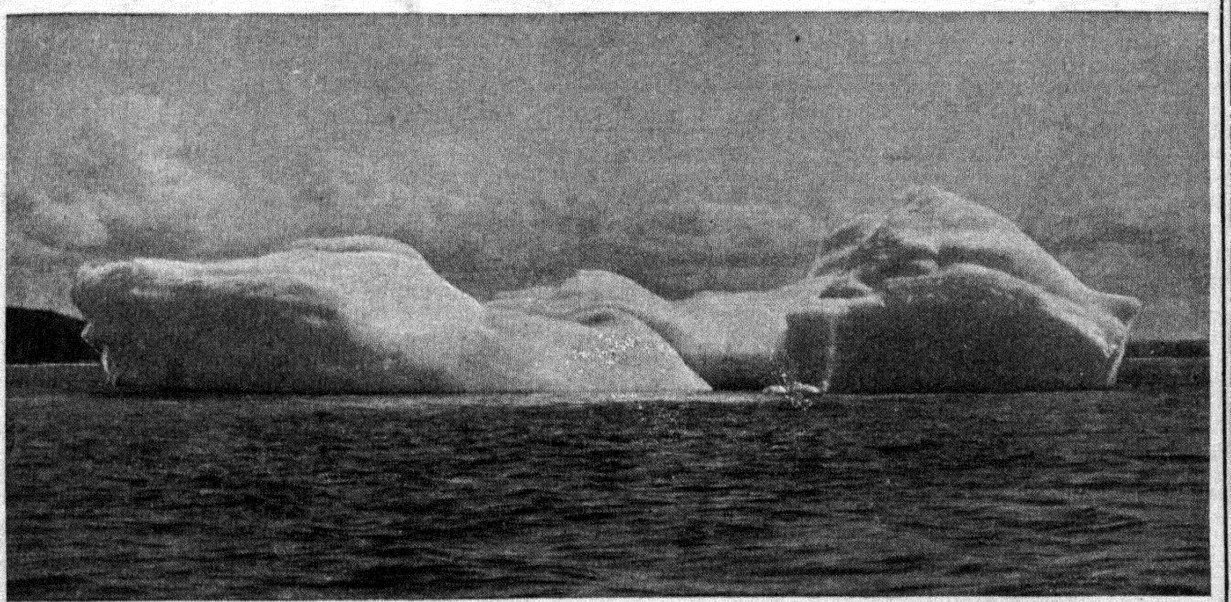
Photos: Shepstone



ON THE DANGEROUS COAST OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND



A HUGE ICE-CLIFF OFF THE SHORES OF LABRADOR



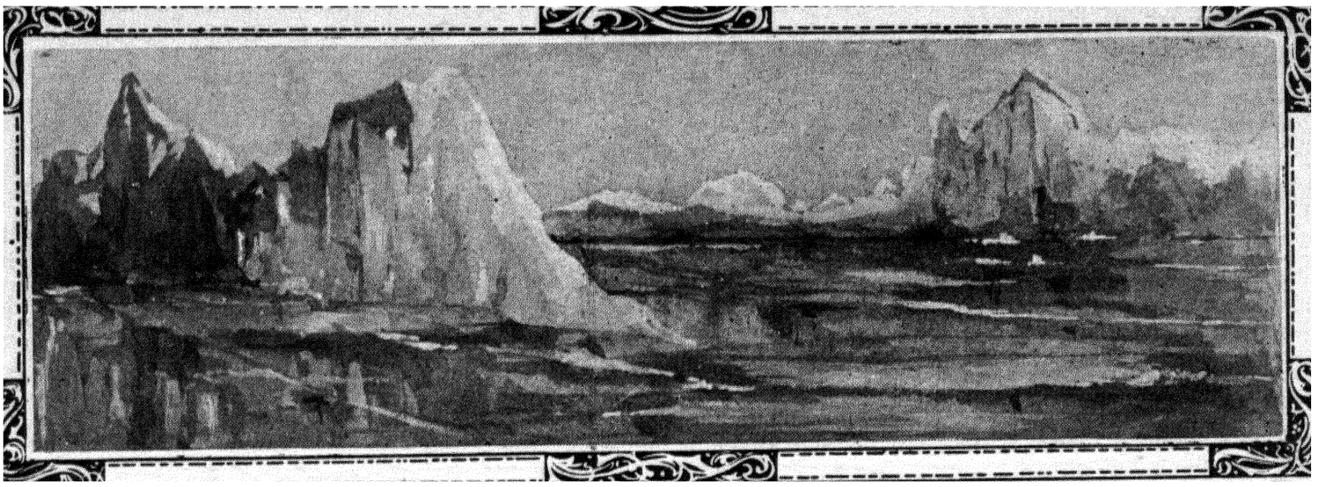
FLOATING MASS ON THE EXTREME NORTH OF NEWFOUNDLAND

FLOATING ICE MOUNTAINS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC

Photos : Shepstone

MAP OF THE ARCTIC REGIONS, SHOWING THE ROUTES OF NORTH POLE EXPLORERS

Although Arctic exploration began with Alfred the Great and the discovery of Greenland in the tenth century, it was not until after John Cabot sighted the coast of Labrador in 1497 that the possibilities of a North-east Passage and a North-west Passage suggested themselves to sea-going adventurers. Since that period our geographical knowledge of the northern regions has vastly increased with each successive century, the nineteenth being notable on account of the excellent work accomplished in this direction. In this map the farthest points attained in each of the forty-five expeditions of the last 400 years are indicated by a +, the record being that of R. E. Peary in 1906.



THE WORLD AROUND THE POLES
A RECORD OF POLAR EXPLORATION

By George Sandeman, M.A.

THE GLAMOUR AND ROMANCE OF THE SEARCH FOR THE NORTH POLE

THE story of Polar exploration is one of rich and varied interest, just as it has always been a rich and complex interest that has led the adventurer into high latitudes. We have often seen elaborate arguments in defence of Arctic and Antarctic enterprise, but these apologies have appeared to us equally unnecessary and inadequate. Unnecessary, because the impulse to go and see is as deep and unquestionable as human nature itself. Inadequate, because the apologists appeal to one or two partial interests, such as the interest of trade at one period, the interest of naval efficiency at another, or, as in our own time, to the interest of international rivalry or of scientific investigation. The real interest is more concrete and complex than any of these things or all of them together.

No one, for instance, can spend an hour with an Arctic explorer without realising the enormous imaginative spell which these mysterious desolations have cast over his mind. They call him incessantly, and he inevitably returns to them. Their vast simplicity accords with some profound mode of the human spirit, such as is mirrored in the "Ancient Mariner" or in the majestic phantasms of northern mythology. The mind once touched with the North seems to turn to it as certainly as the compass-card; and doubtless the same fascination enters deeply into the interest with which we follow the voyages of a Barentz or a Nansen. Or, again, no one can follow these voyages, even in their barest records, without realising that those who have accomplished such arduous and even heroic labours have been men indeed, and that because they have been such men they have sought such labours. "There increaseth in my heart," says Sebastian Cabot, "a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing." "It was the only thing of the world," says Martin Frobisher, "that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate."

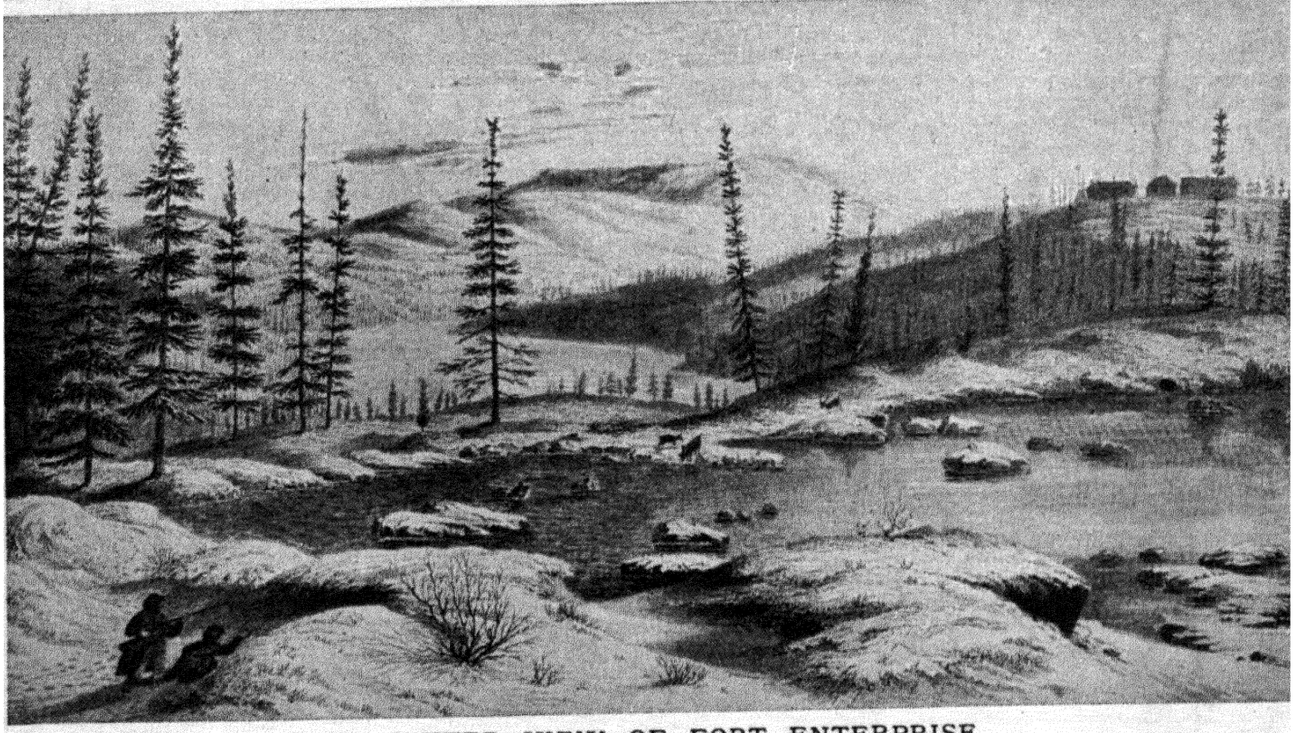
The Call of the North

Explorers of the Polar Seas

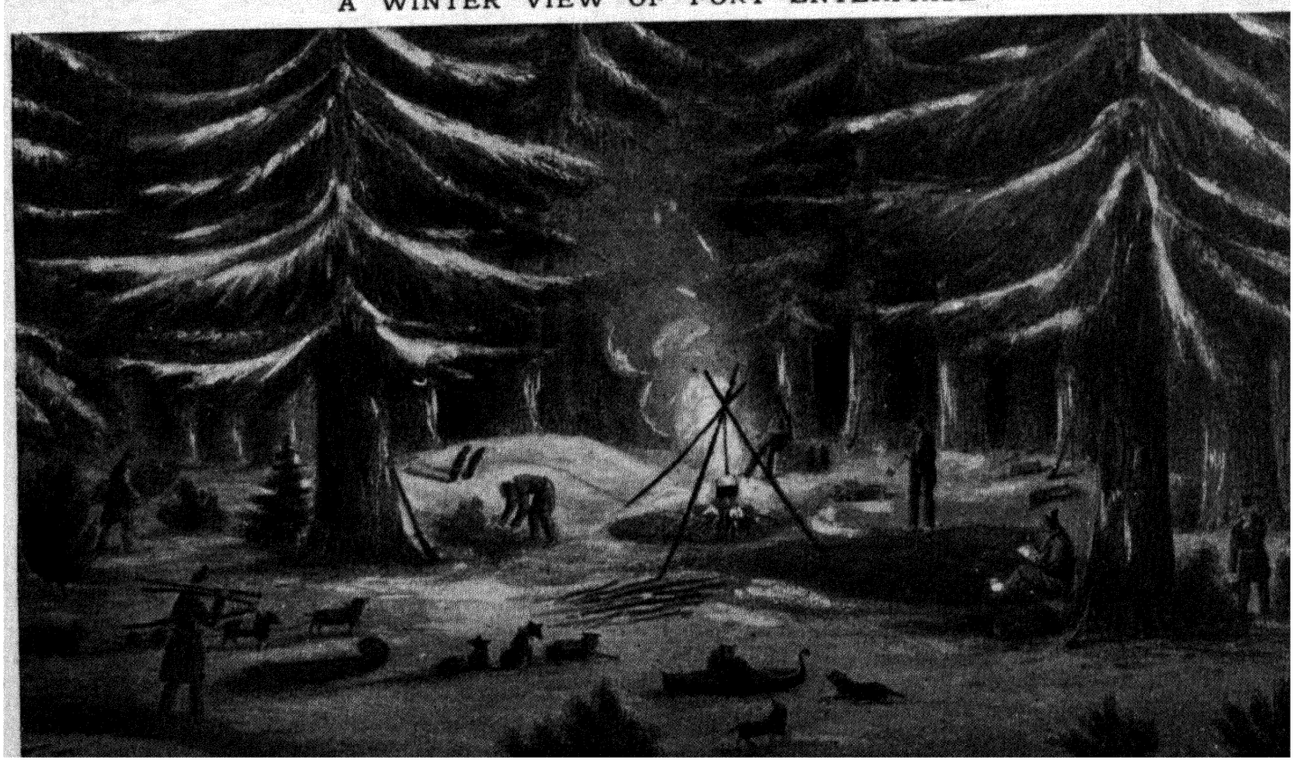
Is it too much to say that this magnanimous ardour and fortitude, which have been a hundred times proved through unimaginable sufferings and endurance to the threshold of death, and still characterise; as nobly as ever, the explorers of to-day, are worth incomparably more than any results whatever that may be achieved by them? Is it too much to say that our interest in Polar exploration is inevitably first of all the human interest, centring round intrepid men and the great maritime nations that have bred them, and only afterwards round the geographical features that have been mapped and the scientific observations that have been recorded?

We no longer seek commercial openings through Polar seas, and it is possible that Arctic enterprise has done all that it will ever do for trade. But it has done a great deal. It gave us trade with Russia, and established the Hudson's Bay Company

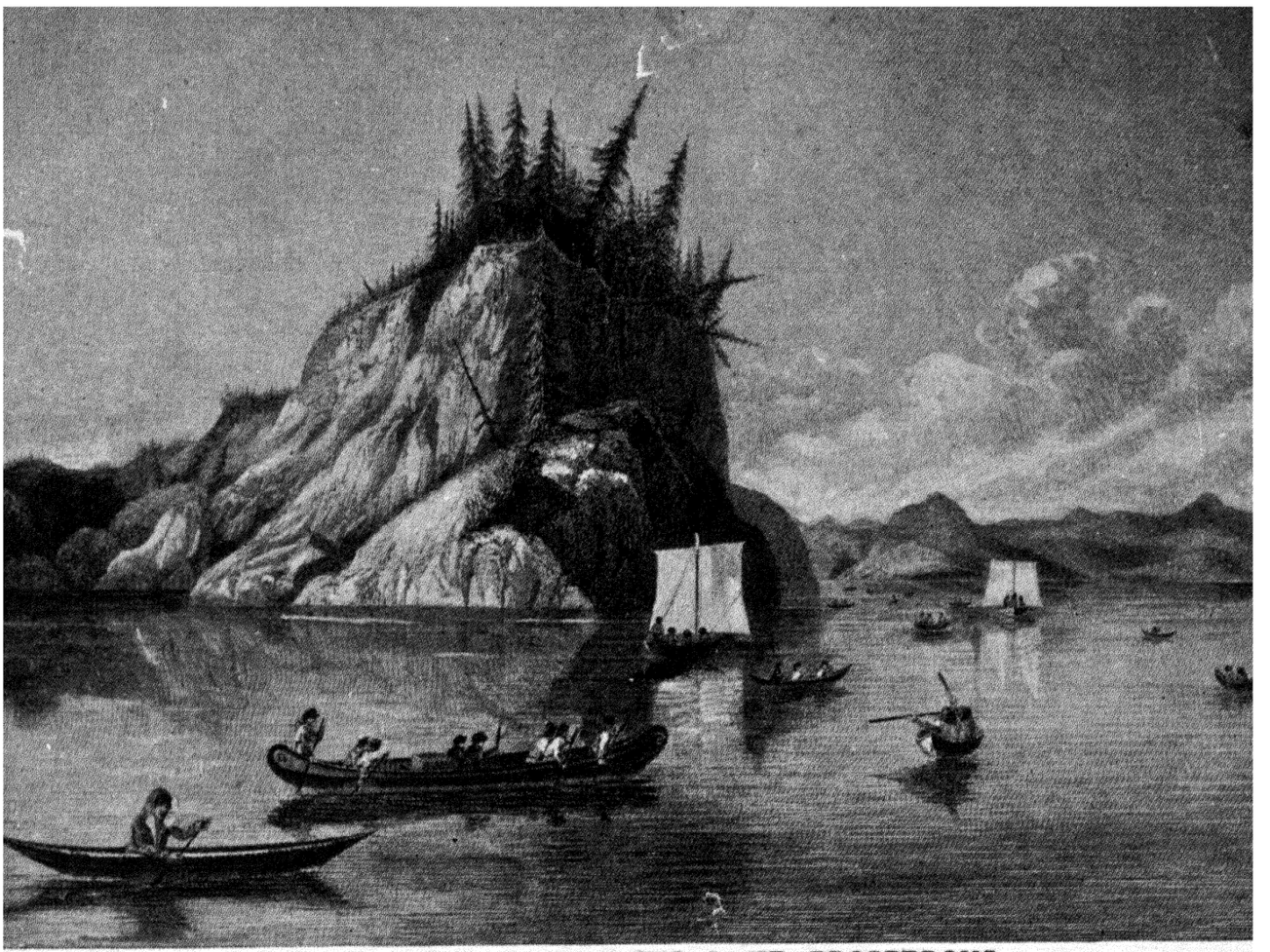
ARCTIC SEA AT MIDNIGHT: SCENE AT THE MOUTH OF THE COPPER MINE RIVER



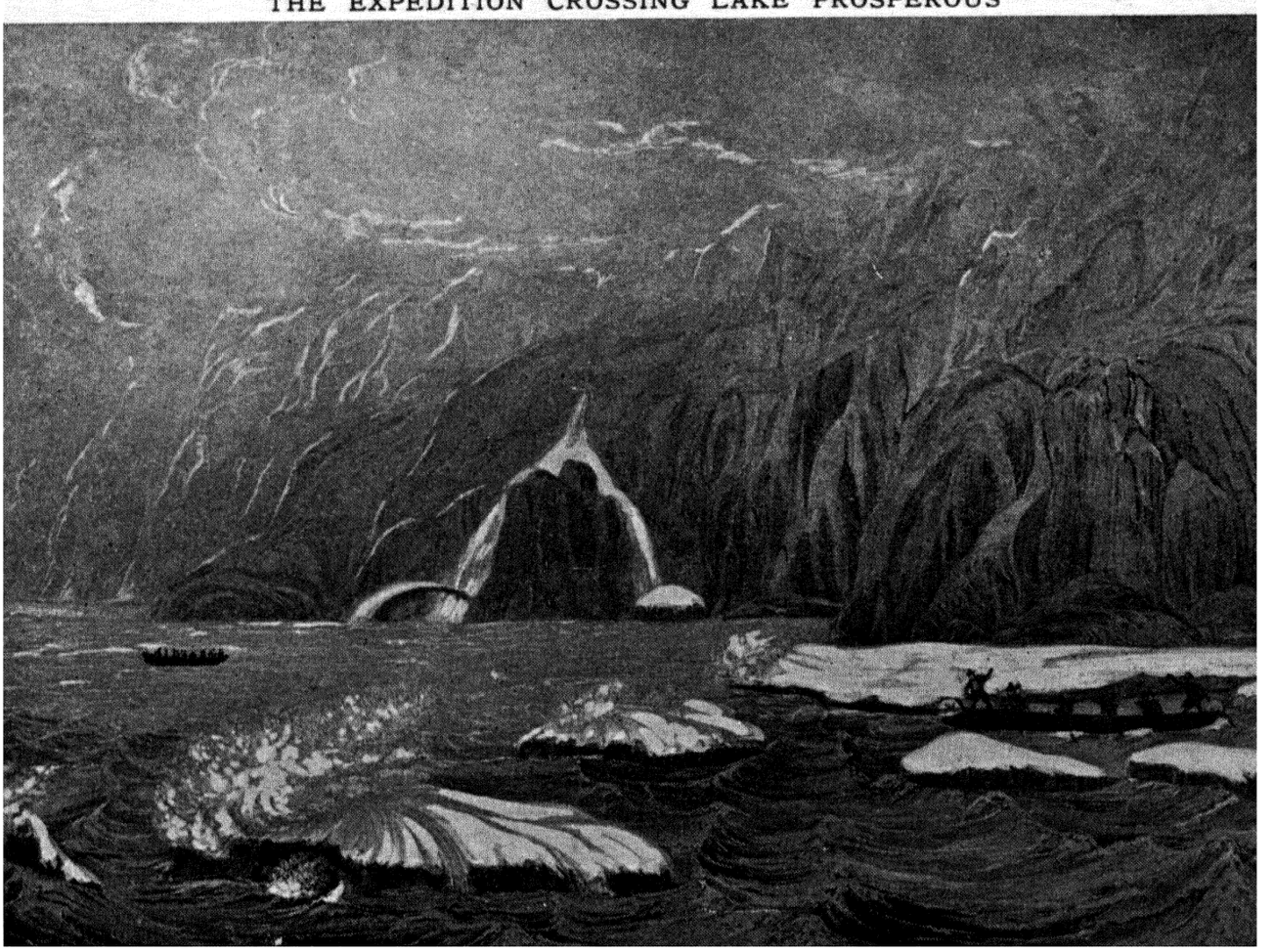
A WINTER VIEW OF FORT ENTERPRISE



FRANKLIN AND HIS PARTY IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS, 1819-22



THE EXPEDITION CROSSING LAKE PROSPEROUS



SCENES IN FRANKLIN'S FIRST GREAT POLAR EXPEDITION

in the heart of Canada. It led directly to the cod fishery of the Newfoundland coast, and to the enormous whale industry of the Spitzbergen seas.

The chief results to be expected from Arctic and Antarctic exploration are now of a scientific nature, and the observations that have been obtained, and will yet be obtained, are of peculiar importance to a considerable group of sciences. Geography, geology, oceanography, magnetism, meteorology and biology are outstanding examples. Sir John Murray has well said that "every department of natural knowledge would be enriched by systematic observations as to the order in which phenomena co-exist and follow each other in regions of the earth's surface about which we know very little or are wholly ignorant. It is one of the great objects of science to collect observations of the kind here indicated, and it may be safely said that without them we can never arrive at a right understanding of the phenomena by which we are surrounded, even in the habitable parts of the globe." It is this indissoluble unity of natural conditions over the face of our planet that gives such very high significance to the scientific study of Polar regions. To take an example. We learn during the year 1909 that the centre of the Antarctic region, far from being, as was generally supposed, an area of peculiar calm, is, in fact, swept by terrific gales; and this involves a new interpretation of those weather conditions elsewhere, from which that region of calms had been erroneously inferred.

What Science Gains by Exploration

In the same year we learn that coal measures had been discovered in the Antarctic continent, showing that this region has at one period been characterised by a warm climate—a fact which inevitably modifies our estimate of the history of the globe. It is because of this interdependence of Polar conditions with those in all other parts of the earth that a modern expedition to high latitudes is in itself a microcosm of the sciences. The impulse to penetrate the northern seas is as old as English history, and the first chronicler of an Arctic expedition was King Alfred the Great. But we may take it as certain that in the early days there was a great deal more discovery than we shall ever know of. From the eighth to the tenth centuries the adventurous Scandinavians were ranging over the northern ocean and descending on every coast. In 861 they discovered Iceland; but when, a few years later, many Norwegian colonists made their home there, they found the remains of an even earlier Christian settlement. A regular traffic sprang up between Norway and Iceland, and Iceland, in its turn, became a centre of geographical discovery. Thus Eric the Red, sailing thence in 983, fell in with the east coast of Greenland, and here, also, little colonies were quickly established. Another Icelandic ship, driven far southwestward out of her course in 1000, reached at length a finely wooded country and ascended a river, certainly in Newfoundland or Canada, and brought back reports of a land which, because of its wild grapes or berries, was called Vinland.

King Alfred's Interest in the Arctic

A more deliberate kind of exploration followed these fortuitous expeditions. Richard III. of England sent ships to Iceland for purposes of discovery, and within a century later the question of navigation to the North Pole was seriously discussed. In the notable enterprises which followed, England took a leading part. Henry VII., who had failed to secure the services of Columbus, granted in 1497 a patent of discovery to the Venetian John Cabot, who had settled in Bristol with his three sons, of whom Sebastian was the most famous. "Understanding," says the latter, "by reason of the sphere that if I should sail by way of north-west I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my desire, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertaining to the voyage." Together, the father and son sailed to the west, and discovered Newfoundland, which they named Prima Vista; but they did not pursue the American coast north of 56°.

The Cabot Family of Explorers

Newfoundland had already been visited, and named Terra de Baccalhaos, or "Land of Cod-fish," by the Portuguese Cortereal in 1464, under the patronage of Alfonso V.; and his son, Gaspar Cortereal, set out from Lisbon with two ships in 1500 for the north-west passage, and visited and described Greenland, Labrador and the River St. Lawrence. In subsequent voyages Gaspar, and later his brother Miguel, were lost; but these expeditions, and another sent in search of them, secured for Portugal

BRAVE EXPLORERS OF THE ARCTIC SEAS

The above group contains the portraits of hardy sailors who commanded expeditions of exploration to the Arctic regions as well as of some of the many daring seamen who went in search of the missing Sir John Franklin.

the valuable Newfoundland fisheries. King Henry VIII., persuaded by Mr. Robert Thorne, of Bristol, "with very weighty and substantial reasons to set forth a discovery even to the North Pole," sent out the Dominus Vobiscum and another ship in 1527, "having in them divers cunning men," of whom one was a canon of St. Paul's, London, and a great mathematician. This genuinely scientific enterprise met with ill-fortune; one of the ships was cast away north of Newfoundland, and the other returned after less than five months. The attempt was repeated in 1536, when the Trinity and Minion sailed from Gravesend with a company of six score, of whom thirty were gentlemen "desirous to see the strange things of the world." Having reached Newfoundland, they fell into the extremity of distress for want of food, and were only saved by the welcome arrival of a French vessel, which they immediately seized upon, and so returned to England.

Unfortunate Enterprise of Henry VIII.

It should be made clear that the central idea in all Polar exploration until the end of the eighteenth century was the discovery of a practicable trade route by sea from the Atlantic to the Pacific, either round the north of America, or round the north of Russia, or straight across the Pole. It should also be made clear that this project, which appears so fantastic now, was not at that time in the least fantastic, because the theory was universally held, unquestioned, that ice could not be formed in the open sea. It was accepted as a matter of course that ice was formed only in rivers and along coast-lines.

It is obvious that if this theory had been in accordance with fact there was every reason to expect an open route somewhere between the Atlantic and the Pacific through Polar seas. Not until the early years of the nineteenth century was it thoroughly realised that the Arctic ice-pack is, so far as navigation is concerned, practically a solid body. Of course, both the north-east and the north-west passages exist, and have been traversed by ships. But they do not exist in that sense in which they were sought for by early mariners. For all practical purposes, however, they are non-existent. They are not ice-free routes. A well-organised expedition set out from England in 1553 for the discovery, not of the north-western passage—which had been sought hitherto—but of the north-east passage to Cathay. The plan was due to Sebastian Cabot, whom Edward VI. had created "grand pilot of England" and "Governor of the Mystery and Company of the Merchants Adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown."

Navigation Blocked by Ice-packs

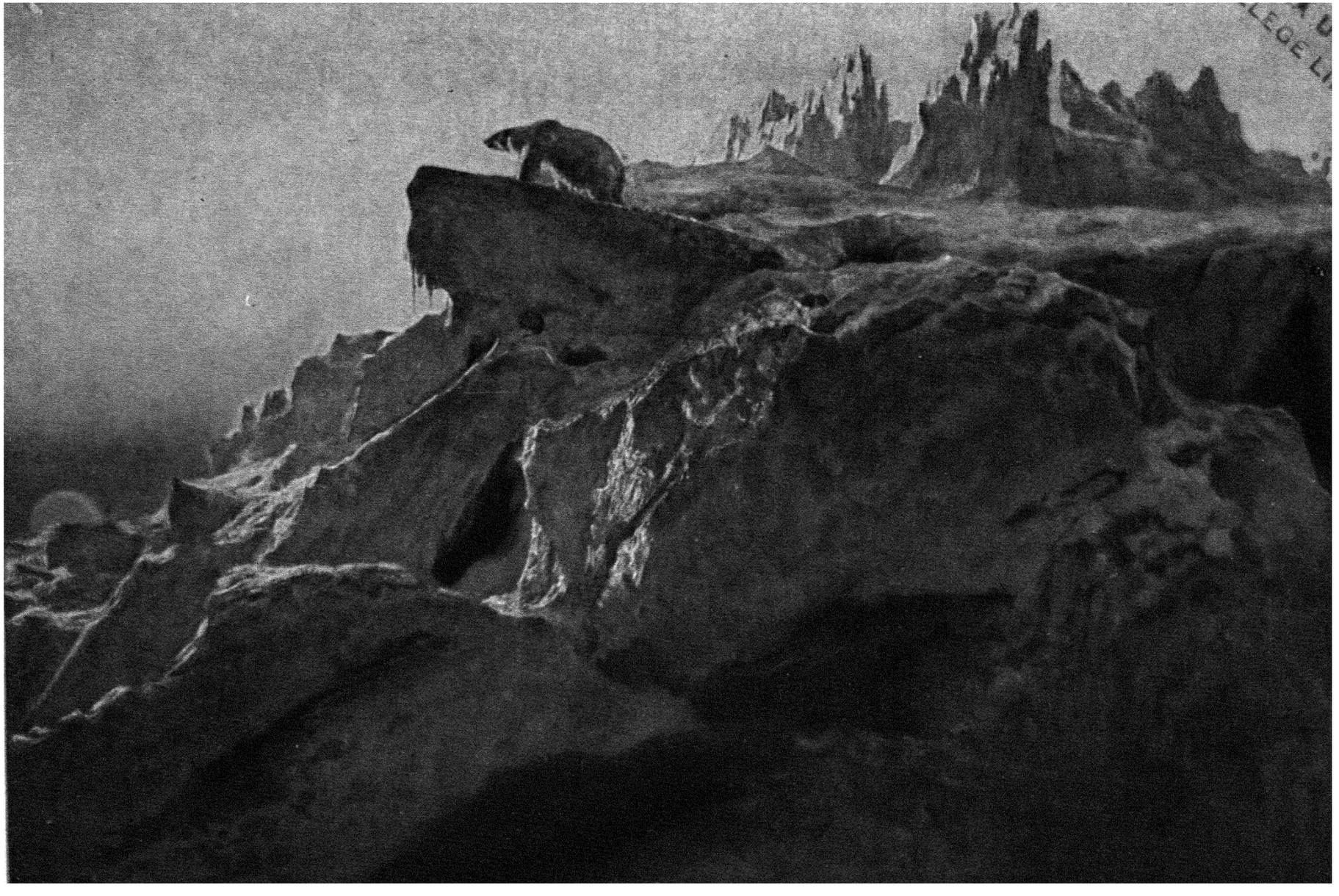
Sir Hugh Willoughby commanded the Bona Esperanza (120 tons), Richard Chancellor and Stephen Burrough were in the Edward Bonadventure (160 tons), and Cornelius Durfoorth was in the Bona Confidentia (90 tons). Willoughby and the whole of the company of the Bona Esperanza and of the Bona Confidentia perished on the eastern coast of Lapland during the following winter; but Chancellor, who had missed his consorts, reached Archangel in safety, and having visited the tsar at Moscow, brought his ship back to England in the following spring, carrying a letter from the tsar to Edward VI.

The prospect thus opened of trade with Muscovy led Queen Mary to send a commission in return. Chancellor sailed again on this errand in 1555, with instructions to "use all ways and means possible to learn how men may pass from Russia, either by land or by sea, to Cathay." He was followed, in 1556, by Stephen Burrough in the Searchthrift, whose mission it was to explore the sea to the eastward. Burrough reached and discovered Novaya Zemlya, Vaigach Island and the Kara Strait, and returned in safety.

Tragic Fate of Queen Mary's Commission

The other ships, after accomplishing the voyage to Archangel, came to a disastrous end. Returning with a Russian envoy on board, the Edward Bonadventure was cast away on the Scottish coast, where the ambassador was with difficulty saved, but Chancellor and most of his crew perished; and the two other ships were lost with all hands in the North Sea. But a very considerable step had been made in Arctic discovery, and the beginning of the Russian trade by the Muscovy Company had been established.

The next attempt was in the direction of the north-west passage. Martin Frobisher, one of the most adventurous seamen of a most adventurous period, had urged the project for many years before he was placed in command of the Gabriel (35 tons), the Michael (30 tons), and a pinnace of 10 tons. He sailed in June,



"BEYOND MAN'S FOOTSTEPS": IN THE ICY WILDERNESS AROUND THE NORTH POLE

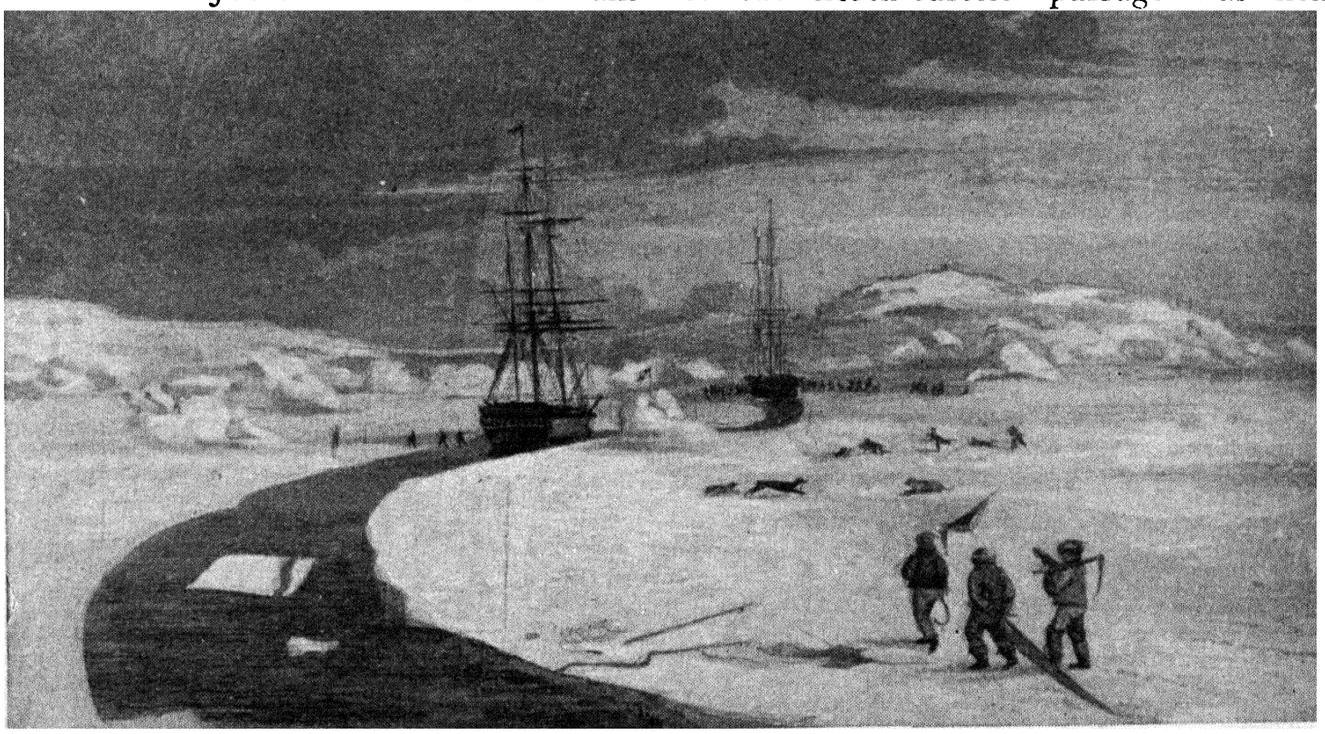
From the painting by Briton Rivière in the Tate Gallery

1576, from Greenwich, Queen Elizabeth waving her hand to them from the shore. Reaching the coast of Labrador, he sailed northward among the ice, and discovered the bay which is known by his name.

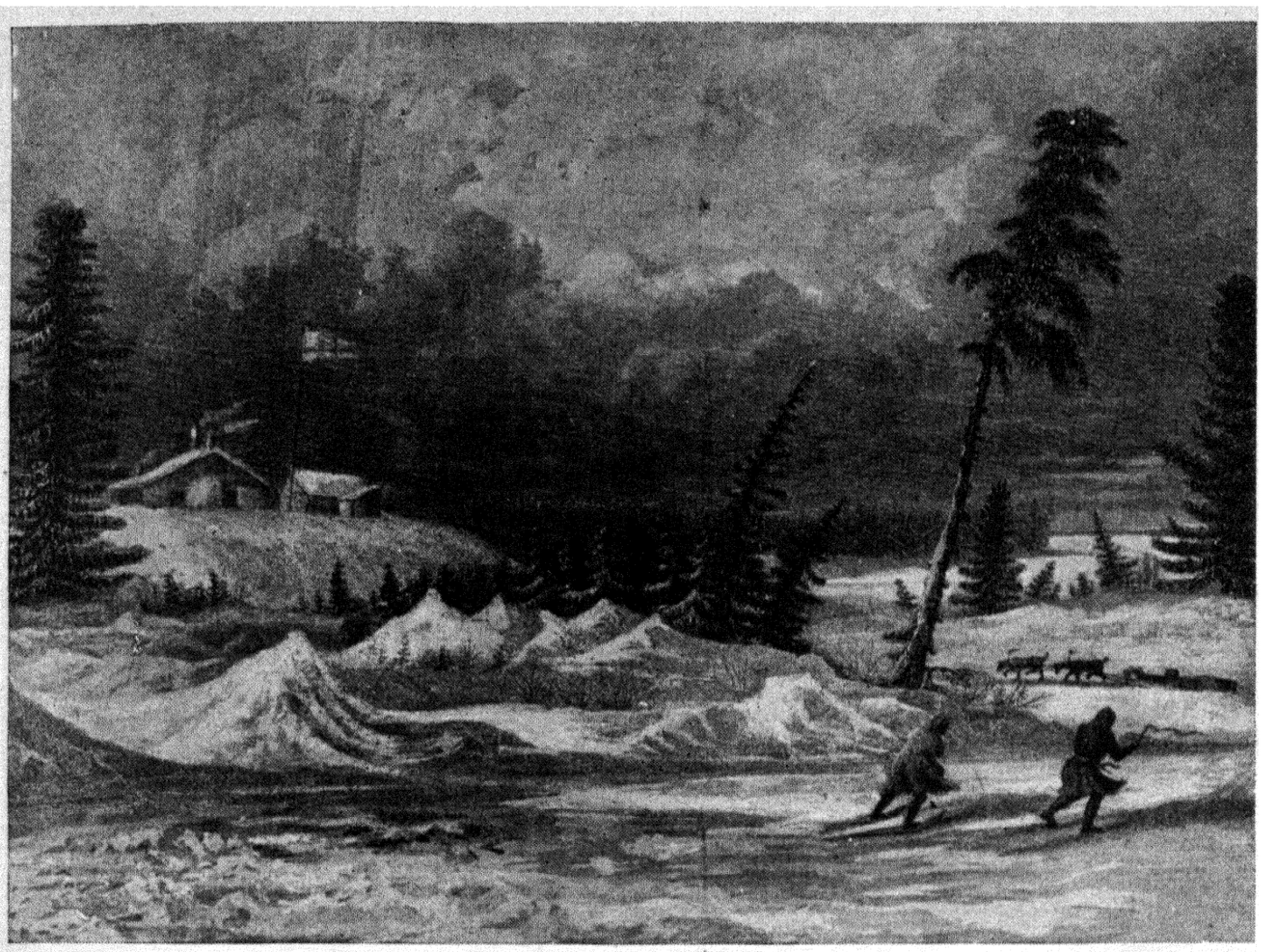
This voyage, in which Frobisher thought, erroneously, that he had found promise of gold, was followed by two others, in the two following years, to the same region and to the west coast of Greenland; but their results, however, were regarded as discouraging in respect both of the north-west passage and of the gold-mines. In 1580, the Muscovy Company sent Arthur Pet in the George (40 tons), and Charles Jackman in the William (20 tons) to the north-eastern sea. Reaching Vaigach Island, the two explorers discovered and passed through Yugor Strait between it and the mainland, but they were stopped by the ice in the Kara Sea, and had to return through the strait a month later. The George returned to England, but the William was lost on her way to Iceland.

The sanguine and intrepid John Davis, in his three voyages towards the north-west passage, now made important geographical discoveries in the strait which bears his name. In 1585 he proceeded with the Sunshine (50 tons) and the Moonshine (35 tons) to the west coast of Greenland, and thence northward to the Cumberland peninsula, where he named Mount Raleigh and Exeter Sound, as well as the two forelands of that sound—viz., Cape Dyer and Cape Walsingham. He returned in the two following years, sailing up Cumberland Sound, and exploring the coasts of Labrador and of Greenland; and in his third voyage he discovered the strait which is known by the name of Hudson.

Davis's observations rightly confirmed his belief in a north-west passage, but he failed to persuade the merchant adventurers to support further attempts. A great advance towards the discovery of the north-eastern passage was next made by William Barentz, the Dutch pilot, in the last of his three famous voyages of 1594, 1595, and 1596. For twenty years before that time, the merchants of Amsterdam had been trading round the north of Scandinavia to Archangel; and wishing to extend their operations farther eastward they had been advised by Peter Plancius, a celebrated geographer, to seek a passage round the northern end of Novaya Zemlya, because the course through the Kara Strait, at the southern end of that island, and through the Kara Sea beyond, was so often impracticable because of ice. This suggestion was in accordance with the theory which we have already noticed,



IN SEARCH OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE: PARRY'S EXPEDITION AT WINTER ISLAND
By calling a sailor, Sir Edward William Parry made altogether five expeditions to the Arctic regions, the second, in 1819, being in search of a north-west passage, earning for him the sum of £5,000 offered by parliament. His last, and perhaps most famous, voyage was that of 1827, when he and his party made a gallant though unsuccessful attempt to reach the Pole on sledges from Spitzbergen. This picture shows an exciting incident during his second voyage, which lasted three years, to the Arctic regions, and during which the Fury and Hecla Strait was discovered.



A WINTER VIEW OF FORT FRANKLIN

LAUNCHING BOATS ACROSS A REEF OPPOSITE MOUNT CONYBEARE

SCENES IN FRANKEIN'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE ARCTIC SEAS, IN 1825-27

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as generally accepted at that time. In the expeditions which the merchants now sent out for that purpose, Barentz, who was a well-educated man, besides being a first-rate seaman, contributed to geographical science the first real knowledge of the conditions of the ice between Novaya Zemlya and Spitzbergen. His first voyage, sailing June 4th, 1594, was in the Mercurius (100 tons), accompanied by a fishing smack. They sighted Novaya Zemlya a month later, and sailed up to its north-eastern extremity, vainly seeking an eastward passage through the ice-pack.

The second expedition, of the following year, in which seven vessels took part, started too late in the season, and only reached the entrance to the Sea of Kara, at the southern end of the great island, when it had to return. The third voyage, which set out on May 13th, 1596, was that on which Barentz secured his great celebrity, and on which he died. A large reward had been offered by the Dutch Government to anyone who should complete a voyage to China by the north-eastern route, a feat only accomplished by Nordenskiöld in 1878. The Amsterdam merchants commissioned two ships, in one of which Barentz sailed as chief pilot. Because of the erroneous impression above mentioned, Barentz determined to keep far out to westward, in order to secure open water. In doing so he discovered Bear Island, south of Spitzbergen, and a few days later found himself on the west coast of Spitzbergen, a land of which he was the first discoverer.

Notable Discoveries of Barentz

Returning to Bear Island, the two ships parted company, one proceeding northward, and the other, with Barentz, steering eastward. From July 2nd they beat against head winds, and among packs of drifting ice, until, on the 17th, they came upon the west coast of Novaya Zemlya at 74° 40′ N., and thence sailed northward along it. Rounding its northern extremity they were, on August 26th, imprisoned by the ice in Barentz Bay, or "Ice Haven," on the eastern coast. "Here," writes De Veer, the chronicler of the expedition, "we were forced, in great cold, poverty, misery and grief to stay all that winter."

Realising that their ship had sustained such damage by the pressure of the ice that she could not take the sea again, the seventeen stout-hearted Dutchmen abandoned her, and built a strong and capacious timber house out of driftwood, which they found in abundance, and out of planks torn from the ship. Great drifts of snow surrounded the house, and protected it from cold. Bears and white foxes visited them in great abundance; the fat of the bears was used for lamps, the flesh of the foxes for food, and their skins for clothing.

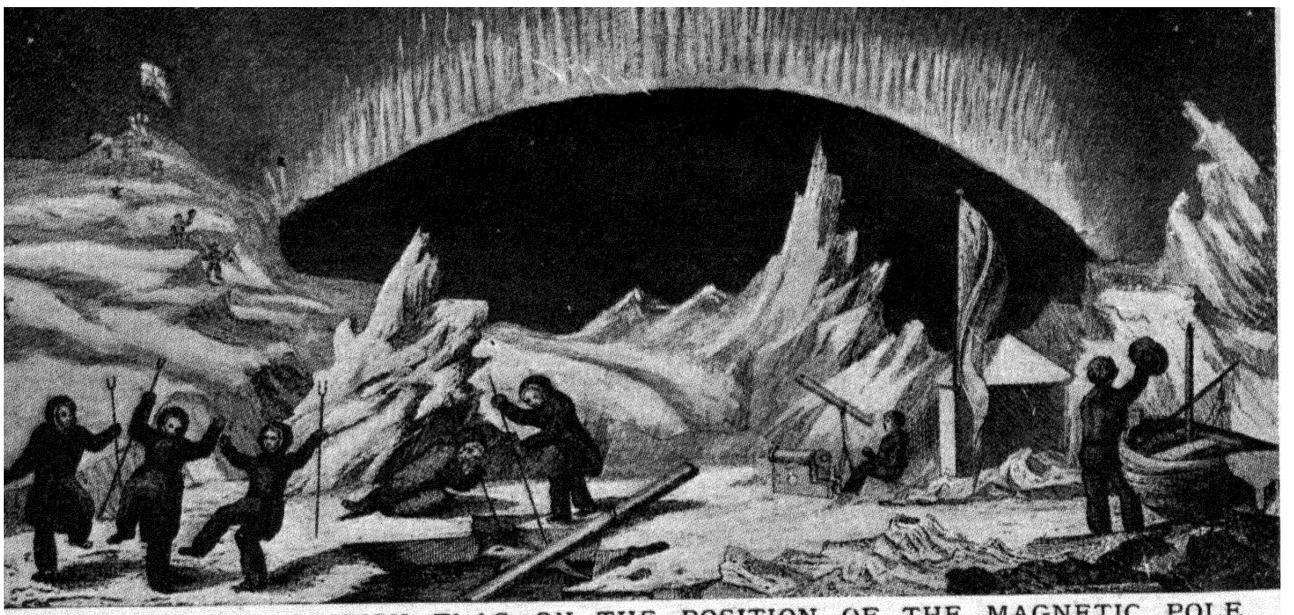
Explorers Imprisoned by the Ice

Nearly three centuries later this house was discovered intact. On September 9th, 1871, Elling Carlsen, a Norwegian ship-master, having entered Ice Haven, found the place exactly as they had left it, with the old Dutch clock on the wall, the cooking pots on the fireplace, and the weapons and instruments and books lying about as if in an inhabited cabin. Among the books was a "History of China," which Barentz had been studying because China was to be the ultimate end of his voyage. These relics are now in the Foreign Office at the Hague.

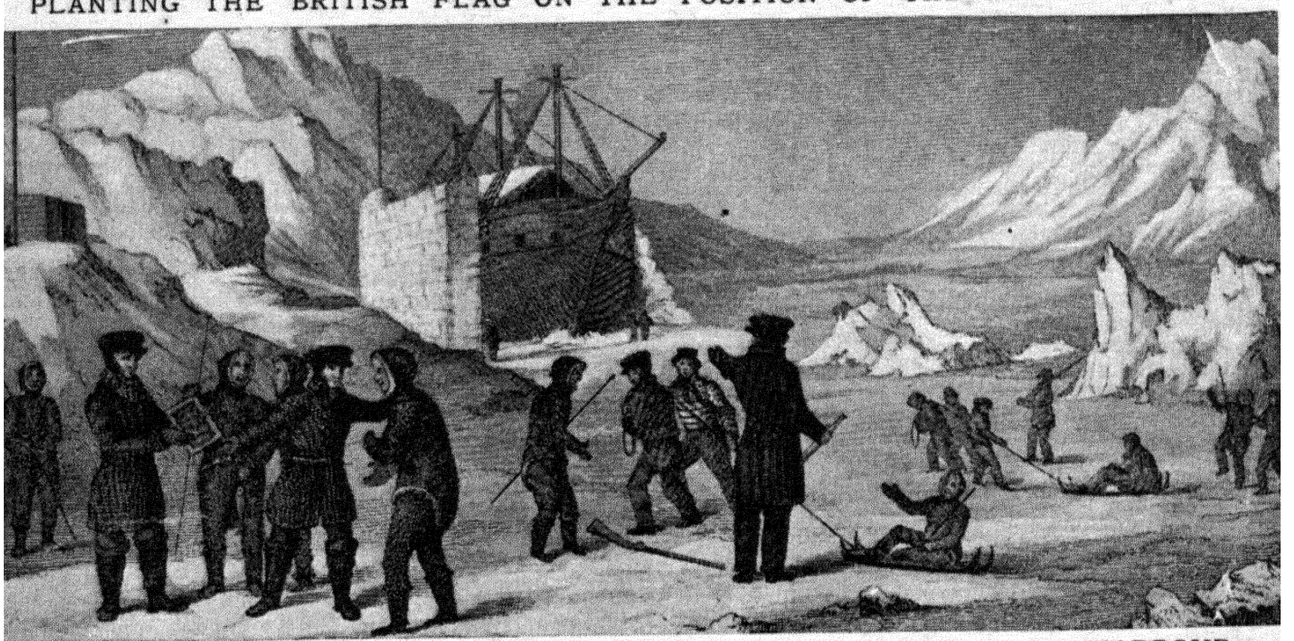
On January 16th the little company perceived "a certain redness in the sky," and on the 27th "we saw the sun in his full roundness above the horizon, which made us all glad, and we gave God hearty thanks for His grace showed unto us, that that glorious light appeared to us again." But the weather grew colder yet, and it was not until June 13th that their two open boats were repaired and provisioned for a boat voyage. Setting forth on the same day to return by the way that he had come, Barentz, who was so ill that he had to be carried to the boats, died on the seventh day. Those who remained, after enduring extraordinary hardships, brought their open boats into harbour at Kola.

No success having attended the attempts to discover either a north-east or a north-west passage, the Muscovy Company commissioned Henry Hudson, in 1607, to sail to Japan straight across the North Pole. He set out from Greenwich, on May 1st, in the Hopewell (80 tons), on this astonishing enterprise. The voyage led to considerable commercial results. Hudson's reports of the abundance of whales and sea-horses in the Polar seas were the beginning of a great and valuable industry. Its scientific results were also notable. Hudson was the first of the northern explorers to observe the dip of the magnetic needle, and he added not a little to geographical knowledge. Falling in with the east coast of Greenland, which

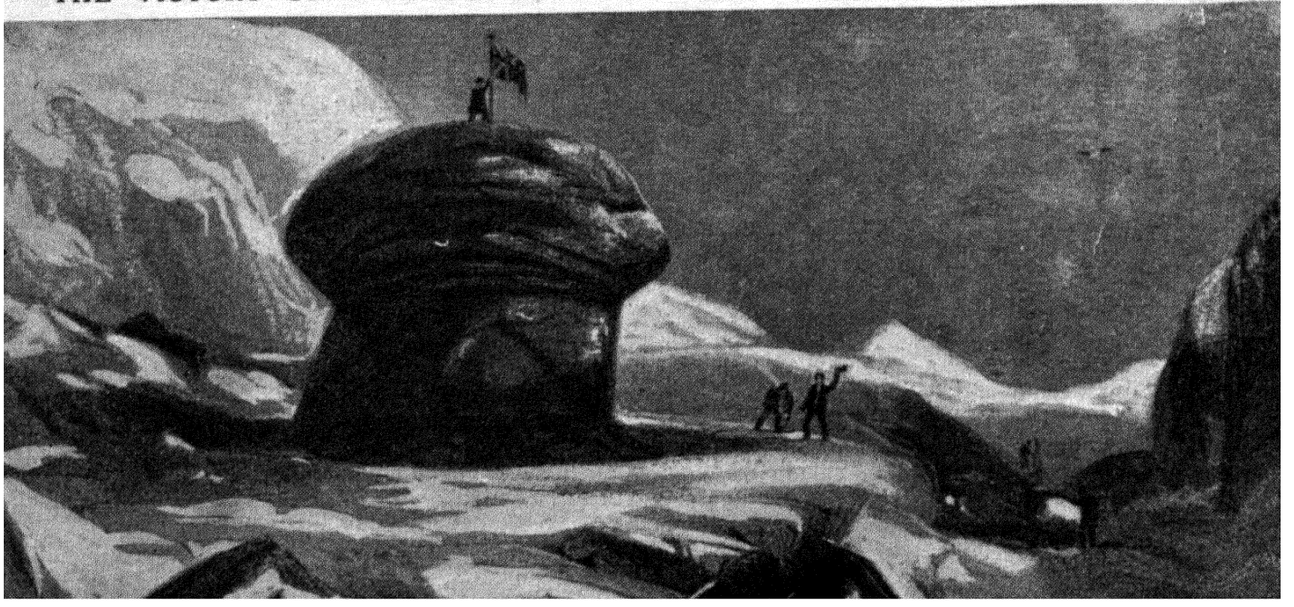
Hudson's Fruitful Voyage



PLANTING THE BRITISH FLAG ON THE POSITION OF THE MAGNETIC POLE

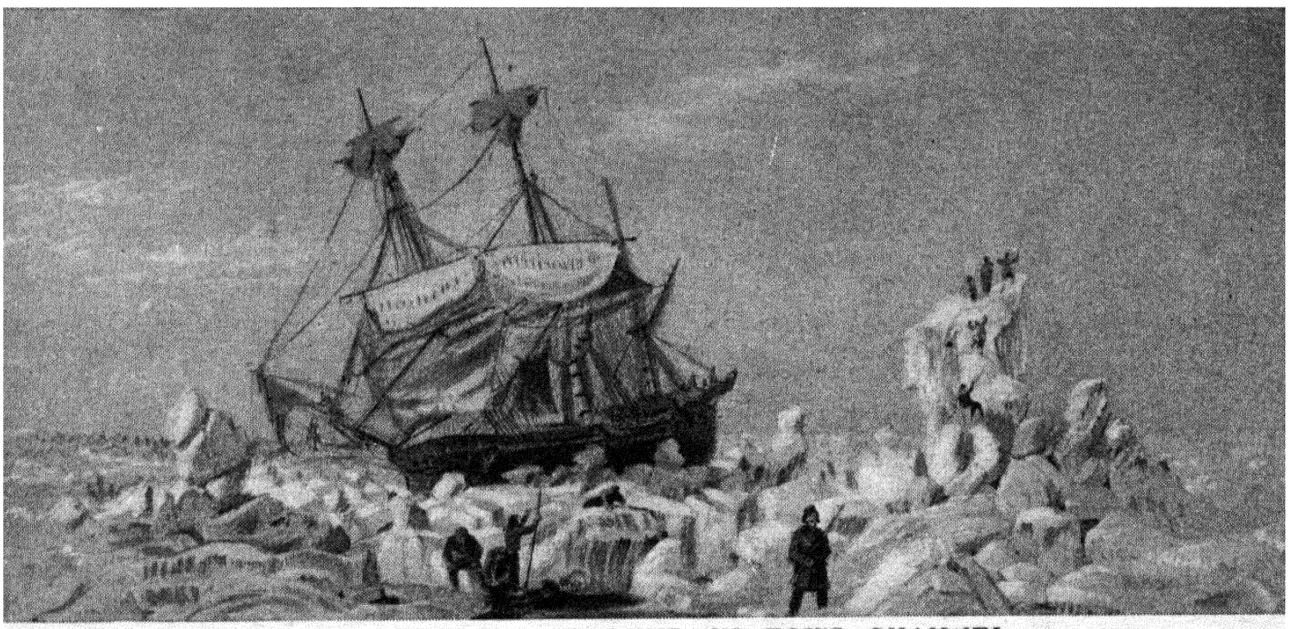


THE VICTORY UNDER PROTECTING WALLS OF SNOW IN FELIX HARBOUR

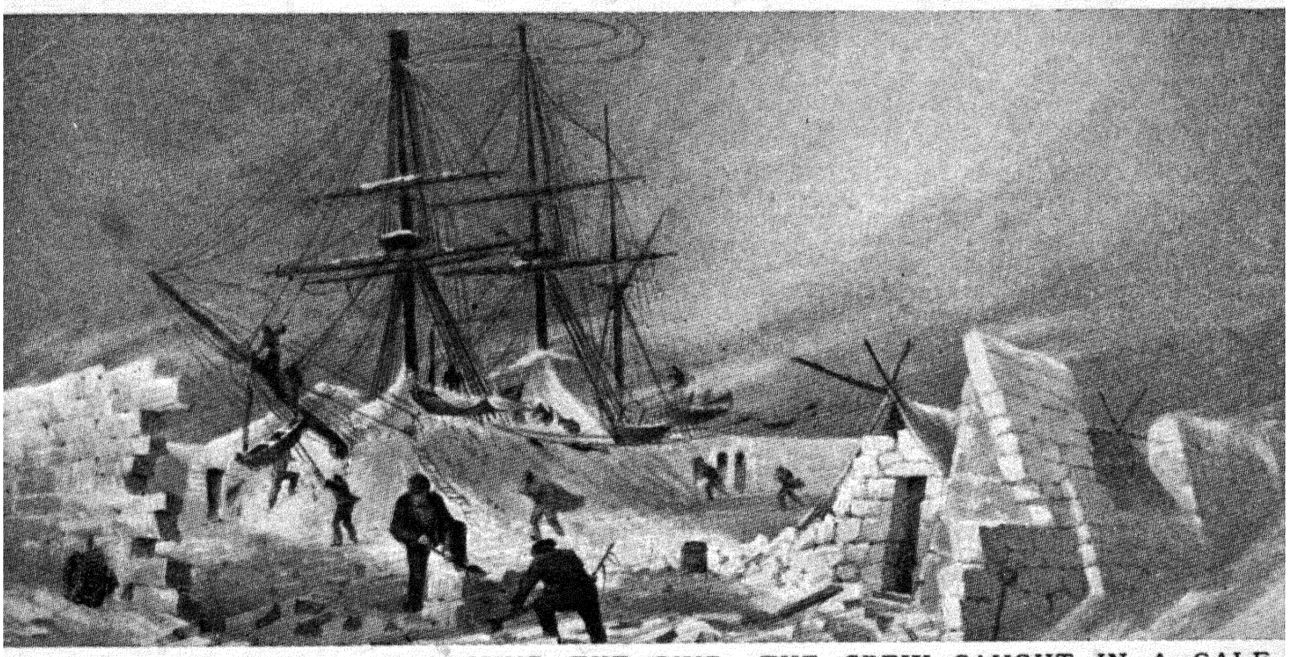


THE EXPEDITION THAT LED TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE MAGNETIC POLE

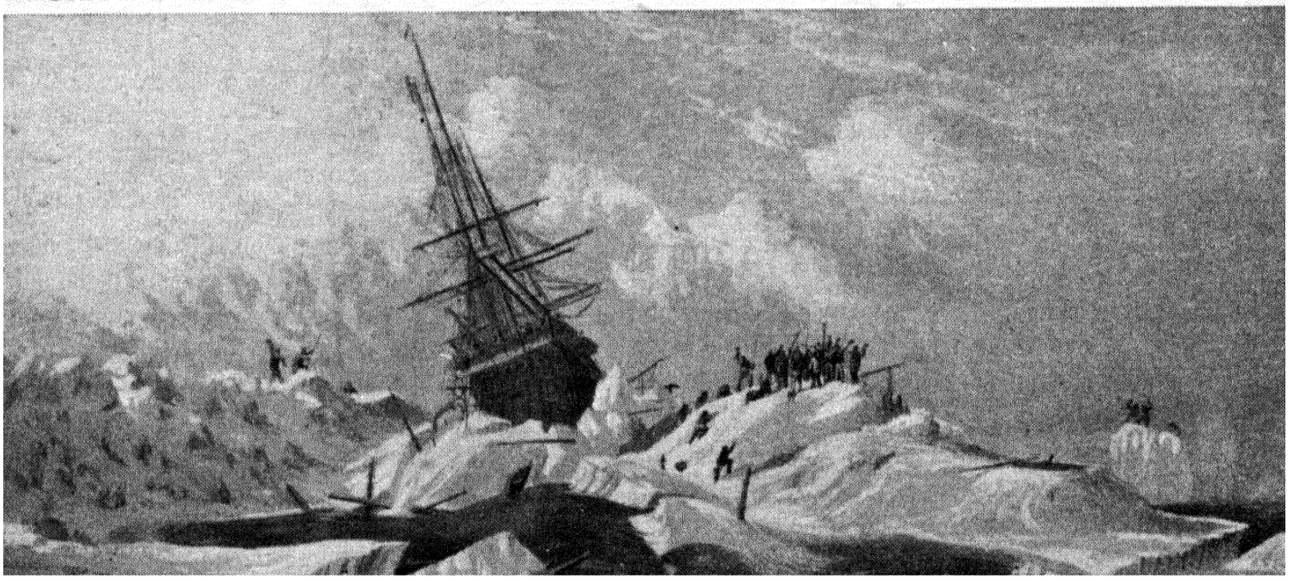
This Arctic expedition, fitted out in 1829 by Sir Felix Booth, was under the command of Sir John Ross and his nephew, Sir James Clark Ross. It was during this expedition that the latter explorer discovered the North Magnetic Pole.



H.M S. TERROR ICEBOUND IN FOX'S CHANNEL



BUILDING SNOW WALLS AROUND THE SHIP: THE CREW CAUGHT IN A GALE



SCENES IN SIR GEORGE BACK'S ARCTIC EXPEDITION, 1836-37

Before his Arctic voyage of 1836-37, illustrated in the above pictures, Sir George Back had shared in three Polar expeditions under Sir John Franklin, and had gone in search of Sir John Ross when that explorer was supposed to be lost

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THE ARCTIC COUNCIL DISCUSSING PLANS FOR THE RELIEF OF SIR JOHN FRANKLIN

On May 18th, 1845, Sir John Franklin, then almost sixty years of age, set out on what proved to be his last voyage, the expedition having for its object the discovery of a north-west passage through Lancaster Sound and Bering Strait. When the famous explorer failed to return, numerous expeditions vainly set out in search of him, the above picture showing a council of Arctic experts discussing ways and means for reaching the missing party.

he named "Hold with Hope," he explored it northward until stopped by ice in 73° N. Thence he proceeded north-east and followed the western coast of Spitzbergen to its northern point. Steering again north-west, with the intention of rounding the north of Greenland, he passed the 80th parallel, but failed to find a passage through the ice, and returned to England after discovering an island, which he called "Hudson's Tutches," but which was afterwards named Jan Mayen.

The Fate of the Brave Hudson

His second voyage, in 1608, in which he attempted to find a passage through the ice between Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya, ended in disappointment; in the following year he explored the east coast of North America southward from Newfoundland and discovered the Hudson River. His fourth and most notable voyage was undertaken in the Discovery (55 tons) in 1610, with a view to finding the north-west passage. Passing the northern point of Labrador, Hudson entered the great enclosed sea which is known as Hudson Bay, where he hauled the ship aground and was frozen in. In the following June, as he was working the Discovery out of the bay, the ship's company suddenly mutinied and abandoned Hudson, his son, and seven others in a small boat amid the ice.

It was now that the English and Dutch whalers began to frequent every year the seas about Spitzbergen, and soon increased to great numbers, so that knowledge with regard to that group of islands, and especially with regard to the seasonal conditions and yearly variations of the Polar ice-pack, gradually accumulated during the next two centuries from their reports. The names of many skippers, such as Poole, Baffin, Fotherby, Edge, and especially Scoresby, are associated with various discoveries and generalised observations made by these whaling expeditions. It became gradually established, for instance, that ice is formed in deep and open sea, far from land, and even in rough weather; that the Polar ice-pack is absolutely impenetrable; that its southern limits vary considerably from one season to another, and that the 81st degree of latitude, or at most the 82nd, is the highest to which ships can go in any year. But these conclusions were not fully realised for two centuries after the time when Hudson's discoveries

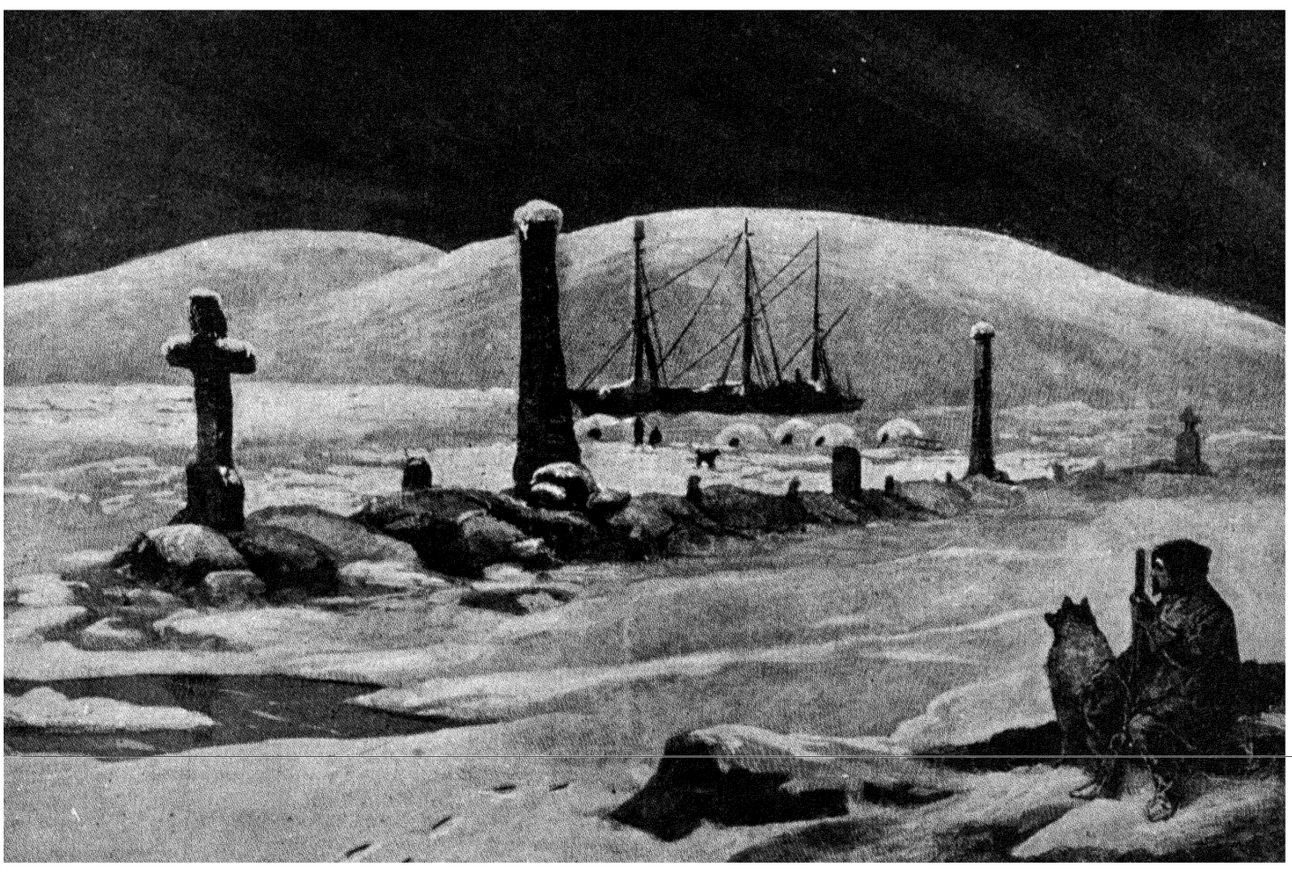
The Truth About the Ice-pack

brought the whaling fleets into being. A great advance was made to the north-west by William Baffin, in the Discovery, in the year 1616. Passing through Davis Strait into Baffin Bay, he entered, and named, Wolstenholme Sound and Smith Sound, on the north-west coast of Greenland, reaching the latitude of 78° N.; and then, turning westward and southward, he discovered and named Jones Sound and Lancaster Sound. In the latter, though he did not know it, he had found the actual gate to the north-west passage. Baffin was followed in 1631 by Luke Fox, who had obtained from Charles I. a pinnace, the Charles (80 tons), and a letter to the Emperor of Japan. Fox, whose garrulous and vainglorious narrative is exceedingly entertaining, passed through Hudson Strait, and coasted round a considerable portion of Hudson Bay, and, returning, discovered the channel and the promontory that bear his name. In the bay he fell in with Captain James, a somewhat incompetent navigator, who was on the same quest and carried a similar letter. An unsuccessful voyage by Captain Wood to Novaya Zemlya in 1676 completes the story of Arctic exploration to the end of the seventeenth century.

Gate to the North-west Passage

The Hudson Bay Company, which had been formed in 1670 for trade with the North American Indians in furs and skins, and had received the absolute concession of all lands which might be discovered through Hudson Strait, was expressly bound by its charter to continue the work of exploration and in particular to search for a passage to the South Seas. For this purpose, as well as to follow up a native report of copper mines, an expedition in the Albert and the Discovery was sent out under Knight in 1719, but was never heard of again. Later voyages under Scroggs in 1722, and Middleton in 1741, failed in their main object, and in 1742 a reward of £20,000 was offered by the British Government for the discovery of a route to the Pacific through Hudson Strait. William Moor and Francis Smith in 1746, and Samuel Hearne in 1769, undertook unsuccessful voyages with this purpose.

In the meantime, active researches were being promoted on the North Siberian coast by Peter the Great, who commissioned Vitus Behring, a Dane, in 1725,



GRAVES IN THE ARCTIC ICE: THE BURIAL PLACE OF FRANKLIN'S COMRADES

Though many search expeditions, public and private, British and American, beginning in 1848, set out in quest of Sir John Franklin and his party, it was not till 1859 that traces of the unfortunate voyagers were discovered. It was then ascertained that Sir John Franklin had died on June 11th, 1847, and that every member of the party had perished.

to sail northward from Kamchatka. Shipwrights were sent with Behring to the Pacific coast, and there two vessels, the Gabriel and the Fortuna, were built. Sailing in 1728, Behring discovered the strait between America and Asia. In a later voyage, 1740, he set out from Okhotsk with the St. Peter and St. Paul, explored the American coast and the Aleutian Islands, and discovered and named Mount St. Elias. His ship was wrecked on Bering Island, where the great seaman died in December, 1741. The New Siberian Islands, rich in fossil ivory, were discovered in 1770 by a Russian merchant in a sledge journey over the frozen sea, and were surveyed by officers of the Russian Government in 1809.

Behring's Discoveries and Death

During the eighteenth century the whole of the northern coast-line of Russia and Siberia was systematically explored by government expeditions. Thus, the sea passages from Archangel to the River Obi and from the latter to the Yenesei River were successfully made in 1738; though the great northern promontory of Taimyr, terminating in Cape Chelyuskin, was not rounded by a ship for more than a century afterwards. It was, however, nearly doubled by Pronchishchef in 1736, who died in winter quarters near the cape; and his lieutenant, Chelyuskin, reached the cape in sledges in 1742.

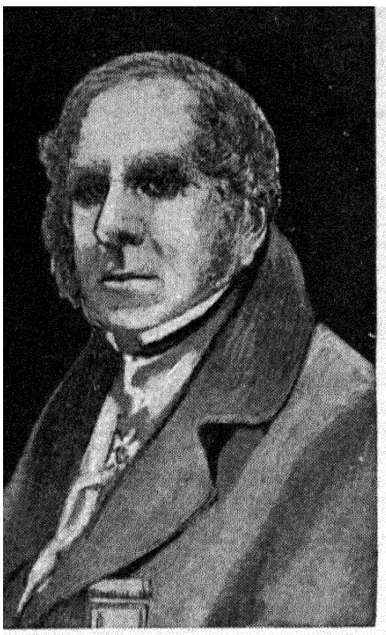
The rise of Polar exploration as a definite, determined and continuous aim may be traced to the year 1773, when a Mr. Daines Barrington, having collected all available knowledge on the subject, read a series of papers to the Royal Society. Arctic research now began to enter on its scientific era. The society petitioned the king; the government's reply was favourable, and the bombs Racehorse (Captain Phipps) and Carcass (Captain Lutwidge) sailed from the Nore in June, 1773. Horatio Nelson, then a midshipman, accompanied the expedition. The two ships reached 80° 48′ N., north of Spitzbergen, and worked closely along the edge of the ice-pack throughout twenty degrees of longitude, without finding any passage through the ice. This conclusion was confirmed by other expeditions which followed. Captain Buchan, with the whalers Dorothea and Trent, the last-named being commanded by the celebrated Franklin, sailed in 1818, and attacked the ice-pack to the north of Spitzbergen in vain; Captain Clavering, in the brig Griper, made the same attempt in 1823, with the same failure; and Admiral Lutke, of the Russian Navy, in the following year, found the ice barrier equally impenetrable in the seas between Novaya Zemlya and Spitzbergen. These surveys of the ice established once for all the important principle that no ship could sail to the Pole, and that all further exploration northward must be made by sledges. This principle, which has been only partially modified by Nansen, determined the epoch-making enterprise of Parry, with whom the modern era of Arctic exploration begins.

Scientife Era of Arctic Research

Edward Parry had taken part in four Arctic expeditions before he sailed, in 1827, in the Hecla, with a view to travelling in sledge-boats from Spitzbergen to the Pole. Leaving his ship in Hecla Cove, on the north shore of Spitzbergen, he set out on Midsummer Day with two flat-bottomed boats on runners, each boat having fourteen men on board. They travelled 200 miles by water, and then dragged their boats for 92 miles over broken ice-floes; but they never reached the solid pack at all, and the drift of the ice southward soon made further progress impossible. Parry realised that he had left his base several months too late in the season. On July 23rd he reached his highest point, at 82° 43′ N., a latitude which remained the "farthest north" for many years to come.

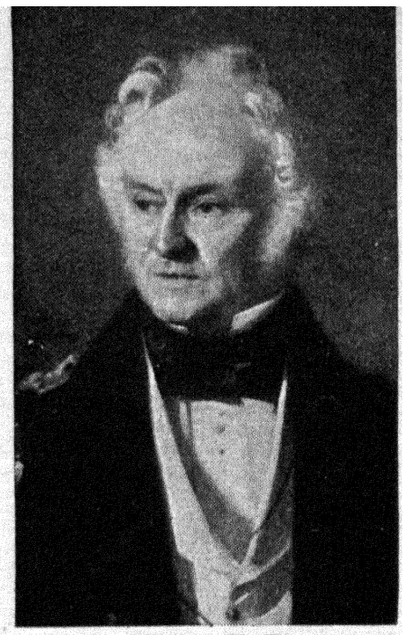
The Great Sir John Franklin

Early in the nineteenth century the tide of discovery set strongly towards the labyrinth of promontories, islands and channels to the north of Canada, and gradually, by one experiment after another, a track was found through the maze, and the north-west passage was accomplished. The central figure in this chapter of Arctic exploration will always be that of the gallant Sir John Franklin, whose disaster was the occasion of a swarm of expeditions to these waters, so that his death did more for geographical knowledge than his life had done. Actually, however, Franklin, when he died on the coast of King William Land, had solved the great problem, and had found a passage by sea from Davis Strait to the straits south of Wollaston and Victoria Land, which were known to lead to Bering Strait. That is to say, he had united a known track on the east with

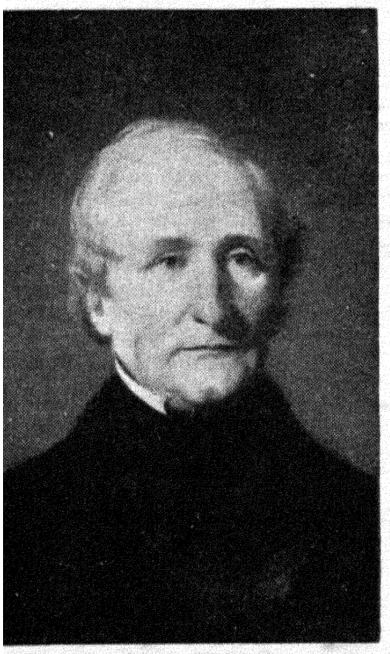


Sir John Ross

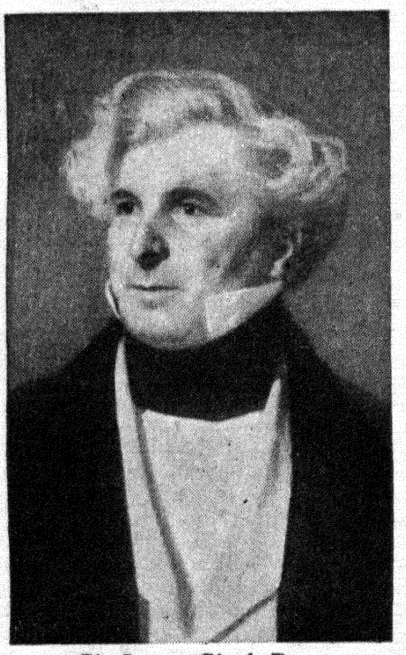
Sir John Franklin



Sir William E. Parry



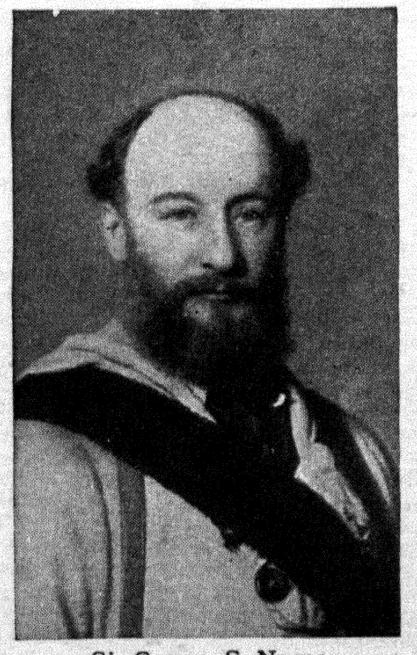
Sir Edward Sabine



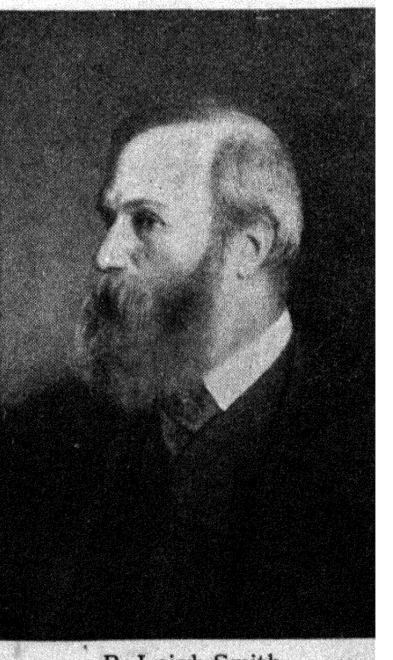
Sir James Clark Ross

Rochfort Maguire

Thomas E. L. Moore



Sir George S. Nares



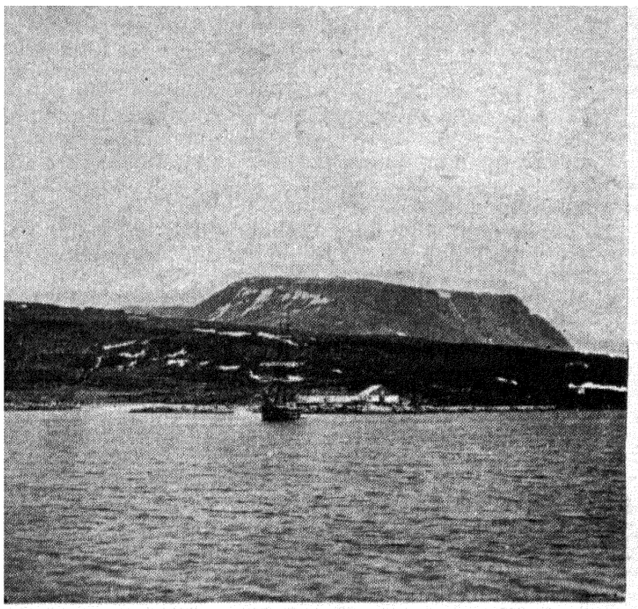
B. Leigh Smith

FAMOUS BRITISH EXPLORERS OF THE POLAR SEAS

a known track on the west. The expeditions which took part in the exploration of the north-west during last century are far too numerous even for mention; for instance, more than forty went out to seek for Franklin within the ten years which followed his death. We can only name the most important enterprises in a great series which lasted throughout the century. John Ross, a naval commander, sailed in 1818 with the Isabella (385 tons) and the Alexander (252 tons) to Baffin Bay, to inquire into the probability of a north-west passage. Parry was in command of the smaller vessel. Ross confirmed Baffin's observations of Wolstenholme Sound and of Smith Sound, and named the two capes at the entrance to the latter, Cape Isabella and Cape Alexander. Parry, in the following year, in the first of his memorable voyages, did better service with the Hecla (375 tons) and the Griper (180 tons). With orders particularly to explore Lancaster Sound, he entered it August 1st, 1819, and ran up it before an easterly gale. Passing through a strait which he named Barrow Strait, he found his ship's compasses at first sluggish, and then dominated merely by the attraction of the ship. He discovered and named Wellington Channel, and on September 26th, as the ice was closing around them, the Hecla and Griper went into winter quarters on the south coast of Melville Island. During this winter, Captain Sabine, who had sailed with Parry as astronomer, made observations on magnetism, on the pendulum and on the flora and fauna of the coast; indeed, all Parry's voyages were notable for the most assiduous attention to scientific work. In the following summer, the commander, with a land party, explored the island. It was not until August 1st that the ships were free, and after coasting westward for three weeks, in great danger from the ice, they turned eastward to Lancaster Sound, and so to England. In this important expedition, North Devon, Cornwallis, Bathurst, Byam Martin and Melville Islands had been named and charted on the north of Parry's course, and North Somerset and Banks Land on its southern shores. Parry's second voyage, in 1821 to 1823, with the Hecla and the Fury (377 tons), was due to his conjecture, which was in accordance with fact, that a passage might exist between Barrow Strait and Hudson Bay. Having reached North Southampton Land in Hudson Bay, he passed through Frozen Strait into Repulse Bay, and proved, by a searching examination, that the latter had no outlet northward, in other words that Melville Peninsula was continuous with the mainland. He was forced to winter near Lyon's Inlet, on the south-east coast of the peninsula, where he obtained geographical information of great value from the Esquimaux. In the following summer he entered and named Fury and Hecla Strait, but was unable to force his way through it, and returned to England after wintering once more in Fox Channel. Again, in 1824, the same explorer sailed with the Fury and the Hecla, under orders to try for a passage through Lancaster Sound, Barrow Strait and Prince Regent's Inlet. It was an unusually bad season, and Parry only reached the inlet in time to take up winter quarters. Released in July following, he

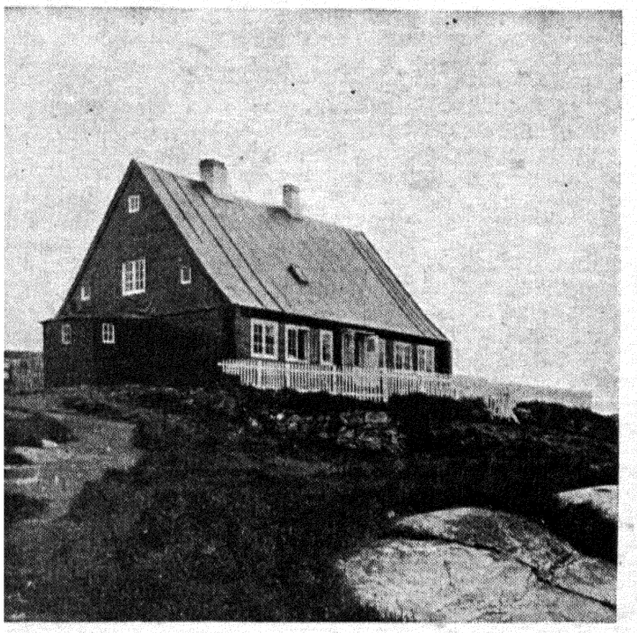
ROALD AMUNDSEN

Mate of the ship Belgica, which conveyed the Belgian expedition of 1897, under the command of M. de Gerlache, to the Polar regions, Roald Amundsen made a number of important scientific and geographical discoveries.

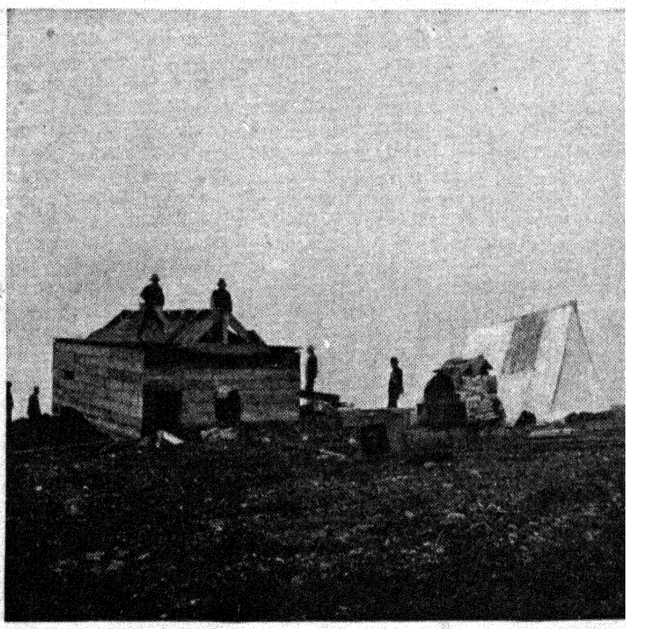


A TYPICAL VIEW OF THE COAST

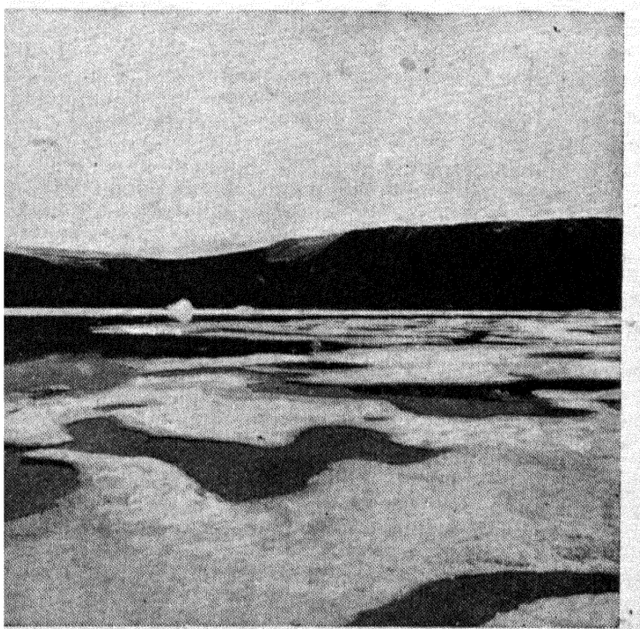
DANISH HARBOUR



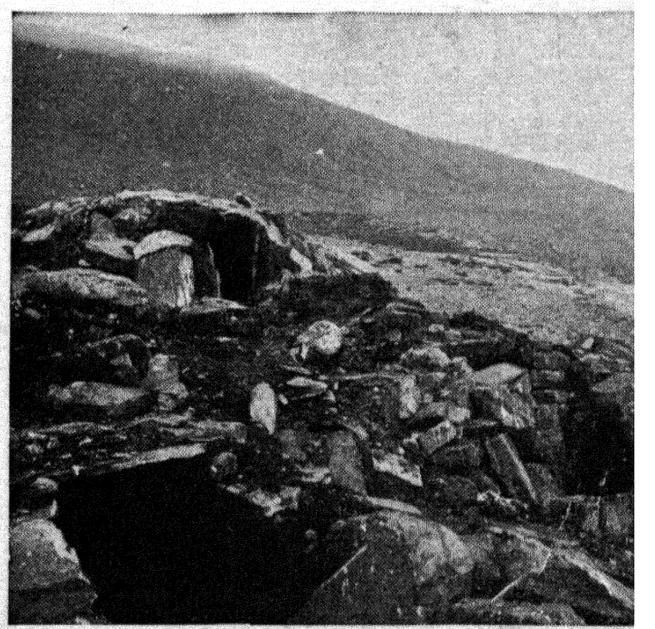
THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE



PEARY'S HOUSE AND TENT



CAPE CLEVELAND, N.-W. COAST



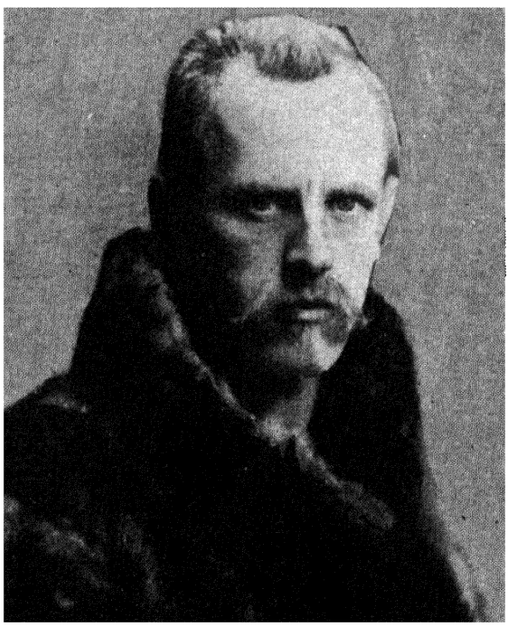
STONE HUTS OF THE NATIVES

GREENLAND'S ICY REGIONS: VIEWS TAKEN AT MIDNIGHT

6337

sailed southward through waters hitherto unexplored; but the ships were much beset with ice, and the Fury was so damaged that she had to be abandoned, and Parry turned homeward.

Dolphin and Union Strait, and Wollaston Land to the north of it, were charted by Richardson in 1826, and twelve years later Dease and Simpson continued the discovery of this channel eastward, through Dease Strait, south of Victoria Land, to Simpson Strait, south of King William Land. In his researches with the Victory, from 1829 to 1833, Sir John Ross entered the Gulf of Boothia by Prince Regent's Inlet; and James Ross, his nephew, explored the James Ross Strait and the Boothia Peninsula, and discovered the North Magnetic Pole. John Rae, a doctor in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, made a close examination of the shores of the Gulf of Boothia in 1845. In the same year Franklin set out on the voyage from which neither he nor any one of his 134 companions was to return.



DR. NANSEN

He was only twenty-one years of age when he visited Greenland in 1882, and had crossed the vast elevated ice-field from east to west of Greenland, in 1888, before devising his daring and original scheme for approaching the Pole.

Sir John Franklin had seen much varied service; he had fought in the battles of Copenhagen and of Trafalgar, and in the attack on New Orleans; he had served under Buchan in the Arctic expedition of 1818; and in 1819 and again in 1825 he had led exploring expeditions in the interior and on the north coast of Canada. He had been employed, as a young naval officer, in a survey of the Australian coasts, and returned to the same region in later life as Lieutenant-Governor of Tasmania from 1834 to 1843. No more competent commander could have been entrusted with the Erebus (Captain Fitzjames) and the Terror (Captain Crozier) in the attempt to seek the north-west passage. Sailing on May 19th, 1845, his ships were seen in Baffin Bay, for the last time, two months later. From the records discovered years afterwards in a cairn at Point Victory it was learned that the two ships had passed through Lanaster Sound, Wellington Channel, Penny Strait and Crozier Channel, and had then wintered at Beechey Island, off the south-west corner of North Devon, in Barrow Strait. Thence they had sailed through Peel Sound and Franklin Strait to King William Land, where they had been prevented from further progress by pressure of ice. Franklin having died here in June, 1847, the survivors abandoned the ships in the following summer and attempted to make their way southward by the Adelaide Peninsula to outposts of the Hudson Bay Company, but all perished. Their skeletons were afterwards found scattered along the route. Of the many expeditions which sought for the lost company and their relics, we may mention those of the Prince Albert, 1850, and of the Fox, 1857, both fitted out by Lady Franklin; the Grinnell expedition in the Advance, which discovered Grinnell Land; and that of the Assistance, with four other ships under Sir E. Belcher, in 1852. By these and others the north shores of America, the Parry Islands, and the intricate channels of these Arctic waters were assiduously explored. Subsequently the Polaris, under Captain Hall, passing in 1871 through Smith Sound towards the Pole, reached 82° 16′ N.; and commander A. H. Markham, of the Nares expedition in the Alert and Discovery, 1875, which pursued the same course, succeeded in attaining by sledge a latitude of 83° 20′ N. The north-east passage was now accomplished, in 1878 by Nordenskiöld. This explorer, who was a highly trained scientific man, had led several important expeditions to Greenland, Spitzbergen, Novaya Zemlya and the North Siberian coast before he equipped the Vega (300 tons), in 1877, for his successful voyage from Sweden to Japan. He proved that the north-east passage is perfectly practicable with adequate knowledge and equipment. Leaving Karlskrona on June 22nd, 1878, accompanied by three other ships bound for the North Siberian rivers, the Vega anchored off Cape Chelyuskin

THE FINDING OF THE NORTH POLE

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The expedition was divided into sections and Captain Bartlett led the first division. Open water made all progress impossible for a week within a few days of the start. When the latitude of 86° 38' had been passed a thick layer of ice proved a serious impediment. On one occasion at night the ice began to break up and as the camp had been fixed near open water, the grave danger of total destruction was only evaded with difficulty. As the expedition drew near the Pole the various sections were sent back, and at last in latitude 87° 48' N. at the beginning of April, Captain Bartlett, whose work had been of the highest possible value and who was anxious to proceed, was also left behind. Accompanied by his negro servant and four Eskimos, Commander Peary reached the Pole [illegible] March on April 6th. It was the [illegible] achievement of human [illegible] and endurance. After a stay of [illegible] hours and the taking of observations, the return journey was commenced. The minimum temperature at the Pole was −33 and the maximum −12. Records were deposited for verification by future arrivals, flags were planted and photographs taken. On the march south there were fewer difficulties to face than on the outward journey. Cape Columbia was reached on April 23rd, and on July 18th the Roosevelt sailed, reaching Indian Harbour on September 6th. On his return Commander Peary was justly honoured by the geographical societies of all nations, and in 1911 he received the thanks of the United States Congress, and was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral. Much of his scientific work he has recorded in contributions to the journals of various learned societies, and Admiral Peary has also written a book on his famous expedition to the North Pole.

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For a time Commander Peary's claim to have been the first at the North Pole was disputed by the strange story of Dr. F. A. Cook, who alleged that he had reached the Pole in April, 1908. Dr. Cook—whose family name was formerly Koch—had been surgeon to the Peary Arctic Expedition of 1891–1892, and the Belgian Antarctic Expedition of 1897–1899, and was therefore an experienced traveller in Polar regions. In 1907 he had set out for Arctic lands in a pleasure schooner, and when the vessel returned he stayed at Etah, announcing his intention of making a dash from that point for the Pole. He left Etah early in 1908, accompanied by some Eskimos and their dogs, and reached Cape Hubbard in the north of Axel Heiberg Land, where he wrote a letter announcing his hope of returning in June. According to Dr. Cook's subsequent statement, he left Cape Hubbard on March 18th, and three days later set out on "the crossing of

Dr. Cook's Strange Story

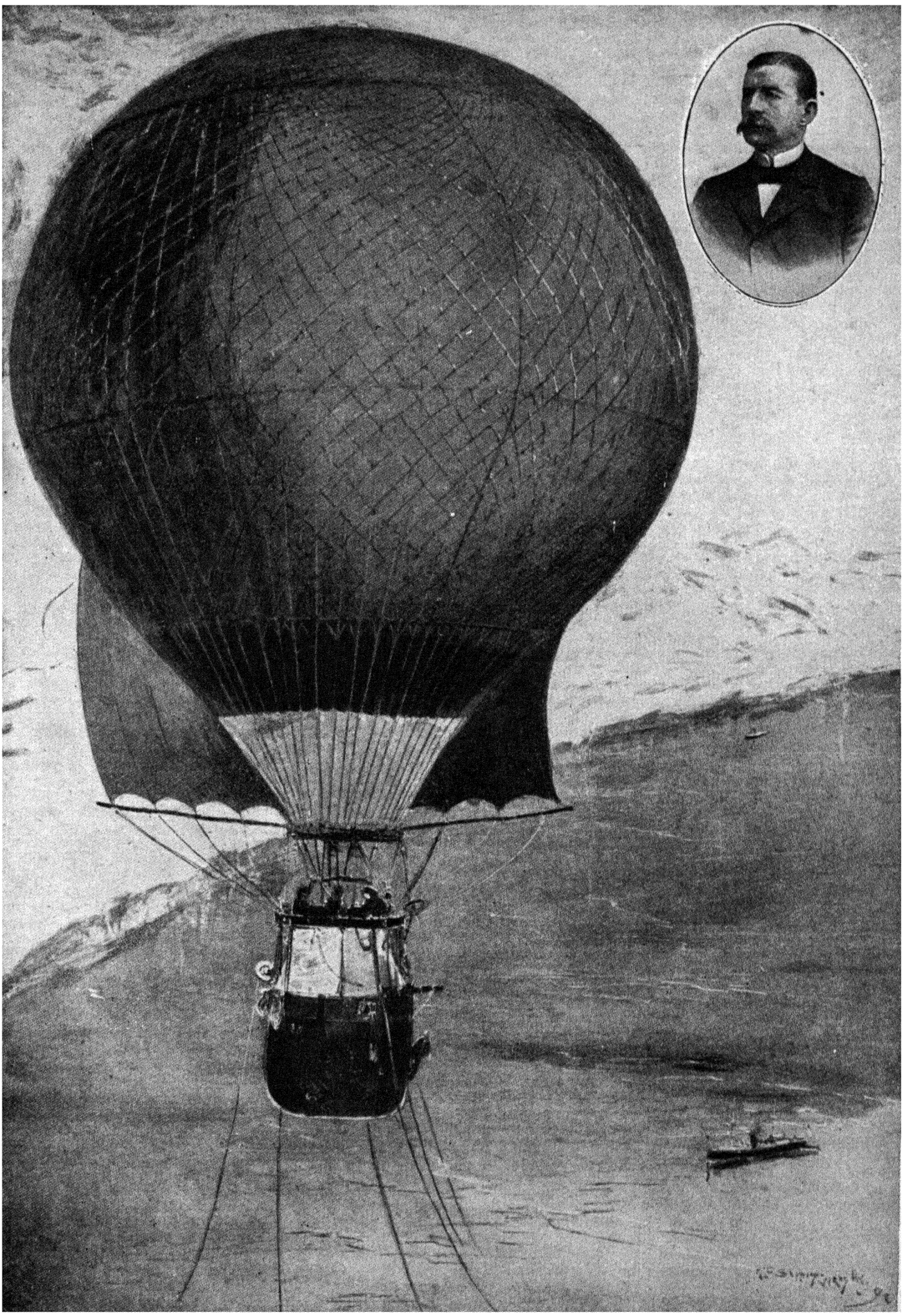
of Bering Strait they drifted northward. Pushing, therefore, as far north as possible, the Jeannette was ice-bound in September, 1879, in 71° 35′ N. and 175° 6′ E., south-east of Wrangel Land, and drifted for two years with the ice, until the ship was broken by the pressure, and foundered, to the north-east of the New Siberia Islands. A few men reached Yakutsk by way of these islands, though De Long and most of his companions lost their lives. But certain relics of the Jeannette continued to drift slowly, at the estimated rate of about two miles a day, with the vast movement of the ice-pack, until the ice-floe on which they were carried reached the Greenland coast, where they were discovered. Professor Mohn was the first to point out the great significance of these far-travelled fragments, and his conclusions were confirmed by a study of the driftwood which is thrown in great quantities on the Greenland shores and is much used by the Esquimaux. This timber was found to belong to Siberian species; and, further, an examination of the Greenland flora revealed numerous plants of undoubted Siberian origin. The theory of the constant current from Bering Strait and the Siberian coast, across the Pole, to the shores of Greenland and the Atlantic Ocean was strengthened by the fact that the Polar Sea is not large, and is for the most part very shallow; yet an enormous mass of water moves continually from it into the Atlantic, and this water must come, at least in part, from the Bering Strait. Nansen and his crew sailed in the Fram (402 tons) in August, 1893, rounded Cape Chelyuskin, and entering the ice at the New Siberia Islands, was carried northward for two years. In 1895 he left the Fram in the charge of Sverdrup, and, accompanied by Johansen, made a forced march northward, attaining the latitude of 86° 13·6′. After spending the winter in the north of Franz Josef Land, he joined the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition, in May, 1897, and was by them brought back to Norway, whither the Fram also returned in safety. Nansen's "farthest north" was surpassed by Captain Cagni, of the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition, in the Polar Star. This whaling vessel left Christiania for Archangel in June, 1899, and thence proceeded to Franz Josef Land, where she wintered in Teplitz Bay, on Prince Rudolph Island. Thence an admirably organised sledge journey was undertaken to the north under great difficulties; and the latitude of 86° 33′ 49″ was attained on April 24th, 1900. This latitude, in its turn, has been exceeded by Commander Robert E. Peary, of the United States Navy, whose admirable researches in Greenland, Ellesmere Land and Grant Land were begun in 1886. Peary is a master in sledge travel, and owes much of his success to the excellent relations which he has established with the Esquimaux. He has made a study of the Greenland ice-cap, was the first to prove that Greenland is an island, and has charted the islands to the north of it. With the support of the Peary Arctic Club he set out in 1905 with the Roosevelt, and, sailing northward to the west of Greenland, wintered at Cape Sheridan. Leaving the ship in February, he pushed northward with a party consisting of six Americans and twenty-one Esquimaux, and succeeded in reaching 87° 6′ on April 21st, 1906.

THE DUKE OF THE ABRUZZI

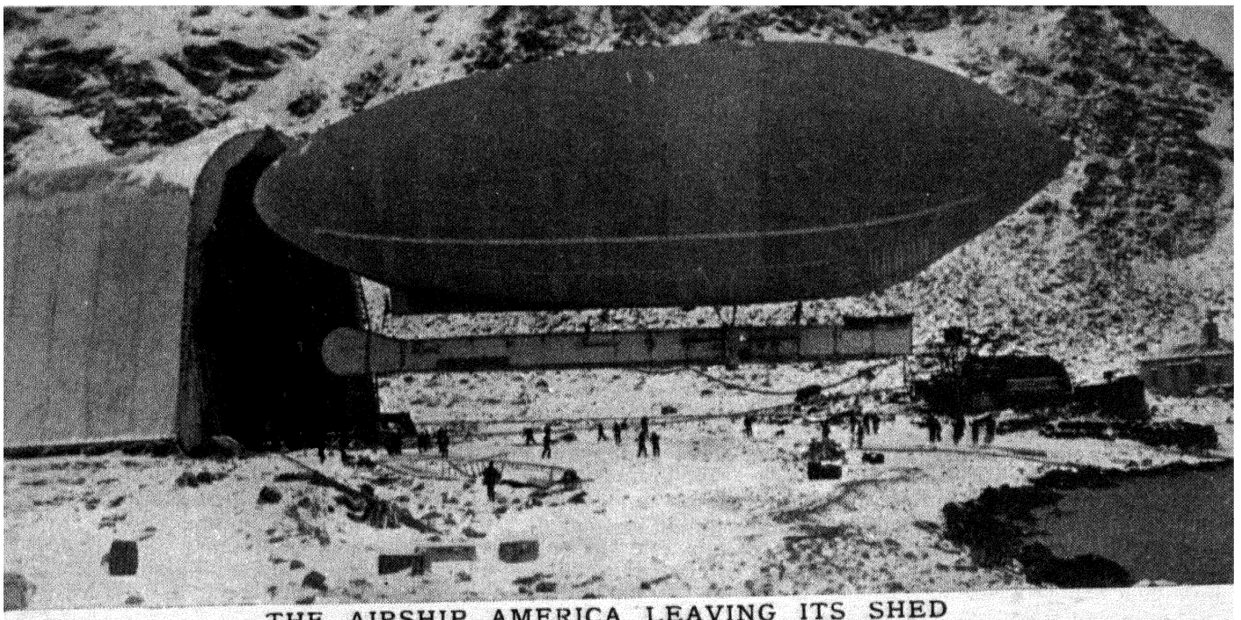
The Duke of the Abruzzi headed an expedition that left Christiania in June, 1899, and planted the Italian flag on a spot within 230 miles of the North Pole, thus getting nearer the goal than any of his predecessors.

ROBERT E. PEARY

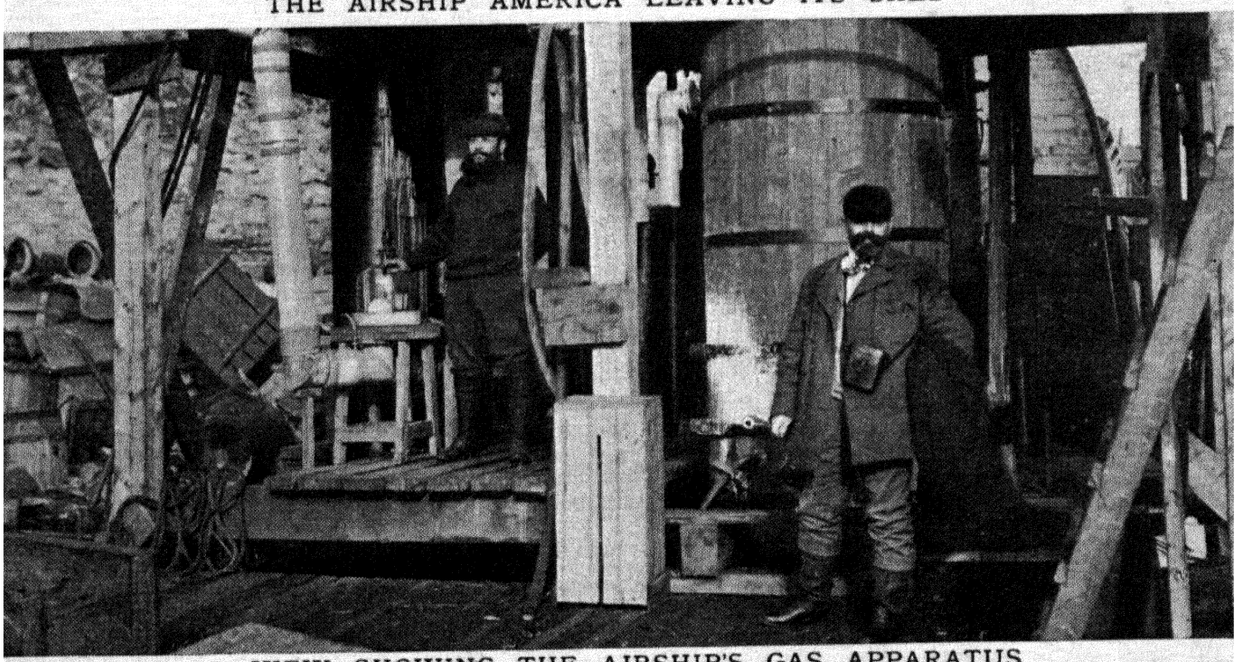
After reaching a point within 203 miles of the North Pole in 1906, Commander Peary on April 6th, 1909, reached the Pole itself.



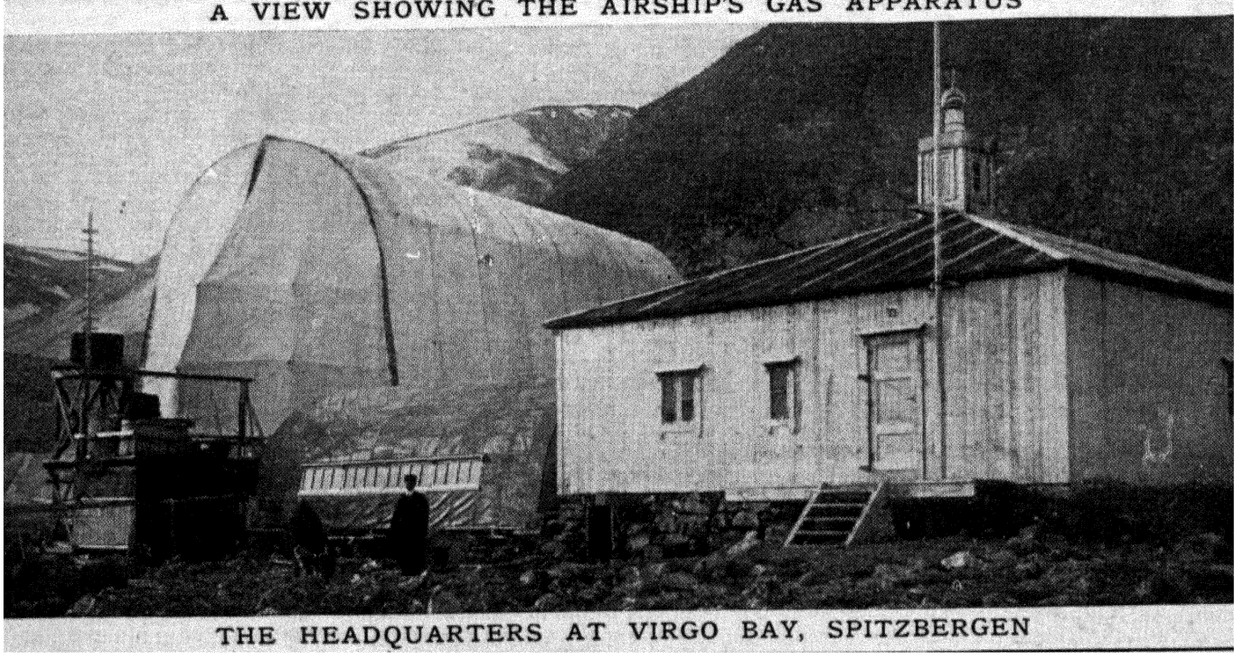
ANDREE'S ILL-FATED EXPEDITION: DEPARTURE OF THE BALLOON FROM SPITZBERGEN
The most conspicuous attempt to reach the North Pole by means of a balloon was that made by Salomon August Andree, a Swedish engineer, in 1897. With two companions he set out from Dane's Island on July 11th, but beyond a message received two days later by carrier pigeon nothing definite has been heard of the ill-fated enterprise. The balloon was capable of travelling from 15 to 16 miles an hour, and had a capacity of 170,000 cubic feet.



THE AIRSHIP AMERICA LEAVING ITS SHED



A VIEW SHOWING THE AIRSHIP'S GAS APPARATUS

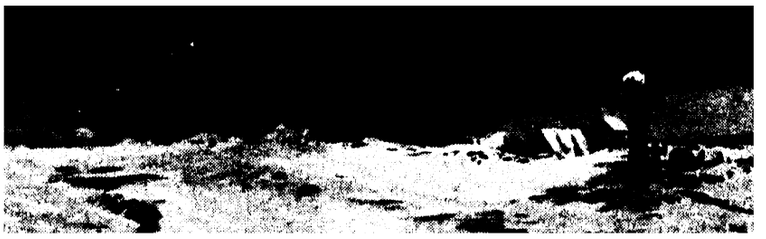


THE HEADQUARTERS AT VIRGO BAY, SPITZBERGEN

TO THE POLE BY AIRSHIP: WELLMAN'S FUTILE ATTEMPT IN 1907

A notable aerial attempt to reach the North Pole was made on September 2nd, 1907, by Walter Wellman, an American journalist, in his airship, the America, an attempt, however, which utterly failed in its object, the airship being beaten back by storms and forced on to an Arctic glacier, the party returning a few weeks later.

6342



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the circumpolar pack "with two Eskimos and 26 dogs. He declared that he reached a latitude of 84° 47′ N. on March 30th, and that on April 21st he arrived at 89° 49′ 46″, or the Pole itself, where the temperature was −38. Two days later he started on the return journey, proceeding to Jones Sound; thence passing the winter at Cape Sparbo, and crossing to the west of Greenland early in 1909, arriving at Uperinvik on May 21st, 1909. The absence of all scientific or other evidence, and the fact that no traces of a previous arrival were discovered by Commander Peary, led to Dr. Cook's claim being quickly discredited, while the two Eskimos who were his companions have declared that Dr. Cook was never out of sight of land at Cape Hubbard, and that he returned thence to Annootok by another route without attempting to touch the Pole.

Dr. Cook's Claim Discredited

Admiral Peary was fifty-three when he added this fine achievement of the discovery of the North Pole to his long list of Arctic explorations; and, though he has made impossible the old romantic attraction that drew so many adventurous spirits to their doom, his discovery has, if anything, heightened the scientific interest in the Arctic regions.

Mr. Karl Rasmussan's explorations in Greenland, in 1912, on an expedition sent out by the Danish Government, were remarkable, and included a very successful double crossing of that land. Starting from Markham Glacier on the east coast, with one Dane and two Eskimos, at the beginning of April, Mr. Rasmussan reached the west coast at Danmark Fiord. From that point they journeyed to "Peary Channel," where, as the land was no longer ice-bound and game was plentiful, they stayed a month. The return journey of 600 miles was made across the inland ice, and the east coast was once more safely reached in the middle of September, 1912.

The Danish Expedition

No such happy results befell the German Arctic Expedition led by Lieutenant Schroder-Stranz. This expedition sailed in the Herzog-Ernst for a preliminary voyage, and reached Treurenberg Bay, Spitzbergen, in August, 1912. Lieutenant Schroder-Stranz left the ship with three companions for a sledging trip, and not one of the four was ever seen again. Disaster pursued the rest of the party. The ship had to be abandoned when it became frostbound. Captain Ritschel pushed on to Advent Bay, where he arrived alone on December 27th, having left his companions, who were too exhausted to proceed, at Wijde Bay and Cape Peterman. Only two arrived—Dr. Rüdiger and Herr Rave—of those thus left behind, and they were rescued from Wijde Bay the following April. So, of that most ill-fated German Arctic expedition, only three returned to tell the tale.

Other recent Arctic expeditions to be noted are: Mr. Stefansson's journeys for the study of the Eskimos, 1913, carried out under the auspices of the Canadian Government; Mr. D. B. Macmillan's Crocker Land Expedition; Dr. Koch's explorations in Greenland (1912), attended with much hardship, especially in the traversing of Queen Louise Land; the French expedition, led by M. Jules de Payer (1913), for the scientific investigation of the North-Eastern part of Franz Josef Land; the Russian expedition under Commander Militsky (1911-1914), which, in its explorations to the north of Siberia, has discovered a large area of land—now named Nicholas II. Land—beyond latitude 81 N. and longitude 102 E.

The German Arctic Expedition

Thus, while we acclaim Admiral Peary, and rightly, as the discoverer of the North Pole, and give him the due honour as the conqueror where many have failed, it is well to remember that others are still ready to encounter hardship and danger, and the possible loss of life, in the quest of scientific learning; that men of all the northern countries of Europe still venture boldly in these Arctic regions to reveal what secrets the ice-bound lands may contain, and to add thus their contributions to the sum total of our human knowledge. That these contributions are in nearly every case of immense importance and of lasting value may readily be conceded.

J. C

THE WORLD AROUND THE POLES

III. THE SOUTH POLE

THE LURE OF THE SOUTH POLE

HEROIC STRUGGLES WITH THE ANTARCTIC ICE

THE history of Antarctic exploration is comparatively modern, and may be said to begin with the voyages of the illustrious James Cook in 1768 and 1772. Before his time the myth of a great Austral continent had been handed on from one generation of map-makers to another, on the ground, apparently, that a vast continental mass was necessary in the southern hemisphere as an equipoise to the continents north of the Equator.

The Terra Australis was therefore charted right round the world, its northern limits coming up to the Strait of Magellan, in South America and approaching near the Cape of Good Hope and the Malay Archipelago, and though expeditions, such as that of Bouvet in 1739, pushed its coast-line farther south, they tended rather to confirm than to dissipate this fallacious conjecture. Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, in 1768, did much to shake the inveterate error.

The Famous Voyages of Captain Cook

His ship had been sent with an astronomical party to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus; and on his way back Cook circumnavigated New Zealand, surveyed the east coast of Australia and claimed it for Britain, and passing through Torres Strait established the insularity of New Guinea.

He had thus done much to disprove the existence of the supposed great continent, and his next voyage was to dispose of the matter finally. Sailing in 1772 with the Resolution and the Adventure, he took a southerly course from the Cape of Good Hope, was the first to cross the Antarctic Circle, and pushed on until he was stopped by ice. Proceeding eastward, he now circumnavigated the world in high latitudes, breaking his Antarctic voyage by retreats to the north, during which he made important surveys.

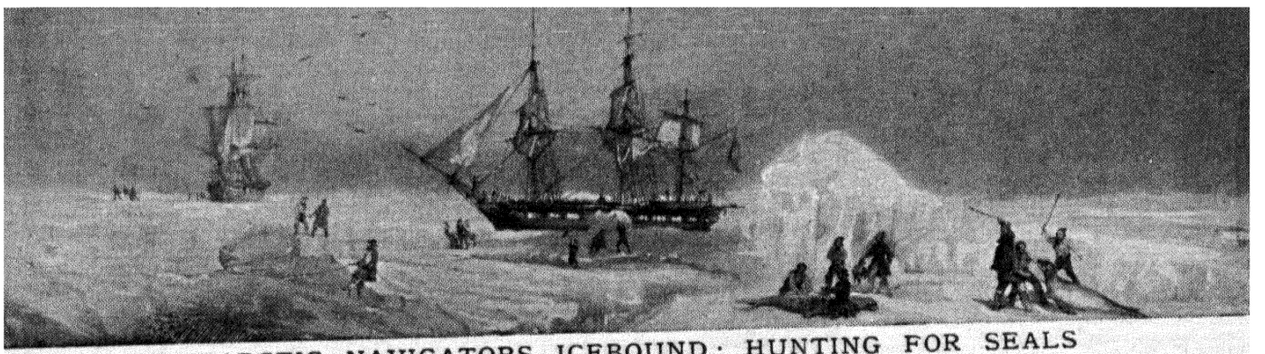
"The importance of this voyage," says Captain R. F. Scott, of the Discovery, "can scarcely be exaggerated. Once and for all the idea of a populous fertile southern continent was proved to be a myth, and it was clearly shown that whatever land might exist to the south it must be a region of desolation, hidden beneath a mantle of ice and snow. The vast extent of the tempestuous southern seas was revealed, and the limits of the habitable globe were made known." Cook himself described the regions of the south as "countries condemned to everlasting rigidity by Nature, never to yield to the warmth of the sun, for whose wild and desolate aspect I find no words." Cook's feat was repeated in 1819 by the Russian Bellingshausen, who crossed the Antarctic Circle six times during his circumnavigation, and discovered and named Peter I. Island and Alexander I. Land.

Desolate Regions of the South

About this time, also, the large but short-lived whaling and sealing industries in these waters were responsible for important discoveries, which are associated chiefly with the names of Weddell, Biscoe, and Balleny. Weddell's "farthest south" (74° 15′) was achieved in 1823 in an open sea which has been called by his name; Biscoe, in 1831, discovered Enderby Land and Graham Land; and Balleny, in 1839, reported the Balleny Islands and Sabrina Land.

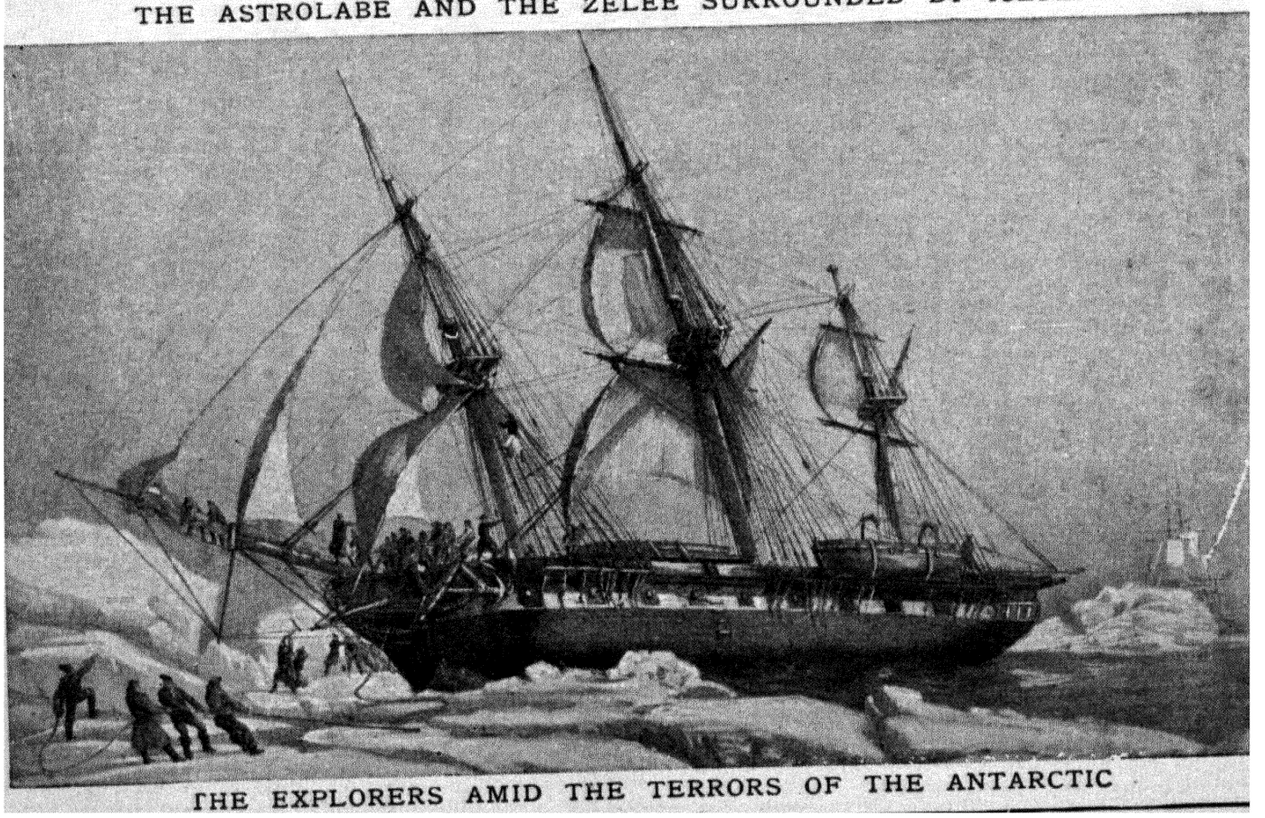
A French expedition, sailing in 1837, under Dumont d'Urville, added Joinville Land and Louis Philippe Land to the map in 1838, and two years later Adélie Land and the Côte Clarie also; Commodore Wilkes, of the American Navy, sailing in 1837 with five ships, discovered Wilkes Land and these expeditions were immediately followed by an important British enterprise in the interests of magnetic science. Captain James Ross, who was appointed to this government expedition, sailed from Hobart in November, 1840 with the Erebus (370 tons), and the Terror (340 tons). Crossing the Antarctic Circle at 171° E., he came upon a great expanse

National Scientific Enterprises



ANTARCTIC NAVIGATORS ICEBOUND · HUNTING FOR SEALS

THE ASTROLABE AND THE ZELEE SURROUNDED BY ICEBERGS



THE EXPLORERS AMID THE TERRORS OF THE ANTARCTIC

ADMIRAL D'URVILLE'S FRENCH EXPEDITION TO THE ANTARCTIC IN 1837

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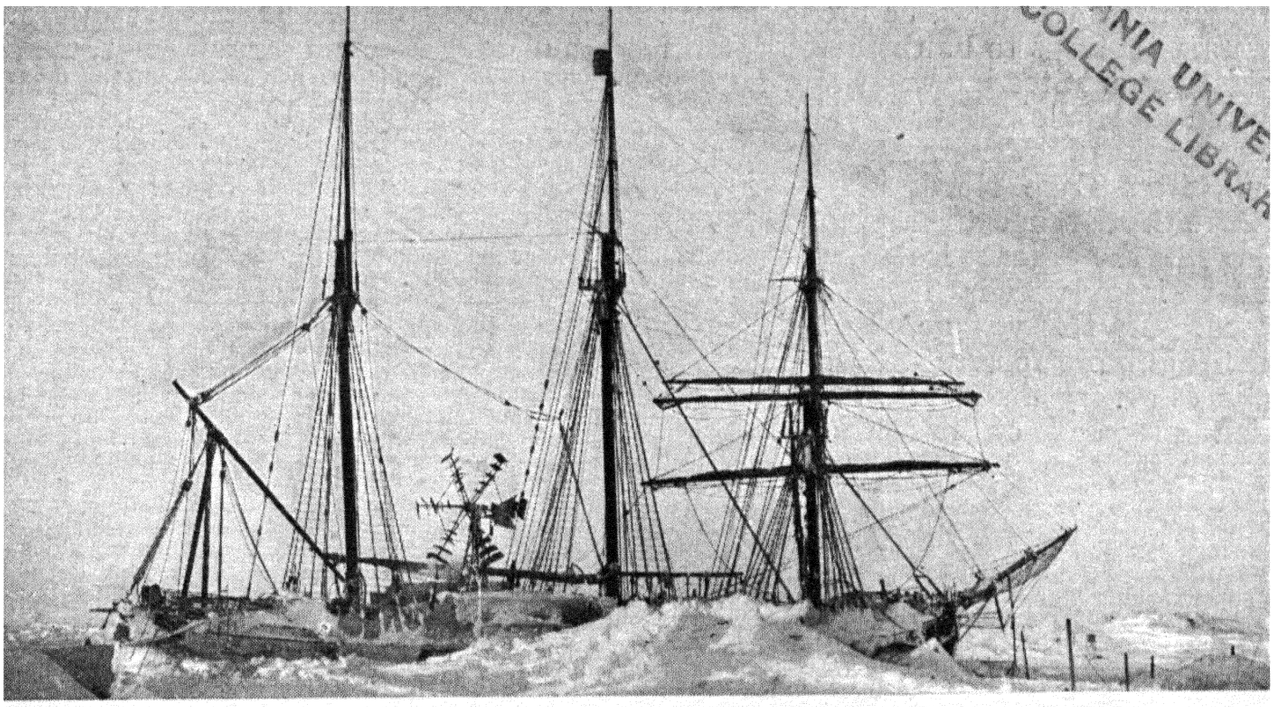
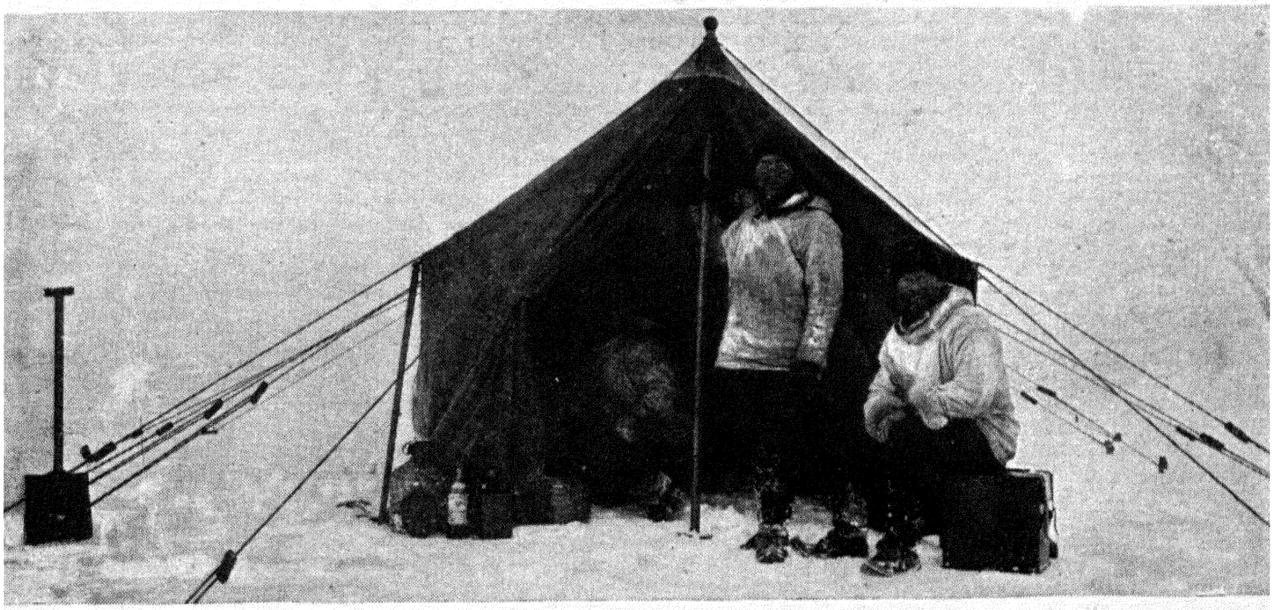
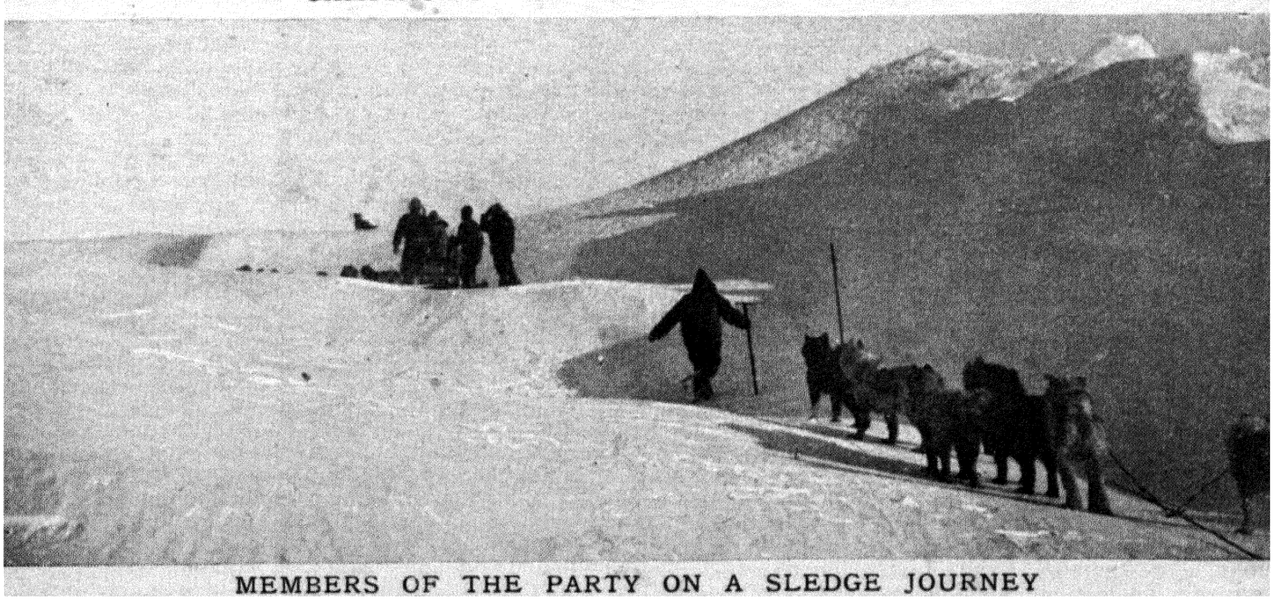


THE GAUSS IN ITS WINTER QUARTERS OFF WILHELM II. LAND



CAMPING-OUT IN THE ANTARCTIC REGIONS



MEMBERS OF THE PARTY ON A SLEDGE JOURNEY

VON DRYGALSKI'S GERMAN EXPEDITION TO THE ANTARCTIC IN 1903

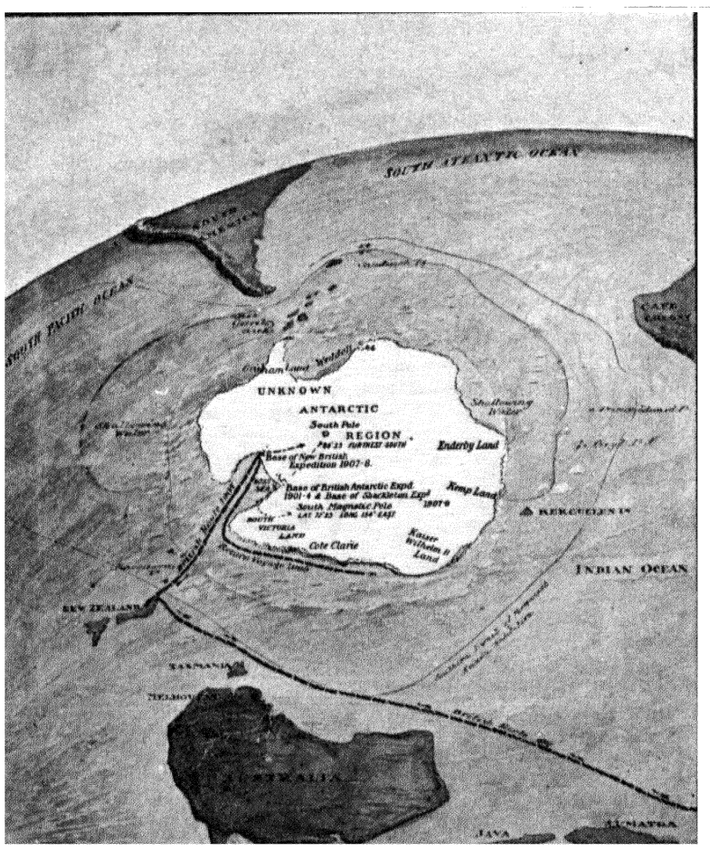
6347

of broken ice, and ploughing southward through it for five days, he broke into an open sea that was to be thereafter known by his name. Steering westward, he discovered and followed the long coast of Victoria Land, from Cape North to Cape Crozier, and then followed the great ice barrier into which it passed. In this voyage, which did more for Antarctic discovery than any which preceded or has followed it, Ross reached a latitude of 78° 11′, discovered and named the volcanoes Erebus and Terror, and determined the position of the South Magnetic Pole. Little was now done in these regions until the close of the century, when a general revival of interest led to several well-equipped expeditions which have achieved very considerable results. Thus, the Norwegian Antarctica entered Ross Sea in 1894, and effected the first landing in Victoria Land. Mr. C. F. Borchgrevink, commissioned by Sir George Newnes, sailed in the Southern Cross for the same region in 1898, and wintered at Cape Adare. The Belgica, under Captain de Gerlache, coasted in 1898 along Graham Land and Alexander Land, and becoming ice-bound in Bellingshausen Sea, drifted in the ice throughout the winter. A German expedition in the Gauss, under Professor Von Drygalski, discovered in 1902 Kaiser Wilhelm II. Land, off which the Gauss wintered, returning home in the following year.

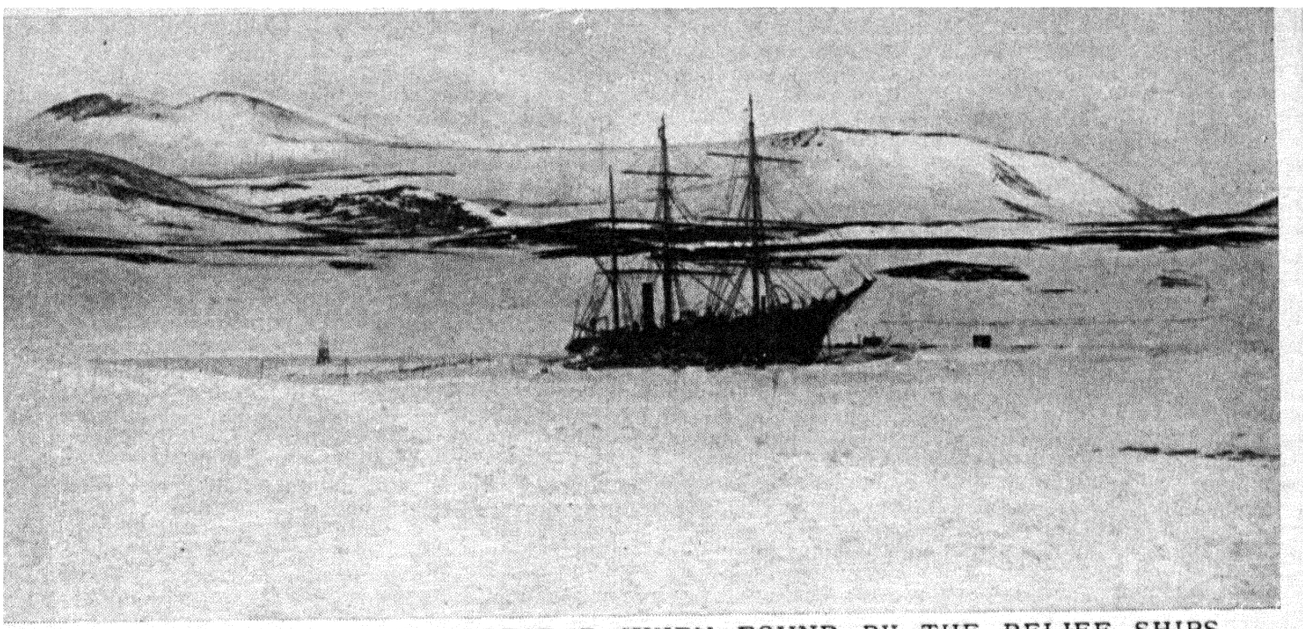
DR. OTTO NORDENSKIOLD

Nephew of Baron Nordenskiöld, the famous Arctic explorer, he led a Swedish expedition to the Antarctic in 1901; two years later his ship was crushed in the ice, and with his party he was rescued by an Argentine gunboat.

The Swedish vessel Antarctica made a close survey of the west coast of Danco Land and Graham Land in 1902 and 1903, and at the same time the Scotia, under W. S. Bruce, made an oceanographical study of the Weddell Sea, and discovered and named Coats' Land. A vast accretion to scientific knowledge of Polar conditions has resulted from these expeditions. Simultaneously with these, a British expedition was sent out to the Ross Sea in the Discovery (485 tons), under Captain Robert F. Scott, R.N. The undertaking was promoted jointly by the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society, and was partially subsidised by the British Government. The vessel, a wooden auxiliary steamship, was specially built for this work, and was manned by a naval crew. Leaving England in August, and New Zealand in December, 1901, the Discovery worked up the coast of Victoria Land from Cape Adare to McMurdo Sound, making close observations of the mountains along the coast. Thence they sailed eastward along the great ice barrier, which was found to vary from 30 feet to 280 feet in height. It was observed that the edge of the barrier was considerably to the south of Ross's determination of it, and that this enormous field of ice rises and falls with the tide, and is therefore floating for an undetermined distance southward. By following

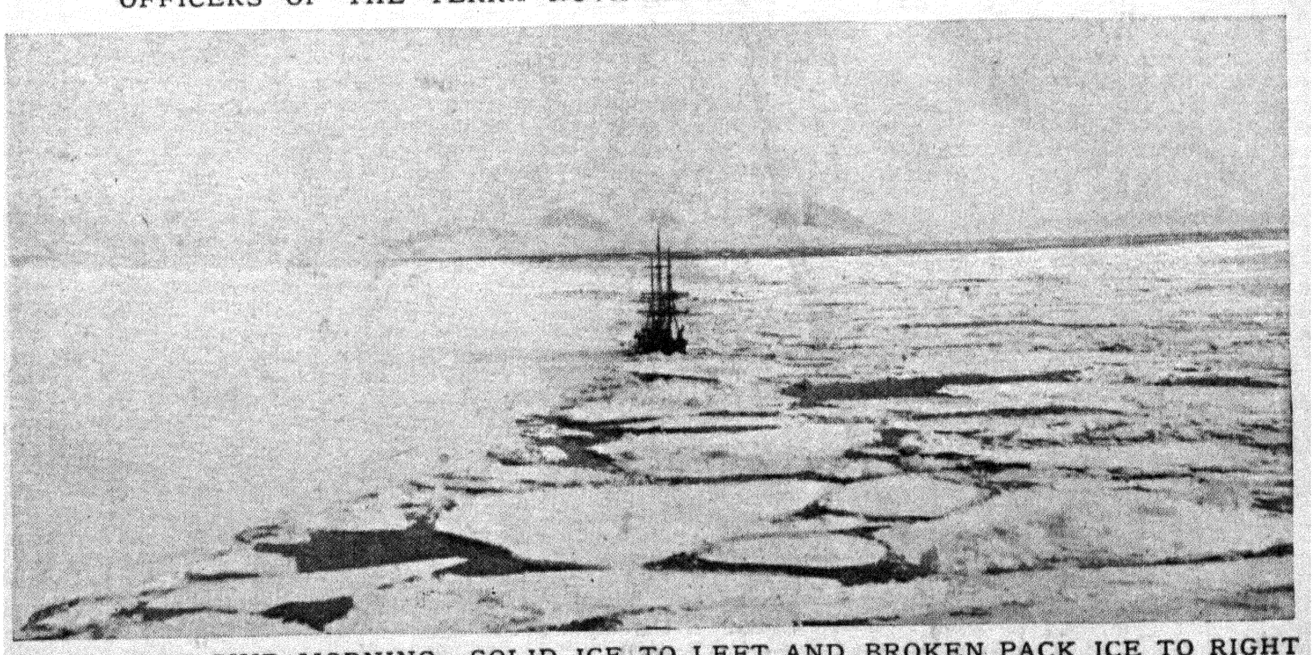


THE REGION EXPLORED BY THE DISCOVERY



THE DISCOVERY AS IT APPEARED WHEN FOUND BY THE RELIEF SHIPS

OFFICERS OF THE TERRA NOVA RETURNING FROM A SEAL HUNT



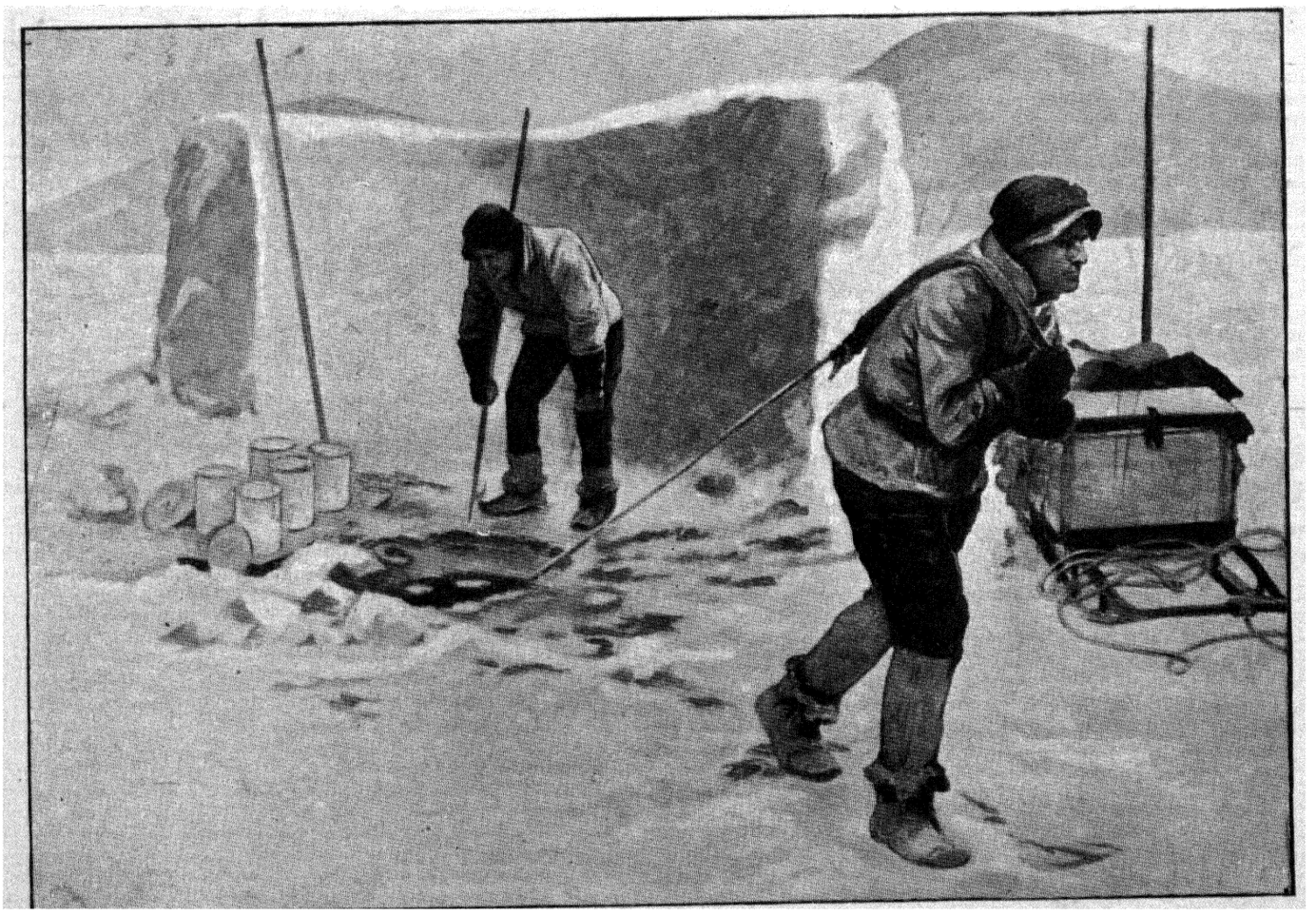
THE RELIEF SHIP, MORNING: SOLID ICE TO LEFT AND BROKEN PACK ICE TO RIGHT

AMID THE SOUTHERN SNOWS: SCENES IN THE DISCOVERY RELIEF EXPEDITION

LETTERS FROM HOME: "POSTMEN" ON THE ANTARCTIC ICE

Captain Scott's expedition to the Antarctic left England in August, 1901, and New Zealand the following December, and the party had suffered extreme hardships before welcome relief was brought them in January, 1904, by the Morning and Terra Nova, two government ships. The above picture shows four stalwart members of the Morning on ski, conveying the Discovery's well-filled letter-bag from the Terra Nova to be loaded on dog sledges.

the edge of the barrier, the Discovery arrived at King Edward VII.'s Land, a region of peaks and glaciers hitherto unknown, and then, returning westward, Captain Scott established the fact that Mounts Erebus and Terror constitute an island, which was named Ross Island. The ship was put into winter quarters at Cape Armitage there. On November 2nd, 1902, Captain Scott, accompanied by Messrs. Wilson and Shackleton, started on his southward sledge party over the ice. Amid great difficulties, due chiefly to the deterioration of the food which they carried for the dogs, and also to the insufficiency of their own food supply, they travelled to a latitude of 82° 16′ 33″, which was reached on December 30th.



STUDYING THE HIDDEN LIFE OF THE ANTARCTIC DEEP

How the explorers with Captain Scott's expedition employed the scientific drag-net, which was frequently lowered through a hole cut in the ice, in their examination of the life of the Antarctic Ocean, is illustrated in the above picture. While engaged in this operation the men sheltered themselves behind a semi-circular wall of snow.

JAMES WEDDEL

LT. A. DE GERLACHE

C. BORCHGREVINK

W. S. BRUCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
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CAPTAIN SCOTT

LIEUTENANT SHACKLETON

ADML. D'URVILLE

LT. WILKES, U.S.N.

BENJAMIN MORRELL

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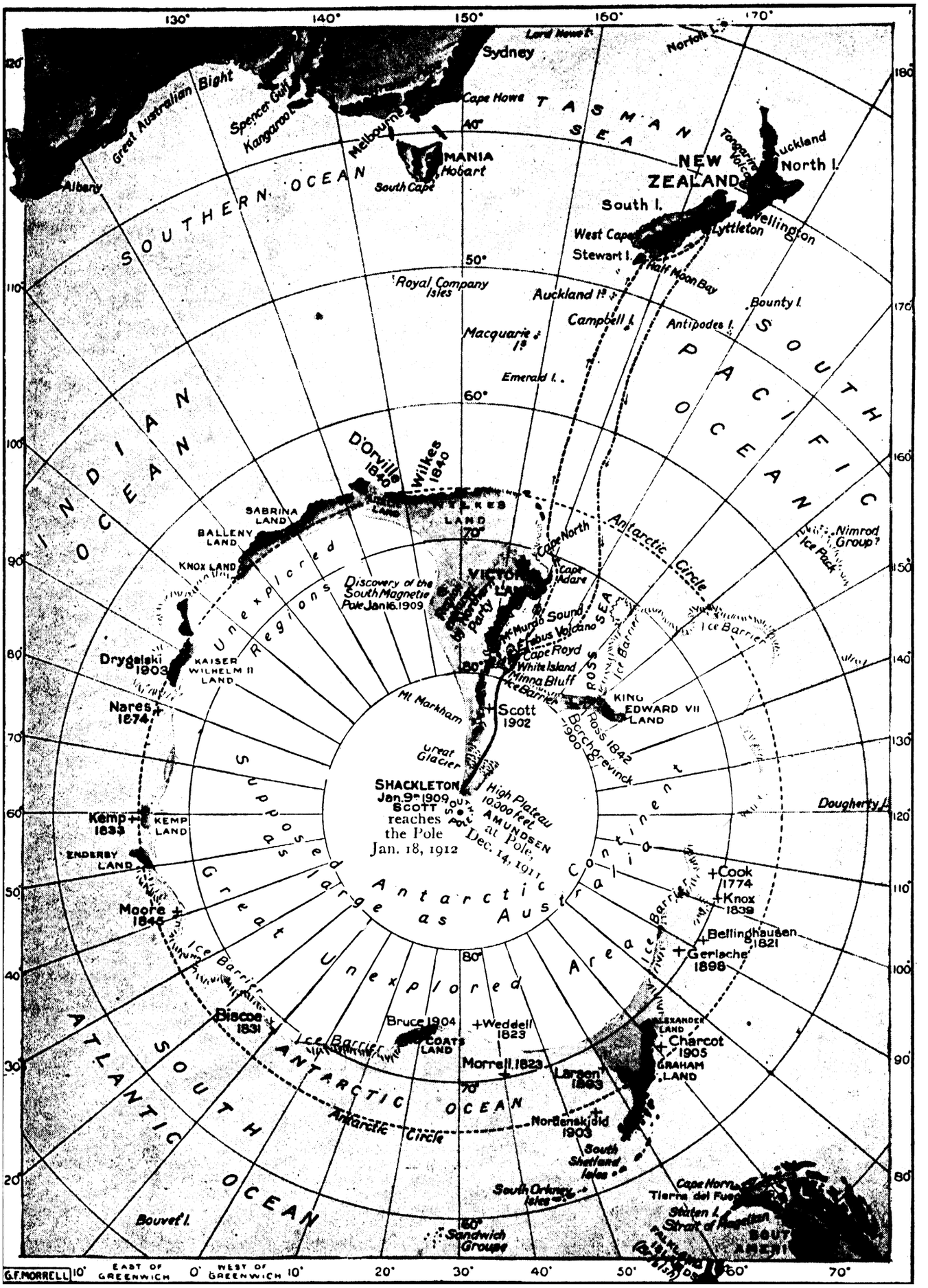
THE QUEST OF THE SOUTH POLE: INTREPID EXPLORERS OF THE ANTARCTIC

Photos by Thomson, S. J. Beckett and Alston Rivers



MAP OF THE SOUTH POLE REGIONS, SHOWING THE ROUTES OF EXPLORERS

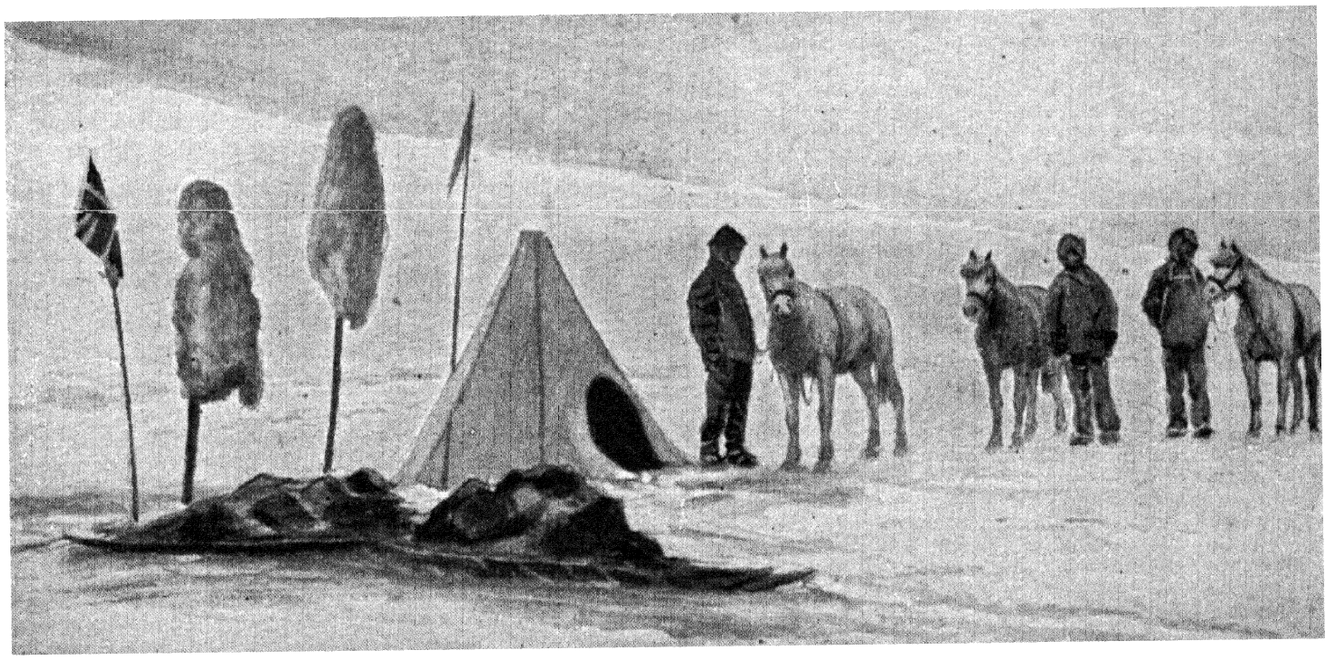
The history of Antarctic exploration is comparatively modern, beginning with Captain Cook's memorable voyage in the Endeavour in 1768, and subsequently with the Resolution and the Adventure in 1772, on which later occasion the famous explorer succeeded in crossing the Antarctic Circle. With the exception of Captain Ross's voyage in 1840, little of importance was done in these regions until the close of the nineteenth century, when several well-equipped expeditions were sent out by various governments and geographical societies. On January 9th, 1909, Lieutenant Shackleton came within 111 miles of the Pole, and on December 14th, 1911, Captain Amundsen reached the Pole itself, Captain Scott arriving there a month later, January 18th, 1912.

The route lay along the ice to the east of the coast of Victoria Land, on which the mountains Longstaff, Markham and many others were named. The little party returned to the ship, extremely worn, on February 3rd, 1903. In the following summer Captain Scott travelled westward with two companions over a high, desolate plateau, the summit of Victoria Land, to 146° 33′ E., covering in eighty-one days 1,098 miles.

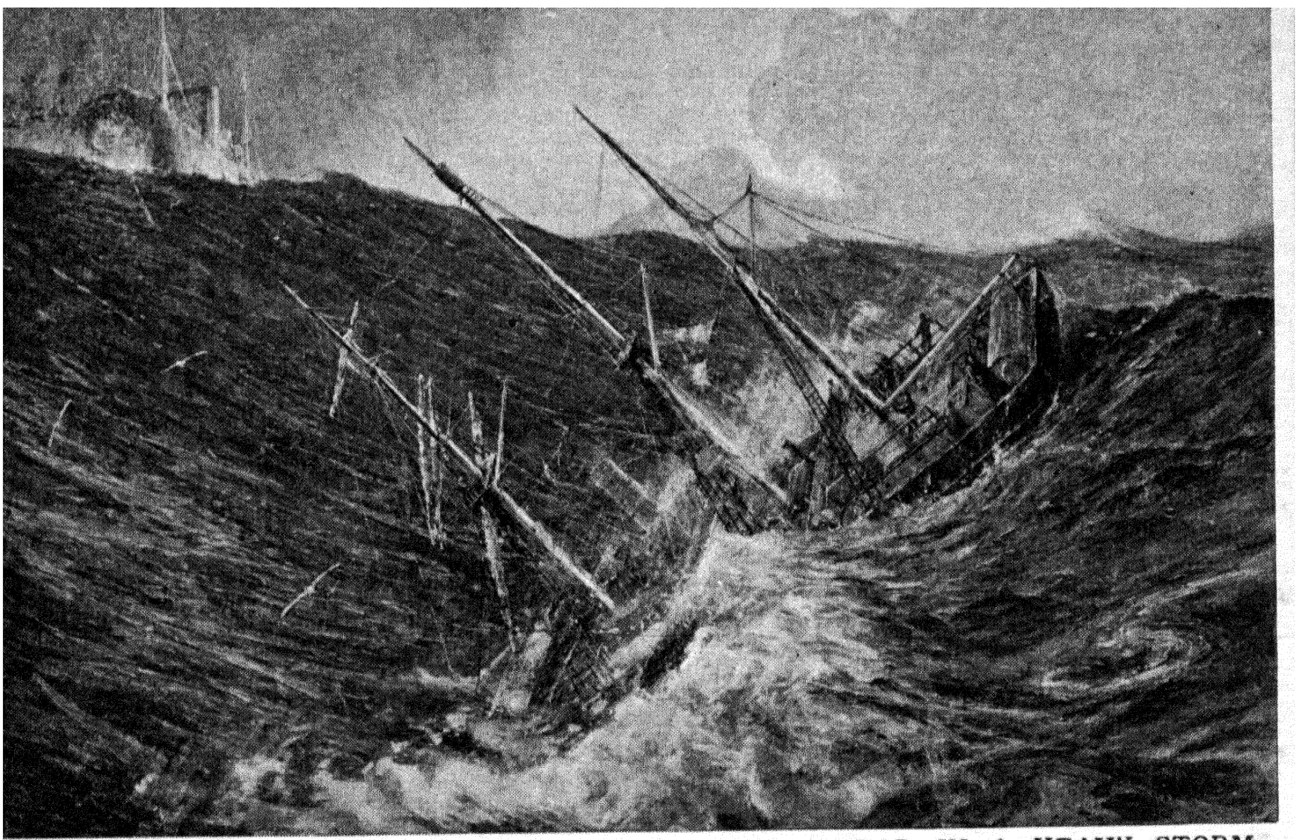
These daring ice journeys were emulated in a later South Polar expedition, by Lieut. Ernest H. Shackleton, who has succeeded in reaching 88° 23′ S., 162° E., a point within 111 statute miles of the Pole. This explorer, who had accompanied Captain Scott in his southward journey to a point within 450 miles of the Pole in December, 1902, fitted out the Nimrod, a whaling vessel of 227 tons, in 1907, and proceeded to the Ross Sea. The leader with three companions, who constituted the "Southern party," leaving the coast on October 29th, 1908, pressed southward as rapidly as possible over a mountainous plateau at an elevation of 10,000 feet. Glaciers intersected by frequent crevasses, treacherous snowdrifts, fearful blizzards, and temperatures of from 40 to 90 degrees of frost, made the journey incomparably arduous. After ten weeks of continuous travelling, they reached their farthest south on January 9th, 1909, and, returning, joined the Nimrod on March 4th. A second party, the Northern, succeeded, amid great difficulties and dangers in locating the Magnetic Pole in 72° 25′ S., 154° E.; and the Westward, or third, party explored and mapped the coast.

Among the most important results of this expedition were the complete reversal of the old theory of a region of Polar calm; the discovery that the South Polar region is an elevated plateau; the discovery of coal measures in the Antarctic continent; the surveying of a considerable range of coastline to the west of Victoria Land; and the ascent of Mount Erebus, the height of which has been determined at 13,120 feet. It was apparent that the North and the South Poles would soon be reached before many years had passed. The impression left on one's mind by a review of the history of Polar exploration is that the scientific study of these regions is still only in its beginnings, and that the remarkable interest in Arctic and Antarctic research which has characterised the early years of the twentieth century can only increase with every fresh accession of knowledge. It is greatly to be desired, and can hardly be doubted, that British explorers will continue in the future, as they have done in the past, to play a pre-eminent part in this high enterprise.

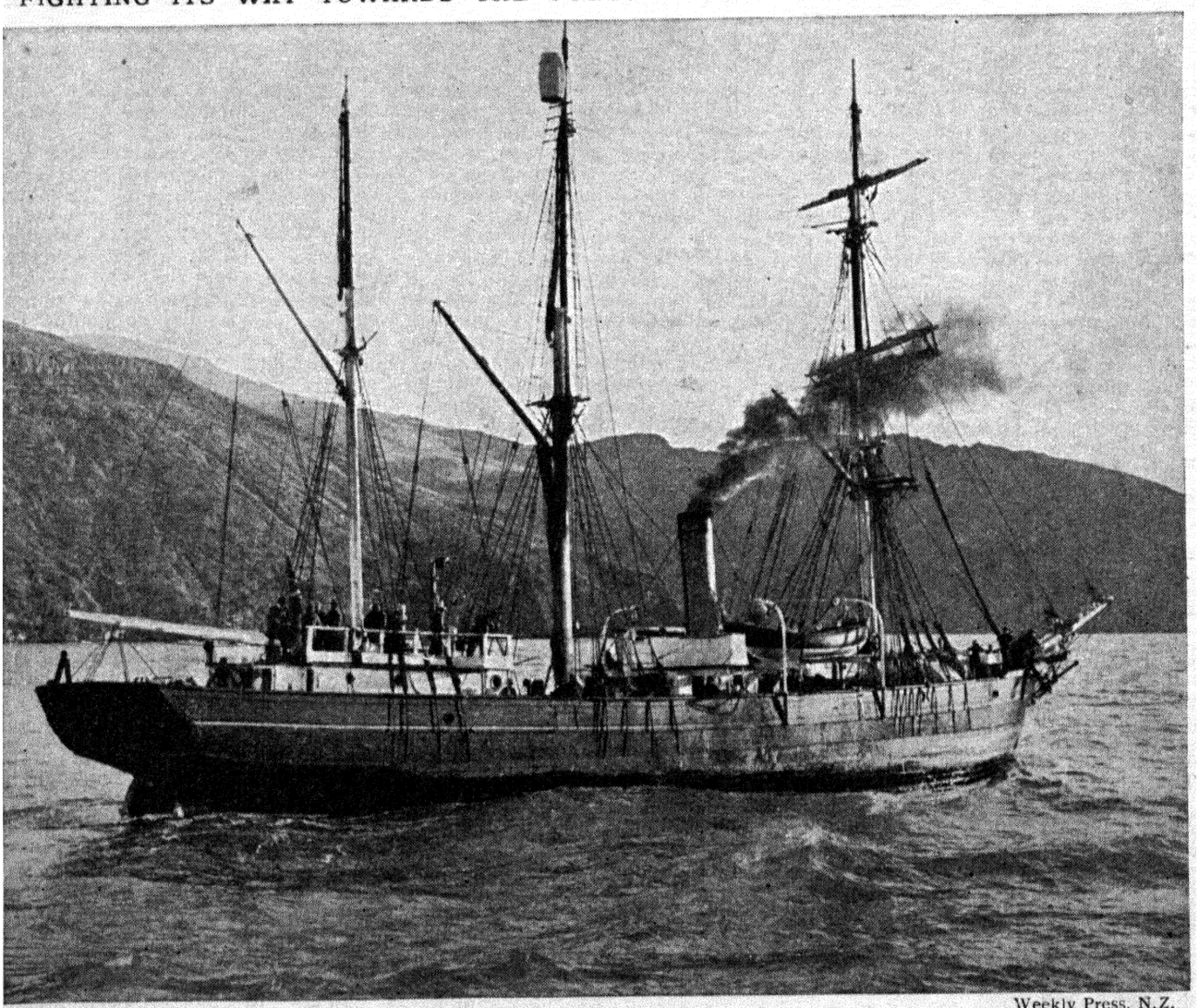
GEORGE SANDEMAN



THE HARDSHIPS OF ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: AN EPISODE IN SHACKLETON'S EXPEDITION
Lieutenant Shackleton's Antarctic expedition of 1907–9 was marked by many hardships, not the least of them being a shortage of food, which made it necessary for the explorers to kill the small, hardy ponies which accompanied them one after the other, until at last the original number had been reduced to three, as shown in the above picture.



FIGHTING ITS WAY TOWARDS THE POLE: THE NIMROD IN A HEAVY STORM



Weekly Press, N.Z.

ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITION AT NEW ZEALAND: THE NIMROD NEARING LYTTELTON

NEAREST APPROACH TO THE SOUTH POLE: THE SHACKLETON EXPEDITION

The copyright of the top picture is reserved by Lieutenant Shackleton

beyond Amundsen's point, and then on the following day this stalwart band of five started on their return journey, the last journey they were to make in this mortal world. For a time all went well and good progress was made; then the weather became as bad for Scott as it had been good for Amundsen. Terrible blizzards beset the travellers, and so hindered the march that it became necessary to eat into the reserve of provisions. It is from Captain Scott's own diaries we know the details of the bitter journey, and the story of how five brave men went to their deaths on that homeward journey from the South Pole. With provisions failing, and buffeted by blizzards, weariness and exhaustion diminished the daily rate of progress still more. Then sickness fell upon Seaman Evans, who was counted "the strong man of the party," and this involved a further strain upon the rest. Descending the Beardmore Glacier, Evans fell and died of concussion of the brain on the 17th of February. A month later and Scott lost the second member of his little company. For on March 17th Captain Oates, badly frostbitten, and believing himself to be a hindrance to his comrades, hoped by his own death to make it possible for them to reach the depôt alive, and so he walked out of the tent while the blizzard was raging, and was seen no more.

The Tragedy of the Return

Yet for another five days did Captain Scott, Dr. Wilson—the chief of the scientific staff—and Lieutenant Bowers struggle on; and then they pitched their tent for the last time—only eleven miles away from One Ton Depôt. Provisions for two days remained, but the blizzard, which still raged and showed no signs of dropping, made for men, now famished and utterly exhausted, all hope of continuing the journey impossible. There was nothing left for the three men but to wait for death, though they were but eleven miles from where supplies and safety awaited them. The journey ended where it did in the great solitudes, while the snowstorms beat around the tent. Provisions were gone, hope was extinct, death alone remained. In those last hours Captain Scott wrote the story of the tragic ending to the brave adventure. The disaster could not be in any way due "to any faulty organisation," he wrote. It was the totally unexpected savagery of the weather that had made shipwreck of all plans. "Our wreck is certainly due to this sudden advent of severe weather," and in especial to "the long gale in 83° S.", were amongst the last words in the diary. "Not a single completely fine day" had been experienced on the return journey, Captain Scott noted. The last entry in the diary was made on March 25th, 1912, and then the worn-out travellers found the mercy of death. Besides explaining how the exceptional ferocity of the blizzards had brought ruin on the expedition, Captain Scott testified in his farewell message that the three men dying in that tent were facing death calmly, and without complaining, as brave souls have ever faced it. "For my own sake I do not regret this journey," he could write, "which has shown that Englishmen can endure hardship, help one another, and meet death with as great a fortitude as ever in the past. . . . We have no cause for complaint, but bow to the will of Providence, determined still to do our best to the last."

The End of the Journey

Then came a final appeal to England—an appeal not made in vain—to see that those who had been dependent on the men dead and dying in that Antarctic land should not suffer. "These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale; but surely, surely a great rich country like ours will see that those who are dependent upon us are properly provided for." It is not too much to say that in all the annals of polar exploration, the story of how Robert Falcon Scott and his heroic comrades reached the Pole, and then perished almost within sight of safety, is hardly surpassed for tragedy and pathos. Not till November 12th, 1912, did the search party arrive at Captain Scott's tent to find the three dead bodies, and the diaries and scientific records.

A Hero's Farewell

Another search party arrived about the same time at Cape Evans, and found there those members of Captain Scott's expedition who had not been allotted to the fatal journey to the Pole, but, under Lieutenant Campbell's leadership, had remained to explore the country north of the base camp. They, too, had had their powers of endurance tested to the uttermost, but, fortunately, without loss of life. Lieutenant Campbell had landed with his party at Terra Nova Bay on January 8th, 1912,

on the understanding that scientific work should be carried out for not more than a summer month, and the supply of provisions taken was only sufficient for a month. Unfortunately, the vessel that should have called for them at the end of that time was unable to reach them, with the result that the explorers were compelled to spend the winter at Terra Nova Bay—living chiefly on seal meat and blubber. Not before the end of September was it possible to move from winter quarters, and only with much hardship did Lieutenant Campbell and his band arrive at Cape Evans early in November. Although a great deal of important and valuable scientific work was accomplished by the British Antarctic Expedition of 1911–12, including the ascent of Mount Erebus, the tragedy of Captain Scott's journey to the South Pole remains the most memorable feature of that expedition.

Lieut. Campbell's Hard Winter

The Australian Antarctic Expedition of 1912–13 is also notable in the chronicle of recent explorations at the South Pole. Led by Dr. Mawson, and suffering heavy losses, it contributed seriously to scientific knowledge. This expedition was in two detachments, one commanded by Dr. Mawson himself, the other by Mr. Frank Wild. Dr. Mawson had two companions, Lieutenant Ninnis and Dr. Merz. The former perished on December 4th, 1912, falling into a deep crevasse, and carrying with him a dog-sledge which contained nearly all the provisions of the party. The two survivors pushed on with six starving dogs, which were all eventually killed for food. Dr. Merz succumbed through exhaustion on January 17th, and Dr. Mawson reached his base alone on February 8th, 1913—just a few hours after the Aurora had sailed to take up Mr. Wild's contingent, which had been left on the Shackleton Glacier. These were safely rescued by Captain Davis with the Aurora on February 23rd, and sailed for Australia. This western party, under Mr. Frank Wild, had explored the coast for some 350 miles between 101° 31′ E. and Kaiser Wilhelm Land, and had named this area Queen Mary Land. The main results of Dr. Mawson's Australian expedition were the discovery of Adélie Land —an enormous ice-covered plateau rising to 7000 feet—the survey of coast line by Mr. Wild, a number of extremely important scientific observations in the region of the South Pole, and some valuable geological discoveries. Dr. Mawson, with six members of the expedition who had been left at the base when the Aurora sailed, remained to spend the following winter—i.e., March to September, 1913, in the Antarctic area, waiting for the summer before rescue could reach them.

The Mawson Expedition

Yet another Antarctic exploration party of recent years, the German Antarctic Expedition, of 1911–1912, claims notice. This expedition, under Lieutenant Filchner, left South Georgia in the Deutschland, December 11th, 1911, and penetrated the Weddell Sea to latitude 78° S., longitude 35° W., a point 250 miles in advance of all previous records in that direction. On January 30th, 1912, at 76° 40′ S. the vessel sighted an inland ice-cap rising precipitously 650 to 1000 feet out of the sea. The edge of this was followed southward, and near 78° S. a small bay was discovered, which was named Vahsel Bay, after the captain of the Deutschland. Attempts were made to effect a landing without any success, and after various adventures and discoveries Lieutenant Filchner returned to Buenos Aires in January, 1913. He reported that the so-called South Greenland was non-existent, and that his discovered land in the Weddel Sea—henceforth to be called Luitpold Land—was a continuation of Coats Land. So, despite death and the unspeakable hardships of cold and hunger in the solitudes of the ice-bound territories of the South Pole, the Antarctic regions still draw men to seek out and number the seas and coasts, the glaciers and plateaux, and to divide the earth from the waters in that vast area of desolation. J. C.

German Antarctic Exploration

HARMSWORTH HISTORY
OF THE WORLD
EIGHTH GRAND DIVISION
THE TRIUMPH
OF THE MIND OF MAN

EIGHTH GRAND DIVISION

THE TRIUMPH OF THE MIND OF MAN

Our record of the World's history down to the present year is closed. For a brief ten thousand years we have traced the doings of Man, the social animal, the organiser of communities; a small span in that space of time wherein the earliest forms of life on this planet developed and differentiated into the species of which man is himself the highest product; an infinitesimal fraction of the æons since our globe began to take form; a mere moment in the history of the universe Even of this it has been attempted to give an idea in our opening sections.

What remains for our closing section—the epilogue at this particular moment of a story still in its beginnings? Our theme is Man: the infinite universe is but the setting to Finite Man—if Man be Finite! And man is so, in the sense that material life on this material globe will one day have faded into "the infinite azure of the past."

But the study of the Past is valuable precisely because Finite Man has before him a future of incalculable vastness. If in ten, twenty, nay, fifty thousand years a Shakespeare and a Newton have been evolved out of pithecanthropus, what may not be evolved in another fifty thousand years?

It is not our part in this epilogue to prophesy. But glancing on the future from contemplation of the past, realising the story which is that of the Triumph of the Mind of Man, there are three points of view which present themselves.

The historian reviews the records of our social animal, marks that wherein would seem to lie the progress of communal life, the solution of problems in the relation of Man to his fellow man; and thus he can formulate the problem of the immediate future, even hint at the method of its solution; point the next step forward, but nothing more

The man of science, biologist or physicist, concerns himself mainly with the evolution not of the State but of the Race, with development and degeneration, amelioration and deterioration, with the victory of intelligence over material obstacles, with the relations of man to the material universe.

And last it remains to feel and know the Infinite in the Finite, the Spiritual revealed in the Material, the Eternal which is when Time was not and shall have ceased to be, the soul of man which knows not death.

PLAN

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MODERN WORLD
By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE MIND OF MAN
By Dr. C. W. Saleeby

THE END OF THE WORLD
By Harold Begbie

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MODERN WORLD

A SURVEY OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

THE END OF FEUDALISM

HISTORIANS have discussed the question as to the date at which the modern era may be said properly to begin, but their answers have not been unanimous. And the truth is that no genuine answer can be given to that question, for the stages of any process of development are never sharply divided. They lie embedded in each other, and as they unfold themselves in history the student of their growth discovers their independence.

Some of the ideas, which are characteristic of the modern world, even its scientific inventions and its theories of government, are unrelated to the past. Rather, they are the consummation of centuries of obscure, obstructed, but unwearied effort. Sometimes it is in antiquity that we discover the most perfect expression of ideas which we suppose to be wholly modern. What more admirable definition of the function of the state, for example, could be found than Aristotle's remark that the state is created for the sake of mere life, but continues to exist "for the sake of the good life"?

Here we are presented with a social ideal which has not even yet been realised. The roads of progress were suggested long ago; some of them were even laid out and partly built; but frequently they were left broken off or overgrown. When, as in the case of human history, the process of social evolution has taken place over an immense area and among alien races living in territories widely separated, the divergence between the different national systems at a given moment may be profound. Institutions which have perhaps been abolished by one people may linger among another. The modern era in Japan, for instance, began only about fifty years ago, and to-day in many Asiatic and African communities archaic and barbarous customs are still in existence. Even in Europe, where the social systems of the various states have, during a long period, been tending towards uniformity, some states have lagged centuries behind others. In Russia, representative government is a creation of yesterday—if, indeed, it may be said to exist in that country as yet in any effective form at all.

The Process of Social Evolution

The Slow March of Civilisation

The march of civilisation has, on the whole, been painful and slow, and its victories have frequently had merely local value. The abolition of abuses came piecemeal, and often the passage of a frontier meant either greater happiness or greater misery for the individual. Feudal influence has extended itself far into our own day. It was, for instance, only a few years ago that towns like Bolton, Oldham and Rochdale, in Lancashire, were able to purchase their freedom from the lord of the manor.

Or take the history of the abolition of serfdom. Louis X. of France enfranchised the serfs of the royal domain in the year 1315; but in the domains of the French seigneurs the serfs remained unenfranchised during many hundreds of years afterwards. In England the serfs received personal liberty after the Black Death (1349), and their manumission was due to economic rather than to moral causes. In Germany it was not till 1702

that Frederic I. of Prussia liberated his own serfs, whereas in the other German states the oppressed peasantry were compelled to wait for their charter of freedom until the day when all Europe was vibrating with the French Revolution (1789). And in Russia the serfs were not emancipated until 1861. This is an instance of the irregular and intermittent action of the forces of progress. Such facts enable us to see that the light of the modern era did not shine simultaneously or with equal strength throughout Europe, and that it is therefore impossible to fix upon any event which had an immediate and universal effect in breaking down the mediæval and building up the modern world.

When did the Modern Era Begin?

Those writers who, like Bluntschli, believe that the modern era began in the year 1740, because in that year Frederic the Great ascended the throne of Prussia, lay themselves open to the charge of being too exclusively occupied with the affairs and fortunes of a single European state. In like manner, the more plausible view that it was the Reformation which marked the cleavage between the mediæval and the modern world must be in turn dismissed as an inadequate explanation. For the Reformation did not affect Europe as a whole. Doubtless, it was a powerful manifestation of the modern spirit, and its influence reached beyond the limits of the religious world; but, after all, it was only a single manifestation.

The modern spirit had already been working obscurely in other ways. A jurist might point out that it had betrayed itself in the reascendancy of public law over the private law of the Middle Ages, or a statesman might claim that its most significant triumph was the disentanglement of the State from the Church. Or, again, a student of military science might urge that it was the invention of gunpowder and the use of artillery which, in having rendered obsolete the methods of the warfare of chivalry, brought the feudal period to a close. All such theories, however, could present nothing but an incomplete picture of the historical situation. The truth is that the numerous factors of modern civilisation already lay scattered and isolated throughout the ages, and that what distinguishes the modern era is their combined utilisation. Scientific discoveries were made even in antiquity. The invention of the compass is attributed to the Chinese about the year 2634 B.C.; a primitive microscope in the form of a convex lens made of rock crystal was discovered in the ruins of Nineveh; the telescope, at least in the shape of rude optic glasses, was probably known before the thirteenth century; clocks were in use before the beginning of the Middle Ages; the invention of printing took place in the fifteenth century, and in the same age watches with mainsprings were being worn; while during thousands of years metal implements were being gradually improved, until at length they made way for modern machinery, which is really a combination of separate tools—not that we believe that modern machinery is an unmixed blessing. It is the modern spirit which has gathered together and perfected these and innumerable other instruments of material progress, and has thus organised the results of the accumulation of knowledge for the service of mankind.

Scientific Discoveries of Antiquity

Every human society is, in its primary aspect, a collective effort to exploit material resources for the purpose of gaining the means of subsistence, which in turn become the means of leisure. In that exploitation the modern has far surpassed the ancient and the mediæval world. But the factors of civilisation are spiritual and æsthetic as well as material. If mere being is the state's immediate, well being is its ultimate goal. Hence, if the distinguishing mark of modern activity were merely its greater success in accumulating gigantic material resources, we should be compelled to conclude that mankind had misspent centuries in mistaking the means for the end. In attempting to sketch the historical development of some of the main social facts of to-day, we shall chiefly concern ourselves, therefore, with the question how far, in comparison with the past, modern conditions tend to make life not only a more comfortable, but a more dignified thing for the mass of human beings engaged in daily toil. For history is a record either of the happiness or the unhappiness of communities.

The State's Immediate and Final Goal

In antiquity, as in the case of the slave states, almost the entire burden of industrial creation rested upon an enslaved mass shut out from citizen's rights; in the mediæval period the majority of Europeans were sunk in a servitude which impoverished in the end

not only themselves, but their lords; in the modern world labour is paid in wages, and the working class is at least politically, if not economically, free. Those three opposed systems correspond to three different schemes for the distribution of social well-being. A fundamental change has thus gradually been introduced into the understructure of civilised society, and even the most pessimistic Socialist does not deny the gain in rights. Hence, from our present point of view, it is in the region of political and social principles that the real significance of the modern world lies.

And since it was the French Revolution which gave those principles their most sudden and their widest diffusion, we may fix upon 1789 as the date at which the break with the political past became visible. That date brings us face to face with a new social demand. For although elsewhere, and especially in England, important victories had already been won for human freedom, yet the peculiar character of the French Revolution was that it gave to the doctrine of human rights the most insistent, most articulate, most universal form which it had as yet received. We shall see later, indeed, that the Revolution appears to have promised more than it performed, and that from the point of view of modern socialistic agitation its economic results are judged to be inadequate. But there can be no doubt that it was by means of the French Revolution that the formidable voice of modern democracy first made itself distinctly heard.

Consequences of the French Revolution

If we wish to acquaint ourselves with the most vivid and uncompromising statement of the early aims of the Revolution, we cannot do better than study the pamphlet of Siéyès, "Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?" In a few sentences Siéyès brings the entire situation before us. The Tiers État, or Third Estate, was the third of the three great orders or classes which constituted the French nation. It comprised the commons, that is to say, the bulk of the people as distinguished from the clergy and the nobility. These latter were the privileged orders, and enjoyed an immunity from taxation. It was upon the Third Estate that the economic and industrial burden rested, and the weight of that burden had become intolerable. Almost two hundred years had passed since the States-General had been convoked, and the social problem of France had, during the interval, become exceedingly grave. But the States-General in their ancient constitution could do nothing to solve that problem. Summoned by the king, they did not form a parliament in any strict sense, for they possessed neither legislative nor executive powers. The king, whenever he chose, might call them to his aid when the affairs of state seemed to require their presence, but especially when the Treasury was in need of supplies. The chief object of the assembly had been to assist the Crown in discovering new sources of taxation.

France in the Days of its Kings

The three orders sat in separate chambers, and the votes were taken, not per capita, but by estates. Hence the two superior orders might combine in order to outvote the third. This is what had always happened when the interests of the nobles and the clergy were identical. Thus, even although the representatives of the Third Estate had outnumbered the bishops and the abbots and the feudal aristocracy by ten to one, their voting power would not thereby have increased.

The mediæval character of these assemblies is made strikingly evident if we remember that the deputies of the Third Estate were required, when presenting petitions, to be on their knees. Since 1614, when they were last convoked, social abuses had grown apace, but the Third Estate had also grown in power. What was more ominous was that it already possessed a consciousness of its power, and was groping its way towards the manifestation of it. The weapons of political agitation were already being forged.

At the moment when the financial situation was felt to be most acute and when bankruptcy threatened the court and the nation, Necker, the Finance Minister of Louis XVI., invited all French writers to publish their views on the best means of convoking the States-General. For the real constitution of that body was unknown, and there seemed to be no fixed tradition regarding its procedure. The Abbé Siéyès was one of those who availed themselves of Necker's invitation, and his response was the most remarkable political pamphlet of that time. We seem to hear in it the first bugles of the Revolution. Siéyès asks three definite questions, to

The First Bugles of the Revolution

which he gives three very definite answers. (1) What is the Third Estate? Everything. (2) What position has it hitherto held in the political world? None at all. (3) What does it demand? To assume its rightful position. He then goes on to identify the Third Estate with "the nation," for its interests, he says, are identical with national as opposed to merely particular interests. A privileged order is, he maintains, "a chimæra" if judged from the point of view of the public weal. If all privileged orders were abolished the work of the state could still be carried on by the people themselves.

Privileged Classes versus the People

The highest offices should be filled only by men of superior talent. Therefore, Siéyès declares war on the hereditary principle. "Who," he asks, "will deny that the people form the nation? But they resemble a strong man one of whose arms has been pinioned." Remove the privileged class from the state, and the state would continue to exist. On the other hand, remove the people and the state would perish. For such reasons he demands that only men chosen from the people should be sent as their representatives to the States-General.

"The people desire," he continues, "to make themselves of some account, and in truth they ask the least that is possible." Their influence in the national councils should be at least equivalent to that of the other two orders combined.

The number of their representatives should balance the number of those who stand for the Church and the noblesse. Besides, the voting should take place per head and not per estate. For Siéyès knew that the minor clergy and even some of the members of the aristocracy would be found on certain occasions to vote with the people. When he pours ridicule on the hereditary principle, which he calls "a Gothic invention," when he attacks, without restraint, those "agents of feudalism" who were governing, or rather misgoverning, France, when, in a curious phrase, he declares that the people have lived only in a kind of antechamber of the state in which they were compelled to await in patience and submission the commands of their masters, we are listening to a voice which had been hitherto unheard in the political world. Or, rather, Siéyès was only turning into practice the theories of Rousseau. And when he says that the national will (*la volonte commune*) can be recognised only in the vote of the majority, and that that maxim is "indisputable," we feel that the mediæval theory of government has suddenly become obsolete.

France Under Agents of Feudalism

"It follows," adds Siéyès, "that the representatives of the people are the real depositories of the national will, and that they are entitled to speak in the name of the entire nation." This is the revolution and this is modern politics in a sentence. Already, indeed, in 1762 Rousseau, like a good Republican, had in his *Contrat Social* announced the doctrine that the real sovereignty belongs to the people. But it was by other and later hands that that doctrine was made to assume a formidable because a practical shape. In the writings of men like Siéyès we feel the perilous imminence of a vast social change.

"I believe," said Burke, "that were Rousseau alive and in one of his lucid intervals, he would be shocked at the practical frenzy of his scholars." It is no part of our task to re-tell the old tale of the excesses of the Revolution. The democracy of to-day would not justify all that the democrary of 1789 was driven to do. But Burke was probably too near the Revolution to be able to understand its real meaning. Although he admits the existence of enormous abuses, he does far less than justice at least to the first leaders of the revolt. And yet it is clear that in the earlier stages the representatives of the Third Estate were even eager for compromise. They waited patiently for an answer to their invitation to the clergy and the noblesse to join them in a real National Assembly.

Rising of the French Democracy

But how little the temper of the time was understood may be measured by the fact that the ruling class still gravely insisted that the representatives of the people should, in accordance with the ancient usage, kneel while presenting their addresses. It was only when the commons were at last wearied out by a delay caused by the discussion of mediæval and puerile formalities that, on June 10th, 1789, and on the initiative of Siéyès, they took the bold step of summoning the clergy and the noblesse to a common deliberation on the nation's affairs. There seemed to be no hope, however, of a union between interests so fundamentally antagonistic, and on

June 15th, the commons proclaimed themselves as the National Assembly. Later, on June 20th, came the famous oath which bound each member not to separate from the others until a constitution had been devised and set upon a firm basis. At length the Third Estate triumphed when, by order of the king, the clergy and the noblesse united themselves on June 27th for common deliberation with the representatives of the people. It was easy for Burke to pour ridicule on those upstarts in the business of framing a constitution. He describes their decrees as "the polluted nonsense of licentious and giddy coffee-houses."

He laughed at their metaphysics and at their schedule of the Rights of Man. "They have a power given to them," he says, "like that of the evil principle to subvert and destroy; but none to construct, except such machines as may be fitted for further subversion and further destruction." Yet it was precisely because their rulers had during centuries of misgovernment and oppression failed to do the work of political construction, that the people in haste, and therefore in violence, attempted to undertake that task for themselves. It is true that many of the deputies of the Third Estate were only petty provincial lawyers. Burke regrets the absence of "leading advocates and renowned professors."

The French Declaration of Rights

But it was sufficient that the people should find a voice, and it is absurd to affirm that the voice of the National Assembly was incapable of expressing the national suffering. When we turn to the famous declaration of the Rights of Man we are struck, not by the excess, but by the moderation and even caution of the language used. Carlyle objects to a statement of rights unaccompanied by a statement of duties. But Michelet points out that hitherto the people had heard everything about duties, and nothing whatever about rights. It is false to say that it was the declaration of rights which was responsible for the ensuing violence. The Bastille had already fallen. The declaration did nothing but make articulate vast social forces which were already in motion, and which no assembly could control. Lord Morley says that "no set of propositions framed by human ingenuity and zeal has ever let loose more swollen floods of sophism, fallacy, cant and rant." Yet he maintains that the social conditions of the moment demanded that declaration, and that it contains vital truths. With all its faults it stands, together with the American Declaration, as the most important pronouncement of modern democracy. Perhaps its real significance is best seen, not in its own clauses, but in some of the preliminary documents in which the deputies received their instructions. For instance, in the "Cahier" of Paris the representatives of that city are to demand the abolition of various abuses, such as personal servitude, and to refuse to accede to any proposal for indemnifying the owners of serfs. They are to secure the freedom of the Press, the liberty of conscience, and the abolition of privilege.

Burke's Work on the French Revolution

The declaration, which came as the result of a long debate, is really an earnest attempt to express certain elementary human rights which had been destroyed during the Middle Ages. Behind its seventeen articles lay centuries of fruitless struggle. Thomas Paine said that Burke's work on the French Revolution was "a tribute of fear"; and the phrase seems to be justified. He convicts the great rhetorician of ignorance of the springs and principles of the entire movement. And he points out that the Revolution involved an attack not merely upon a single despotism, but upon a thousand despotisms which had grown up under the Crown, and had become in large measure independent of it. Between the monarchy, the noblesse and the Church there was a competition of despotism.

The Revolution was not aimed solely, or, indeed, at first at all against the king. There was something impersonal in its beginnings, and it was only later that violence ran loose, and seized as its victims those who by rank and privilege were identified with a system which had reduced the nation to economic ruin. In the very remarkable words of Paine, every office in the state had its despotism, every place its Bastille and every Bastille its despot. Burke had said that the age of chivalry was gone. But in truth the feudal spirit had survived till the end of the eighteenth century, and it still expressed itself in serfdom, in the corvée, and in the financial exploitation of the people. The majority of the seventeen articles

What the Revolution Aimed at

which form the Declaration of the Rights of Man have now the appearance of political platitudes, and there are few men who would not assent to them.

Thus, when public law is defined as the expression of the national will, or when it is affirmed that every society has the right to hold its officers responsible for their administration, or even when liberty is vaguely declared to consist in doing whatever does not injure others, we feel that these are reasonable propositions. Nevertheless, at the time when they were promulgated they formed something of the nature of a discovery. It is impossible to pardon all the errors of the constituent assembly, but we should not forget that its members were attempting to bring order out of a vast social and political disorder.

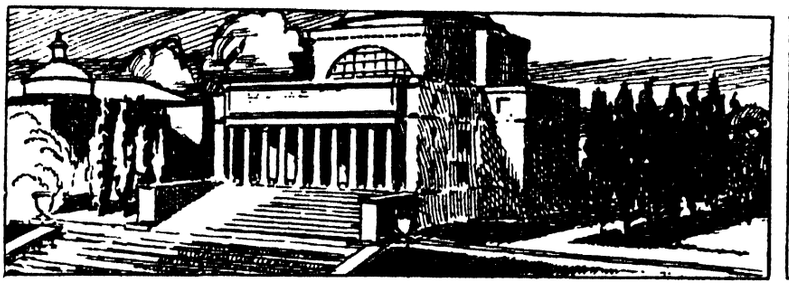
Errors of the Constituent Assembly

Judged by some of the socialistic standards of our own age, those men are even convicted of timidity. For they did not attack property. In the second and in the seventeenth article the rights of property are specially safeguarded. Property is, together with liberty and personal security, declared to be one of the natural rights of man. In the seventeenth article property is even defined as "an inviolable and sacred right, of which no one should be deprived." And there is a clause which declares that if in the public interest expropriation is demanded it ought to be accompanied by a just indemnification of the expropriated individual. But these are precisely the opinions, and this is the language of the propertied classes and of all moderate men. "There is no reason," said Siéyès "why each man, making use of his natural and his acquired powers, and running the ordinary hazards of life, should not increase his property by all available means, and so raise himself in the social scale." Now it is important to remember these words because they embody a political and social principle which triumphed over both the Revolution and the reaction in which the Revolution ended. In his imperial policy Napoleon transformed for his own purposes all the agents of the Revolution, and most of the doctrines of 1789 were forgotten. The Napoleonic system broke down, and during a long period, which came to an end less than forty years ago, the government of France suffered numerous oscillations

Yet throughout all the dynastic and political changes we observe the steady growth of the bourgeois conception of the state such as we find expressed by writers like Siéyès. Moreover, that conception of the state is not confined to France. It is, in its completed form, essentially modern, and it has spread into every country in which the methods of modern industry have been developed. Briefly, we may say that the great political principle for which the men of 1789 fought was the equality of all citizens before the law. This principle is now recognised in every civilised state.

The Fight for Equality

FALL OF THE LAST STRONGHOLD OF FEUDALISM: THE FRANCHISE IN TURKEY



AGE OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

COMMERCE EMERGING FROM ITS SHACKLES

BUT while privilege may be abolished by a stroke of the pen, the great economic forces which accumulate within every society are not so easily controlled. Silently and secretly they create new privileges. Although fruitful in the region of politics, the doctrines of the Revolution were not fruitful in the region of economics. Equality was affirmed but was not achieved. In France, as in every other European country, political reform was not necessarily accompanied by sudden social improvement.

All men have become equal in the eyes of the law, but that fact does not abolish poverty. All men are allowed to compete freely with each other for the goods of life, but that competition never results in an equal share. And, as we shall see, the vast development of modern industry has brought back the old problem in a new form.

The Driving Power of the Revolution

We are apt to suppose that the Third Estate, who formed the driving power of the Revolution, comprised a single uniform mass But this is by no means true. The great unprivileged order included not only the labouring population, but the bourgeoisie and the small capitalists, in whose hands were the trade and commerce of the country. And it was this latter class who gained most by the Revolution. The rights of man turned out in the sequel to be only the rights of the bourgeoisie.

The political freedom which was won became an instrument for advancing the interests mainly of the upper ranks of the Third Estate. We have already seen that the leaders of the Revolution—if we except men like Babeuf—did not propose the abolition of private property so long as that property was not held by the old aristocracy. They confiscated and they partitioned the estates of the clergy and the noblesse, but they did not nationalise the land. They sold it to the highest bidder, so that it merely changed hands.

In the preamble to the constitution, which was completed on September 3rd, 1791, the feudal régime is declared to be no longer in existence, the aristocracy has disappeared, their titles and prerogatives are gone for ever. But "the inviolability" of the property of the ordinary French citizen is guaranteed. And it is expressly stated that no attack is made on "natural rights," and the power to acquire property is recognised as one of those rights. The conception of the state as an arena for free competition for the prizes of life lies behind the constructive efforts of the Revolution. And it is this idea which has governed the political and the economic development of the modern world.

A New Order in France

In 1791 the National Assembly divided the citizens into those who paid direct and those who paid only indirect taxation. The franchise was reserved for citizens who paid direct taxes to the amount of three shillings. The wage-earners were excluded. In other words, a new privileged order was created out of those members of the Third Estate who possessed a certain amount of property. It is true that this property qualification amounted to a trifling sum; nevertheless, it carried with it an important distinction which separated those who had political power from those who had none.

Thus in the attempt at social reconstruction which followed the Revolution, the old principle that a man's place in the state depends upon the amount of his property was not really abandoned, although it assumed a more democratic guise. That principle was simply set to work at a lower level. Moreover, the right to the franchise was afterwards made more difficult to acquire. In 1814, when the theories of the Revolution had spent themselves and the Napoleonic discipline had borne fruit, the franchise was bestowed only upon those

How the Franchise was Bestowed

who paid direct taxation to the amount of 300 francs, or £12. After the Revolution of 1830 the amount was lowered to 200 francs, or £8. During the reign of Louis Philippe (1830–1848) out of a population of 30,000,000 only some 200,000 persons exercised the right to vote. This was a paltry result of the tremendous upheaval of 1789. Even, however, although there had been no Napoleonic dynasty and no Restoration, the political development of France would not probably have been different. The work of enfranchisement would have proceeded as slowly.

Founders of the New Republic

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the founders of the new republic granted universal suffrage, and by that measure they showed themselves to be more revolutionary than the men who drew up the constitution of 1791. From the point of view of the proletariat, the Revolution was somewhat barren. No doubt the corvée was abolished. Labour was emancipated, but it was given no voice in the government of the country. Power had simply been transferred from the old aristocracy of birth to the new aristocracy of money. And, again, we must add that what took place in France was fairly typical of what had happened, was happening, or was about to happen, in every other modern state.

Capital in its modern form did not exist in the Middle Ages. To-day capital is mobile, and may be transferred from one industry to another. But throughout the mediæval period it remained immobile, for it was expressed in the ownership of land. The economic situation was therefore not the result of the fluctuations of the markets. There were no great markets. Such trade as existed was local, and had no wide ramifications. Manufactures were carried on not in large factories, but in the houses of master workmen, who were surrounded by their apprentices. There was no machinery, and therefore production was slow. Moreover, whereas to-day the supply usually outruns the demand, the reverse was the case in mediæval Europe. Trade waited upon demand, and since, owing to the existence of serfdom, the purchasing power of the vast majority was infinitesimal, there was little stimulus towards production. Mediæval life was controlled by the landed interest. Agriculture was the chief concern, and it was carried on by servile labourers. The result was economic stagnation. To-day trade is fluid, but in the Middle Ages movable property hardly existed. Commodities which are now manufactured in endless quantity either did not then exist, or were exchanged only on the smallest scale.

Commerce in Mediæval Europe

According to mediæval private law, real estate was not transferable. On the other hand, goods and chattels might be alienated or bequeathed. But they formed only an insignificant part of the wealth of that time. The feudal organisation tended towards rigidity. The land remained changeless, and something of its immobile character affected the entire social system. The serfs who tilled the land were forbidden to emigrate; they remained on the soil from generation to generation, and were only the animated implements of its exploitation. Likewise in the towns which grew up within the shadow of the great domains the local industries were subjected to the same kind of restriction. And the trade guilds which formed the units of the commercial system hindered the expansion of trade. While at every point commercial enterprise was taxed by the seigneur, the action of the trade corporations, which were not suppressed in France until the Revolution, was no less injurious. In every locality the number of apprentices which a master workman might employ was fixed by law. This meant that the volume of his production remained steadily at the same point. His business could not grow.

The Law's Restrictions on Trade

There was, besides, a minute subdivision of industry, so that no overlapping of trades was permitted. Thus, for example, a man who made locks was forbidden to make the nails which fastened the locks. The tailor who made clothes was not allowed to mend them. Whereas, again, to-day multifarious activities are carried on in one and the same business, no such system prevailed in the early days of the handicrafts. We may see, therefore, why there was no opportunity for a large accumulation of capital. Speculation and investment did not exist, and there were no stocks and shares. A manufacturer's capital consisted in his tools and in a small quantity of raw material.

Likewise, rent was unknown. The income of a landowner was made up of tolls and fines, and many of these were extracted from industrial workers as well as from villeins and serfs. There is a long list of

exactions, by means of which commercial activity was penalised and paralysed. A merchant could not undertake a journey without protection, and often he had to pay a high price in order to reach his destination in safety. There is a typical case from Burgundy which happened in the year 1374, when a certain feudal noble undertook to conduct an Italian merchant from Dijon to Maurice-en-Chablais, and to guarantee him against all damage and robbery by the way in return for thirty francs in gold, which were equivalent to sixty English sovereigns.

In those days it required more than average courage in order to become a commercial traveller. Vexatious fines met the merchant at every stage of his journey. There was even a tax, called *pulveraticum*, which was levied on any carrier whose waggon raised dust on the road which belonged to a seigneur. During centuries throughout Europe commerce was shackled; every attempt at innovation was crushed. Even as late as the reign of James I. of England a proclamation was issued forbidding the use of a machine for making needles. And

Europe's Shackled Commerce

a naive enactment of Charles I., which prohibited the use of brass buckles because "those who cast the brass buckles can make more in one day than ten of those that make the iron buckles can do" lets us see even in this trivial case how great have been the odds against which the inventive and progressive spirit of man has struggled. Even on agriculture feudalism exerted an influence as paralysing as its influence on trade.

There can be no doubt that it is in the gradual removal of one restriction after another that we should find the main explanation of the immense industrial activity and wealth of the modern world. In mediæval France, as in mediæval England, "there could be," as Dr. Cunningham says, "little desire of accumulation when the ever-recurring tallages, aids and fines were sure to empty the hoards that had been filled during several preceding years. There could be no enterprise in seeking out a new line of life, for each villein was bound to the land, and no lord would willingly part with his services; there could be no high farming while the custom of the manor and the collective ownership of the teams forced all to adopt the same system. Even in trade there was little opportunity of raising oneself, for the prices of articles of native production, for which there would be much competition, were regulated by authority; and merchants, too, were subject to special risks or to special fines for protection as well as to heavy trading dues." All this has been changed. It would be impossible in the present sketch to trace

Charlemagne as a Trading Farmer

the causes of the victory of commerce over the mediæval restrictions which had attempted to strangle it. That victory was not complete until the bourgeoisie obtained a share in government. Hence the history of modern economic development is related to the history of the franchise.

But even during the reign of feudalism signs of the coming power of a new class in the state were by no means absent. Gradually it began to appear that the economic basis of feudalism—the exploitation of the land by servile labour—was unsound. Unlike Charlemagne, who was not too proud to sell the eggs and other produce of his farms, the nobles had a contempt for trade, and the feudal usage forbade them to engage in it. Nevertheless, in times of financial difficulty many a great baron called to his aid the despised Jew or the petty bourgeois. It was in the hands of these latter that such capital as existed in the Middle Ages began to accumulate, and it formed the nucleus of the capital which exists to-day. But both the wealthy commune and the wealthy individual trader were in perpetual danger of being plundered.

Expensive and unproductive wars, together with an expensive and unproductive tillage, brought about the bankruptcy of feudalism. Yet the bourgeois became aware of his power when a great lord, in defiance of feudal custom, offered to share with him the risks and profits of commercial speculation. In the protocols of Burgundy there are numerous instances which prove that men

Merchants Protected by Lords

of rank and title entered into negotiations with men of the merchant class. While the bourgeois was thriftily amassing his small savings, the seigneur was misspending in luxury and barren war the income which he extorted from serf and bourgeois alike. Owing to the anarchy of the period, the travelling merchant was often, as we have seen, compelled to put himself under the protection of some powerful lord, who in return received a percentage

on the results of the expedition. Sometimes, for greater safety, merchants travelled in companies both by land and sea. What this new corporate activity which laid the foundations of the vast modern system of production and exchange was able to achieve may be discovered in the history of the communes of France, and especially of the Hansa towns of Germany. Originally, Hansa meant a military company. But the object of those companies was not military but commercial. They placed outposts and depots in the great towns, and at last they attained to such power that they were able to dictate treaties to kings.

Great Days of the Hanseatic League

A silent reconstruction of the economic basis of European life was taking place. Frequently the work was impeded by reactionary forces and especially by war, but it was never wholly arrested. It is a striking truth, however, that the tendency of this new factor of progress was to create social privileges not fundamentally different from those of the system which it was secretly overthrowing. That tendency was aristocratic. For instance, in the yearly assemblies of the Hanseatic League, which generally took place at Lübeck, no one below the rank of councillor might take his seat. Moreover, if any town displayed democratic leanings it was punished by expulsion from the league.

Wealth, in fact, which had been created not out of the land but out of commerce, became the instrument for creating and maintaining a new hierarchy. We may measure the change which had occurred when we recall the fact that Louis XIV., at Versailles, raised his hat to a wealthy merchant of that day from whom he required financial aid. The interests of the capitalist class and of the aristocracy had become less and less antagonistic. According to some writers, indeed, the economic revolution which the development of trade brought with it succeeded only in creating a new "commercial feudalism," which benefits the producers at the expense of the consumers. "In vain," says Blanqui, "the French Revolution abolished the trade guilds and emancipated labour if wages tend to fall and the price of commodities tends to rise." And in the opinion of Lassalle there is an exact parallel between the historical significance of the bourgeoisie and the mediæval noblesse. He maintained that the bourgeoisie, as soon as it had secured power, transformed itself into a privileged class, whose feudal character was expressed in terms of capital.

Results of Trade Development

In the Middle Ages the ruling orders were untaxed. Every privileged order in every age has attempted to place the burden of taxation, whether in the form of labour or of money, on the shoulders of the classes who possess no property. It is true that the capitalists take their share in taxation, but that share, say the Socialists, is out of all proportion to the amount of their incomes. By the device of indirect taxation they lighten the burden for themselves in those countries in which trade monopolies are fostered. A man who is twenty, or fifty, or a hundred times as rich as another, does not for that reason, says Lassalle, require twenty, or fifty, or a hundred times as much food and shelter. We shall deal later with the question of modern poverty.

Meantime, it is sufficient to point out that the great leading factors in the creation of modern conditions—the use of machinery, the discovery of America and other great markets for trade, the facility of locomotion by land and sea, the numerous inventions of applied science in all industries, together with new political theory and practice—have transformed beyond recognition the great divisions of ancient and mediæval society. The social organisation has become more flexible. Instead of slaves and serfs there are men and women who sell their labour for wages.

The Three Broad Divisions in Society

The omnipotence of the owner of land has been checked and the powers which he once exercised have passed to the state. In the words of the distinguished historian of English industry, "Economically we have three broad divisions in society, for men arrange themselves according to the things which they own and exchange; they may exchange their labour for wages, or they may exchange the use of their capital for interest, or they may exchange the use of their land for rent. In modern societies, labourers, capitalists and landlords are the three classes which group themselves round the possession of the power to labour, the possession of wealth and the possession of land. This is the social structure we habitually assume, but it is strangely unlike the manorial life it has superseded."

THE ERA OF INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY

HARDSHIPS OF FACTORY LIFE IN ENGLAND

EVERY progressive modern state has thus been the scene of a political and economic transformation, by means of which many of the principles which governed collective action in the past have been abandoned. Representative government, the great political principle of modern democracies, was unknown in antiquity. Ancient democracies were direct; that is to say, their component members legislated not by proxy, but in their own persons in the national assemblies.

In the ancient Germanic tribes, for instance, all the freemen met together in council. In the Athenian ecclesia the entire body of free citizens above twenty years of age transacted political business. But this system was adapted only to small communities in which public opinion could be easily and quickly ascertained. As nations grew larger it became impracticable to summon all the citizens for common deliberation, and many hundreds of years elapsed before men discovered and perfected the methods of representative government. The definition of the state which Grotius formulated expresses the modern social ideal, which is still in process of realisation. "The state," said Grotius, "is the perfect union of free men for the purpose of enjoying common rights and a common welfare."

How Grotius Defined the State

The history of the franchise is the history of the extension of this sphere of rights and also of the attempt to discover within the vast masses which constitute modern nations that unanimity of public opinion which was so simply expressed in the national councils of the ancient tribes. In some countries universal suffrage actually reproduces, although in an indirect form, the ancient referendum while in others political development has been marked by a steady widening of the electoral basis. Even in a country such as England, which is not nominally a democracy, a democratic representative system has been grafted upon a constitutional monarchy, and the public business is initiated by a committee of the nation in the form of a Cabinet responsible to the people. But this mechanism of government was known neither to the ancient nor to the mediæval world, although, indeed, the procedure of the Athenian ecclesia appears in some instances to have approximated to the methods of a parliament. Whereas, in antiquity and during the Middle Ages numerous interests were left inarticulate and unrepresented in the state, in modern times the industrial population makes its voice heard in public affairs.

The Voice of the Industrial Population

The nations have long outgrown their earlier organisations. In the western world the system of castes has broken down, and the idea of common citizenship is fully developed. The functions of the state are regarded as purely secular, and the old conceptions of theocratic government have disappeared. Sovereigns, whether as hereditary monarchs or as elected presidents, are no longer supposed to rule by divine authority, but only as embodiments of the concentrated national will.

Whereas in mediæval society each group of privileged persons was governed by a code of law peculiar to itself the clergy by the canon law, the barons, the knights, the vassals, the burghers, the villeins and the serfs by customs belonging to their respective ranks—today the national consciousness expresses itself in statutes before which all men are equal. And thus we return to that conception of the state which has controlled both the political theory and practice of some of the most advanced modern nations the principle, namely, that the main duty of the state is the maintenance of the rights and the property of all its members. This principle found

The Main Duty of the State

remarkable expression, especially in England in the nineteenth century, in the doctrine of *laissez faire*, according to which the state should interfere as little as possible with the activity of the individual.

That activity found vent in every form of industrial enterprise, and it is to the system of unrestricted competition that the accumulation of modern wealth is due. The conception, however, that the chief function of the state is to protect property, or, in other words, to prevent burglary—a conception to which Immanuel Kant, among others, gave expression—has been attacked by the opponents of the bourgeois ideal, who have pointed out that it converts the modern state into a mere policeman. And, as we shall see, this indictment against the materialistic view of national life is not unjustified. In the attempt to accumulate property and to defend it, the modern world has forgotten that the state in its highest and noblest aspects should represent not only the physical, but also the intellectual and the moral energy of man.

Doctrine of Modern Democracy

The great doctrine of modern democracy embodied in the triple formula, liberty, equality, fraternity, contains inherent contradictions which will always prevent its full realisation. In any case political liberty has had little effect upon the economic foundations of modern society. And if we examine the origin of modern wealth, we shall find that the emancipation of industry did not involve the emancipation of the industrial workers. The immense development of modern manufactures and commerce has been the result of the enterprise of individuals who have been more or less unshackled by the interference of the state. But in the pursuit of his own interests the individual is tempted to sacrifice the interests of others. During a long period the modern methods of acquiring wealth were not fundamentally different from those of antiquity and of the Middle Ages. The history of colonial slavery and of modern factories amply demonstrates how long political theory may remain unrelated to actual social conditions.

Slavery in the Colonies

Many years after the French Revolution the colonial possessions of Britain and of France were, like America, the scene of servile labour as degrading as the servile labour of ancient times. No doubt, slavery was abolished in Western Europe towards the close of the twelfth century. But as soon as Europeans began to colonise the New World they did not scruple to make use of a tyranny which in Europe had been already condemned. Fortunes destined to be spent in Europe were extorted from the labour of slaves in the rice-fields and the cotton-fields, and in the indigo and the tobacco plantations of another continent. Men who attended Christian churches in Europe did not consider it to be incompatible with their religious beliefs to enrich their families by help of a tyranny which was the negation of Christian doctrine.

In the official journal of Martinique for June 22nd, 1840, we read as follows: "In the name of the king, of law and of justice.—Be it known to all whom it may concern that on Sunday, June 26th, 1840, in the market-place of the Holy Spirit, there shall be sold at auction immediately after Mass the slave-woman Suzanne, a negress, together with her six children, aged respectively thirteen, eleven, eight, seven, six and three years." A proclamation like this was a strange commentary on eighteen hundred years of Christianity. And it would be interesting to attempt to discover what proportion of modern wealth can be traced directly to slave labour. There are at least sufficient data to prove that even in our own day, as recent events on the Congo bear witness, the ancient dogma of man's property in man is by no means extinct. The men who drew up the Black Code and who ordained for the fugitive slave the punishment of lopping his ears and of branding his shoulder with the fleur-de-lis, and the punishment of death if the attempt to escape were repeated, were, *mutatis mutandis*, using the language of the slave laws of antiquity.

When the Slave Trade Flourished

In a French journal of July, 1843, we even find the statement that the proposal for the abolition of slavery was "atheistical" because it attacked the most sacred of all rights, the right of property. And this belief that an inferior race may be exploited as implements for the production of wealth to be consumed by their masters was held universally in every country which had acquired colonial possessions. In the London newspapers towards the end of the eighteenth century there are to be seen advertisements for fugitive slaves, and high rewards are promised to the captors. Throughout

that century there was continued a great discussion as to whether a slave who had landed on the shores of Great Britain should be considered to be free. In 1729 the following was announced as the official decision of the attorney-general and the solicitor-general of the day: "We are of opinion that a slave, by coming from the West Indies into Great Britain or Ireland, either with or without his master, does not become free, and that his master's right and property in him is not thereby determined (*i.e.*, ended) or varied, and that baptism doth not bestow freedom on him nor make any alteration in his temporal condition in these kingdoms. We are also of opinion that the master may legally compel him to return to the plantations."

It was not until January, 1772, and after prolonged investigation that Mansfield and his coadjutors declared that "as soon as ever any slave set his foot upon English territory he became free." In this case, however, English territory meant only the shores of Great Britain, and the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions did not take place till 1834. Such facts bring before us in a striking way the overlapping of the ancient on the modern world. In the frantic effort to create capital, Europeans, who enjoyed a charter of political liberties which it had taken centuries to win, revived outside Europe an industrial system in which liberty had no place.

The Coming of Machinery

If we now turn to consider for a moment the development of modern manufactures in Europe itself, we shall find that during a long period the factory system was responsible for the sacrifice of the industrial population merely for purposes of economic gain. The condition of the workers who spun cotton in the English factories was hardly better than that of the negro slaves who had first raised the cotton in the American plantations. Owing to the invention of steam and the steam engine and Arkwright's spinning-frame a revolution took place in many important industries. Machinery not only destroyed the old handicrafts, but it produced great changes in the habits of the people.

Manufactures which used to be carried on in cottages, where the head of a family had his family or his apprentices as co-workers, were now transferred to large buildings in which men, women and children were congregated under the supervision of overseers who were responsible only to the owners. The history of the cotton and woollen factories is, unfortunately, full of data which prove that the new inventions and the new industrial organisation which they involved resulted in a ruthless exploitation of adult and child labour. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1796, William Pitt pointed out the advantages which might be derived from the employment of children in the great staple industries. He spoke of "the addition which by the fruits of their toil might be made to the country's internal opulence." And the manufacturers were quick to utilise a form of labour so abundant and so cheap.

Child Slaves in the Cotton Factories

Yet it would be wrong to suppose that it was in the great factories that for the first time children were set to do the work of adults, and to perish by thousands in the process. As early as the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted by the Poor Law of 1601 that pauper children and orphans should be apprenticed to various trades. So that when at the end of the eighteenth century the new discoveries in machinery had given a great stimulus to the spinning and weaving industries, the manufacturers simply pressed into their service the apprentice system which they found ready to their hands. We cannot attempt, however, to describe the abuses which the new methods of manufacture introduced, or the slow and halting attempts at interference and control on the part of the state. It was pointed out by Spencer Walpole that it required twenty-five years of legislation to restrict a child of nine to a sixty-nine hours' week, and that that restriction applied only to the cotton-mills.

And it is part of the irony of those abuses that attention was drawn to them only when, owing to the insanitary conditions in which the children worked, a serious outbreak of fever threatened the public health. The memoir of Robert Blincoe, a cotton apprentice, who served his time while the system was doing its maximum mischief, allows us a glimpse of the frightful cruelties which attended the earliest stage of modern industry. Blincoe declares that he was often compelled to work almost naked throughout a winter's day, and to work, moreover, loaded with two half-hundredweights of iron slung to each

Industry's Frightful Cruelties

shoulder. Those apprentices who, like the slaves of antiquity, were suspected of a desire to escape were kept in chains, and their ankles were shackled. The duration of the hours of labour would be incredible unless the facts were fully authenticated, as, in the present case, they happen to be by a number of official documents.

Unchecked Abuses in the Cotton Mills

The first Sir Robert Peel stated that, from his personal knowledge, children seven years old were compelled to work thirteen and fourteen hours a day. Sir Samuel Romilly declared that he knew of cotton mills where the apprentices were murdered in order that fresh premiums might be secured with new apprentices. The Poor Law overseers and the justices of the peace appear to have been able only on the rarest occasions to check the abuses that existed within the walls of factories which, since they were private concerns, were not yet liable to inspection by the state.

It was in the year 1802 that the first great attempt was made by the state to establish a control over the factory system. An act called the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act was passed without much opposition, and it reduced the working hours to twelve per diem. Night work was to cease in June, 1804. This measure marked an important stage in social progress. Provision was made for an improvement in the sanitary condition of the factories, inspectors were appointed, and all mills were to be registered. The justices of the peace were empowered to impose penalties for violation of the act. But the act applied only to cotton and woollen factories, and even in these it was soon found to be inefficient.

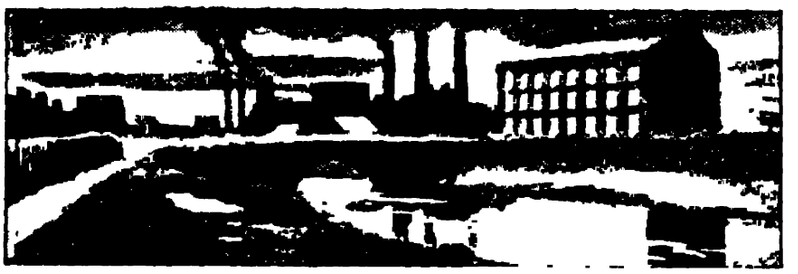
The reduction of the working time was inadequate, and in many cases evasion of the statute was easy. It required the legislation of exactly a hundred years to establish in the interests of the workers an effective control over the great industries of the country. And it was not until 1901 that, in the Factory and Workshop Act of that year, a large number of statutes regulating the hours and the conditions of labour were consolidated. The history of state interference was at first marked by great caution and timidity. The acts of 1802, 1819 and 1825 were soon found to be wholly insufficient. For instance, the act of 1819 forbade any person under sixteen to be employed more than twelve hours a day, exclusive of meal times. But it had no application beyond cotton mills. Although it prohibited the labour of children less than nine years old, nevertheless, in other industries, children of five and six years were still being employed. And the hours for adult labour were intolerable. In Manchester in 1825 the average working day extended beyond fourteen hours. During the meal hours the children were not allowed to go free, but were compelled to clean the machinery and, thus engaged, to eat their miserable food in a suffocating temperature. A meagre advance was made in 1831, when a twelve hours' working day was prescribed for all persons under eighteen, and night work was prohibited except for those who were above twenty-one years of age. But again only the cotton mills were included in the act.

Beginning of State Interference

The goal of reform was still far off. The letters of Richard Oastler to the "Leeds Mercury" in 1830, although somewhat wildly written, were justified by the facts which they disclosed. "The pious and able champions of negro liberty," said Oastler, "should, before they had travelled so far as the West Indies, have sojourned in our own immediate neighbourhood—*i.e.*, Yorkshire—and have directed attention to scenes of misery, acts of oppression, and victims of slavery on the threshold of our homes. Thousands of little children, both male and female, but principally female, from seven to fourteen years of age, are daily compelled to labour from six o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening, with only thirty minutes allowed for eating and recreation."

Victims of Industrial Slavery

These and similar passages referring to the condition of labour in the Bradford worsted mills, and in many other factories during the first half of the nineteenth century, prove the truth of the view that the ancient and the mediæval methods of exploiting human labour have been extended far into the modern era. They expressed themselves in a new form in the new industrial organisation, but they reproduced the old results. And if we look closely enough at the foundation of the social fabric of the modern world we shall be compelled to admit that the accumulation of modern as of ancient wealth has not been made without a great and unnecessary sacrifice of human life.



THE EMANCIPATION OF LABOUR

AND THE STATE'S DUTY TO THE WORKER

IN our own day, however, we are happily able to observe new social forces at work. The doctrine of *laissez faire* is, as we have already said, now discredited, and the state no longer remains indifferent to the welfare of its labouring class. No doubt much remains to be done. Mr. Sidney Webb has pointed out that "the sweated trades remain at the opening of the twentieth century as free from any effective common rules as was the factory system at the beginning of the nineteenth."

In the report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the sweating system in 1890 it is stated that the hours of labour in the sweated industries "are such as to make the lives of the workers periods of ceaseless toil," and the sanitary conditions under which the work is done are described as wretched. Even as we write, however, attempts are being made to establish control over private workshops,

Industries Under the Eye of the State

and the inevitable goal of recent social legislation will be the extension of protection to the sweated worker. Perhaps the most hopeful characteristic of modern legislative effort consists in the fact that reform is now undertaken not merely for economic but for direct moral reasons.

Sometimes slaves and serfs were emancipated because their emancipation became a source of profit to their masters. To-day, however, as soon as social abuses become known the public conscience is stirred. If we examine the Factory Act of 1901, which was the consummation of a century of philanthropic effort, we shall be able to measure the social progress which has been made. The provisions of that act apply no longer merely to factories and workshops, but to laundries and warehouses, docks, wharves and quays and railways. All the great national industries have come under the eye of the state. The hours of labour both in textile and in non-textile factories are definitely regulated. For instance, it is enacted that for women and young persons the working hours shall be from 6 a.m. till 6 p.m., or from 7 a.m. till 7 p.m., with two hours, of which one hour is before 3 p.m., for meals. And on Saturdays work stops at

A Better Day for the Workers

11.30 in the forenoon. The clauses which relate to "Health and Safety," "Overtime and Night work," "The Fencing of Machinery," "The Education of Children," "Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries," and numerous other matters indicate to what great purpose the state has interfered in the organisation of industry.

Moreover, the spirit of the English factory acts has spread into all other civilised countries. The most minute provisions are made for the maintenance of the health of the workers. For instance, by the Act of 1901 every factory—except, indeed, the domestic factory—is required to "be kept in a cleanly state," and "it must not be so overcrowded while work is carried on therein as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the persons employed therein." In section 13 of part I. it is enacted that "a child must not be allowed to clean in any factory (a) any part of any machinery, or (b) any place under any machinery other than overhead mill gearing, while the machinery is in motion by the aid of steam, water or other mechanical power."

Again, "a woman or young person shall not be employed continuously for more than four hours and a half without an interval of at least half an hour for

The State's Care for the Children

a meal." By the Act of 1903, regulating the employment of children, night work is forbidden, and a child under the age of eleven "shall not be employed in street trading." To the men of the middle half of the nineteenth, all such enactments would have appeared to be an infringement of the rights of property. To us they mark

only a tardy act of justice, and they involve a new conception of the function of the state. For the state can no longer be supposed to be merely a machine for the production of material goods which are to be enjoyed by a minority of its members. Rather, its true life is attained only when there exists between all its members a collaboration for moral as well as for material purposes. We have mentioned some of the obstacles which throughout many centuries have prevented the realisation of this ideal. Let us now ask if our own age appears to be any nearer the solution of the social problem.

The Wage-earner Versus the Capitalist

When Saint Just said that "wealth is an infamy" he was denouncing it as the possession of the few, and his cry is being re-echoed in the twentieth century. It is the tendency of capital as well as of land to accumulate within the hands of a minority. And the complaint of the industrial wage-earner to-day is far more bitter against the capitalist than against the owner of land. Socialism desires, above and before all things, the destruction of the middle class. To-day the great economic struggle lies between the wage-giver and wage-earner. Below the wage-earners are the wageless, who make up the great pauper population. Although it has been estimated that the sum paid in wages in the United Kingdom amounts annually to £500,000,000, yet seven out of every ten persons live in a state of semi-starvation.

One thing is clear—the working class is no longer satisfied merely with the political franchise. Political equality has not brought with it, they say, that wider extension of social well-being which is the ultimate aim of democracy. And when democracy expresses itself in the terms of Socialism, the reason is that it is no longer content with a political, but insists as well upon an economic revolution. Throughout the nineteenth century it was the great middle class which played the leading political rôle. But the transfer of power from the old aristocracy to the middle class has been followed by the transfer of power from the middle class to the industrial population. And just as at the opening of the French Revolution the Third Estate determined to be represented by members chosen from itself, so to-day the working class finds its political representatives within its own ranks. As Lassalle pointed out, there lay concealed within the middle class of all European nations a fourth class, which has only recently become articulate. Whether it calls itself the Labour or Social Democratic Party, it will develop independently, and will use politics only as an instrument for the advance of its own aims. Democracy does not necessarily mean Socialism; but, like the latter, it dreams of the overthrow of that powerful individualism which lies at the basis of the modern capitalistic system.

Power of the Industrial Population

Socialism professes to supply democracy with an economic theory, according to which collective production and collective distribution should form respectively the means and the goal of human activity. The social problem to-day centres, therefore, round the conflicts of capital and labour. The long and victorious struggle of the trade unions for recognition, and the improved conditions of labour which the factory acts have secured, do not by any means mark the limit of the democracy's ambitions. The modern world has abolished personal property in human beings. But the question is now asked whether, if one man has no right to exploit another as his slave or serf, he has any better right to exploit that other's labour? If it is labour which bestows the right to own property, it is maintained that the workman's claim is not satisfied by the payment of a wage which affords him only a bare subsistence. His interest in the product of his labour should, it is declared, be cumulative under the industrial régime. His labour forms his only property, but it perishes in the process of work. He describes a weary circle. Although he is paid in wages, the wages are sufficient only to provide him with food, whereby his labouring power is daily renewed. And so on till his death, he, the producer, is shut out from the enjoyment of the results of his production. His political freedom seems to be nothing more or less than an idle and useless gift.

What are the Rights of Labour?

According to Karl Marx, the effects of the modern industrial system have been the physical and moral deterioration of the workman, the intensification of labour, and the creation of a surplus value which is appropriated by the capitalist. The Marxian theory of value, based upon some statements of Adam Smith and Ricardo, has now been discredited. His view was that value is created only by labour, and

he neglected other important factors, such as scarcity and abundance, the varying demand for different commodities, and the different quality of the raw material upon which labour is spent.

Laveleye points out that the wine known as Château-Lafite may be worth twelve shillings a bottle, whereas the produce of the neighbouring vineyard may be worth only tenpence a bottle, although in the latter case double the amount of labour may have been expended in the cultivation. Labour, therefore, is not the sole factor in the creation of value. Besides, Marx has not touched upon the effect of competition in raising or reducing values, irrespective of the labour employed in the production of commodities of the same kind. Marx objects to the surplus profit which falls to the employer. He says that capital, like a great sponge (Kapital Schwamm), sucks up the surplus value drop by drop.

The work which the labourer performs in the course of a single day creates a value only a portion of which returns to him as a wage. He may be compelled to work twelve hours, while only three hours would be sufficient to earn that wage. But if an employer were not to retain part of the realised value of the product he could neither preserve nor enlarge his business, which, as a source both of income and of wages, would thus soon cease to exist. It cannot be true to say that the capitalist simply "steals" the profits which accrue from what Marx calls "surplus labour."

Problem of Surplus Labour

No doubt, the labourer may create by his day's work a product the value of which, when realised in the market, will more than liquidate the day's wage. But other expenses of production are to be met. And is the man whose energy and foresight creates and maintains an organised industry not to be paid a wage in proportion to the value of his services? It is certainly no longer possible to hold the old and exploded theory of a wages fund. Wages are ultimately paid out of sources which labour has itself created. But apart from a controlling and organising force, labour would be impotent, and it would be unfair to equalise wages between agents who contribute disproportionate services.

All these, however, are questions which we cannot discuss here. We are more concerned with the general fact that the development of modern industrialism has been accompanied by an ever growing antagonism between the forces to which it owes its birth. What has been called "the iron law of wages" is supposed by Socialistic economists to be the inevitable result of the reigning system of capitalism. This law, the operation of which was implied in the writings of French economists like Turgot, and also in those of Malthus, Ricardo and Adam Smith, was re-expressed by Lassalle in the following passage: "The iron law of economics (das eherne ökonomische Gesetz), which, under the modern conditions of supply and demand, regulates the rate of wages, is this, that the average wage must always remain at the amount which, in accordance with the customary standard of living, is necessary to make mere subsistence and propagation of the species possible. It is about this point that, like a pendulum, the real wage—that is, the purchasing power of wages—oscillates without being able either to rise above it or to fall below it for any lengthened period. It cannot permanently raise itself above this average because, if it did, there would take place, owing to the improved condition of the workers, an increase of population which would have the effect of reducing wages again, since the supply of labour would have become abundant. Likewise, wages cannot permanently fall below the amount necessary for subsistence, because in that case there would follow emigration, the reduction of the marriage and of the birth-rate, and, lastly, as a necessary consequence, a diminution of labour supply resulting in a rise of wages to the former level."

The Iron Law of Economics

Now, if this "law" operated eternally and invariably, the outlook for the working class would certainly be hopeless. Social and moral stagnation would be their destiny. Happily, recent criticism and a closer observation of the conditions of labour have resulted in a considerable modification of this theory, according to which wages are fixed by "a natural law." As a matter of fact, the rate of wages is determined by varying causes, such as the workman's efficiency, the needs of the market, supply and demand, etc. Professor Marshall has pointed out that local variations of weekly wages and of efficiency generally correspond. He maintains that the tendency of economic freedom and enterprise—that is, the competitive system—is generally to

Factors in the Rate of Wages

equalise efficiency earnings in the same district. It is not, therefore, merely the standard of comfort common to the labouring class in a given locality which regulates the amount of their wages. It often happens that common labourers and mechanics receive wages as high as, if not higher than, the salaries of clerks and curates, whose standard of living is, nevertheless, superior. Besides, the fluctuation in the rate of wages and the price of commodities are not simultaneous. The researches of Brentano and Schoenof have proved that there is a close connection between the high wages and efficient production, and, indeed, that fact was already expressed by Adam Smith, who said that "the liberal reward of labour increases the industry of the common people." There is a saying in America that he is the best man of business who continues to pay the highest wages. For the highest wages attract the highest skill, and the result is seen in an improvement in the quality of the products. Professor Marshall says that "highly paid labour is generally efficient, and therefore not dear labour, a fact which is more full of hope for the future of the human race than any other that is known to us."

High Wages Mean Efficient Production

Various statistics prove the correctness of this view. In the year 1872 the great increase in the wages of Prussian miners was followed by a remarkable increase in the productivity of the miners. Whereas, too, in Austria, a miner's daily wage in 1870 was two shillings and sevenpence and his yearly output 1,952 cwt., in 1872, when the wage had risen to three shillings and sixpence, the individual output had correspondingly risen to 2,323 cwt. Schoenof has written a book to prove the economy of high wages, and to disprove the dogma that cheap labour means a gain to the employer of it. But let it not be supposed that high wages mean necessarily an immoderate price for the products of labour. For more efficient labour accomplishes more in a given time, and hence, although more highly paid, actually reduces the cost of production. The following table of average annual earnings and average prices in some American coal-mines is of special interest:

	Yearly Earnings (Dollars)		Wages Per Ton (Cents)		Value Per Ton (Dollars)	
	1880	1890	1880	1890	1880	1890
Tennessee	332	392	68	82	1·27	1·21
Kentucky	261	334	73	70	1·20	0·99
Ohio	320	352	86	69	1·29	0·94

Those figures, which are quoted by Schoenof from the census of 1880, prove that the labour cost per ton was lowest where the average of day wages was highest, and that the price of coal fell, although the rate of wages rose. And he shows that, in many other industries, along with an increase in earnings there has gone a decrease in the hours of labour. These facts are of the deepest importance, and they have been corroborated by numerous independent observers. Lord Brassey points out that where wages are low the work done is, as a rule, correspondingly small.

It is precisely in the countries in which wages are highest and the working hours shortest that the greatest productivity prevails. It is more than probable that the adoption of an eight hours' day, advocated as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century by Robert Owen, would result, not only in improved social, but in improved economic conditions. When it was proposed to restrict the hours of factory hands there was an outcry that the industries of the country would be ruined. What is the truth? It is that the steady reduction of hours has been accompanied by an increase both in the quantity and the quality of the products. These few facts at which we have glanced appear to prove that even political economy, which has been called "the dismal science," is able to indicate for us the road of social progress.

The Road of Social Progress

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MODERN WORLD

SURVEY OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS V
W. R. PATERSON

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

AND THE REMEDIES OFFERED BY SOCIALISM

IT is not necessary to be a Socialist in order to believe in the urgent need of a wider distribution of the means of human well-being. Socialism does not appear to have yet discovered economic principles which are sound, but neither can it be said that the present industrial system, which has created on the one hand vast wealth, and on the other vast poverty, is capable of satisfying the conscience of the civilised world.

A recent writer, Sir H. Wrison, who betrays alarm concerning the dominance of democracy, asks the question: "What are the poor going to do with the rich?" But we should also ask what have the rich been doing with the poor? Rodbertus pointed out long ago that pauperism and a glutted market are the chief causes of the economic distress of modern times. And there is profound suggestion in the theory that there exists likewise a close interaction between poverty and the state of the markets for commodities. In spite of the increased productivity of human labour, aided as it is by machinery and scientific processes, the industrial class receive only what is sufficient to support their existence.

The Sequel to Rapid Production

But the industrial class is the most numerous in the state. In other words, they ought to form the largest body of consumers. What, however, is the real situation? The purchasing power of the poorer classes is greatly restricted. Hence the rapid production of modern industry is not met by a corresponding consumption. Rather, it is followed by an economic deadlock. The creation of commodities suddenly stops because the market becomes full of superfluous goods. Expansion is succeeded by contraction of production, by a scarcity of employment, and a further decline in the purchasing power of the working class. Thus, we have a commercial crisis bringing with it pauperism as a necessary result. In the meantime the purchasing power of the capitalists and landholders continues relatively to increase; but as they have already had enough to buy all the comforts of life, they spend more in the purchase of luxuries, the production of which increases. Such phenomena are the result of what some Socialistic writers call "the competitive anarchy" of the capitalistic system. They propose to replace that system by collective ownership of capital, collective production and collective distribution of the products of industry. The state is to become a vast factory or assemblage of factories, and every citizen is to take his place as a working unit.

The State According to the Socialists

Private speculation is to cease. There would be neither profits nor wages, but each individual worker would be paid by the community in labour cheques. Money would be abolished. Land and machinery, together with the entire means of production, would be collectively owned. All workers would be on the same level, for, according to the crude doctrine of Proudhon, a piece of work done in one place balances a piece of work done in another, no matter how different the two kinds of work may be, provided that the same amount of time is consumed.

Those individuals who would be incapable of producing material things, but could serve the community as officials, teachers, physicians or artists would be remunerated by a share in commodities proportioned to the time spent by them in work socially useful. Credit and loan, lease, stocks and shares would no longer exist. But it is difficult to see how the result of such a system could be anything else than economic stagnation. Private enterprise would be crushed, for private enterprise is the result of private interest, which Socialism disallows. Equality would mean the death of liberty. If an individual possesses superior powers

Socialism the Death of Liberty

of invention and energy, to forbid him the enjoyment of the fruits of those powers would be tyrannical and unjust.

To compel the more highly endowed to remain for ever on the same dead level as the more lowly endowed would be to abolish justice in the name of an equality whereby only mediocrity would gain.

A Lesson From Argentina

In his book on foreign work and English wages Lord Brassey narrates the history of a highly instructive experiment in Socialism which took place in Argentina, and which came under his own observation. "Large numbers of colonists," he says, "were sent out from all parts of Europe. To each was allotted an equal area of land; for each a house was built, a well dug and seeds and implements provided. Nature gave to each an equal portion of sunshine and of rain, and at the end of a short term of years you find some in penury, many struggling to maintain a bare subsistence; a few, but only a few, had prospered. The unsuccessful regarded themselves as the victims of undeserved misfortune and viewed with envy the growing prosperity of their neighbours."

If Socialism means the abolition of distinction for all who succeed, it will kill not only the desire to succeed, but even the desire to work. Exaggerated individualism has produced economic tyranny, but the worst of all despotism is collective despotism, for it is impersonal. It is not really true that one man is as valuable to the state as another, or that one man is equal to another. To equalise fortunes which have been created by unequal talent would convert the state into a poor-house. We cannot believe that when the state is rechristened "Socialistic" the mainsprings of human activity will be fundamentally changed.

He who supposes that, as long as characters and talent remain diverse, it is possible to create and to maintain a uniformity in human fortune, knows little of human nature. A mass of human beings idly leaning upon each other is not a state. Let us admit that at the present moment it is difficult to see any solution for the social problem. It appears to be inevitable that there should go on within the limits of the state that war for life, which is the main fact of human and of all other existence. Even Lassalle declared that "History is a struggle against Nature" (Die Geschichte ist ein Kampf mit der Natur). But that fact does not prevent the interference of mankind for the purpose of mitigation and appeasement. What characterises the social action of the modern world is the perception that there is no necessary antagonism between moral and economic reform. The abolition of abuses has proved that the reverse is true. More and more we have come to see that in voluntary collaboration lies the true life of the state, and that if the state is an organism, every member who contributes to its combined life requires to be rewarded according to his contribution.

Eternal Struggle For Life

We may not be able to discover in Socialism a practicable theory of government. But we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that that doctrine contains a noble truth. Schäffle has said that "Socialism is a question of the stomach" (eine Magenfrage). But so is individualism. If the two great efforts of the state are still, as in the words of Aristotle, the attainment of mere life, and then of the good and harmonious life, a certain share of material comfort is necessary for all its members.

Where the Poor Live

Recent investigations into modern poverty prove that national health and security are not compatible with the existence of a vast proletariat half fed, half clothed, and, we may add, half housed. The slave and the serf received food and clothing and shelter from their masters, but to-day the pauper and the unemployed workman are required to provide these things for themselves.

In the slums of all great modern cities extraordinary efforts are daily made by millions of men and women to procure even the most wretched and the most repulsive conditions of bare existence. Beneath the glittering fabric of civilisation lies this immense, foul and rickety foundation of poverty. Whatever our theories of economics may be, and howsoever we may apportion the moral responsibility for the long antagonism between labour and capital, the fact remains that, owing to a combination of moral and economic causes, every modern state suffers from the same social disease. Says Emerson:

'Tis the day of the chattel,
Web to weave and corn to grind,
Things are in the saddle,
And ride mankind.

But "things," or economic causes, have been in the saddle since the beginning

of human history, and they have ridden many generations to death. Not only emotional philanthropists, but economists with cool heads have examined the lower strata of modern society, and have pointed out that the amount of wretchedness to be discovered in the great pauper areas is a national danger.

Professor Marshall, in his "Principles of Economics," says that children of the working classes are imperfectly fed and clothed. They are housed in a way that promotes neither physical nor moral health; they receive an education which, though in modern England it may not be very bad so far as it goes, yet goes only a little way; they have few opportunities of getting a broader view of life, or an insight into the nature of the higher work of business, or of science, or of art; they meet hard and exhausting toil early on the way, and for the greater part keep to it all their lives. At last they go to the grave, carrying with them undeveloped abilities and faculties, which, if they could have borne full fruit, would have added to the national wealth of the country—to say nothing of higher considerations—many times as much as would have covered the expense of providing adequate opportunities for their development." But the point on which we have here specially to insist is that the evil is cumulative.

Signs of Physical Decadence

An anæmic generation can have only an anæmic progeny. If we examine the returns for recruiting for the British Army we shall discover grave reasons for believing that the national energy is being sapped. In 1900, out of 88,402 recruits medically inspected, no fewer than 23,105 were rejected as physically unfit. And the standard required is, unfortunately, by no means high. When we remember, too, that many of the recruits are only provisionally accepted, and that a considerable number break down during training, and are sent back as useless, the symptoms of a low vitality in the proletariat are still more evident. The causes of rejection are defective eyesight and hearing, weight and chest and height under-developed, deformed limbs, heart disease, skin disease, decayed teeth, and unsound lungs. What do such facts mean?

They mean that generations of the progenitors of those recruits have been imperfectly fed, imperfectly housed, and imperfectly clothed. The victories of a handful of picked British athletes at the Olympic games cannot be accepted as a proof that the great mass of the people enjoy physical health. On the contrary, the researches of Mr. Charles Booth, of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, and of many other trained observers, make the truth painfully manifest that, in spite of free trade, the nutrition of a great portion of the labouring class is wholly inadequate. In London the percentage of pauper population is 30·7, in York it is 27·84, and in other industrial cities the same average is reached. How is it possible to provide the nation with a virile working class when families earning wages below twenty shillings weekly live upon a diet far less nutritious than what is supplied to the inmates of the workhouse?

High Rate of Infant Mortality

In the poorest districts of our great cities, out of every 1,000 children 250 die before they are twelve months old. And that this high rate of infant mortality is due to poverty and its attendant dangers and discomforts seems to be proved by the fact that among the better paid section of the working class only about 94 out of every 1,000 children die below the age of twelve months. It has been calculated that the death rate among children in the poorer parts of London is almost three times higher than the corresponding rate in the richer districts. Conditions of life under which one child out of every four dies before it is twelve months old are a menace to national well-being. We are told that only 12 per cent. of the working class population in York are living in sanitary houses.

Comparatively high rents are paid for hovels A family of six, with an income of less than eighteen shillings a week, find it necessary to deny themselves food and clothing in order to pay three shillings in rent. And even that amount of rent is too high if we consider the kind of accommodation provided in the slums.

Profits of Slum Property

There are cases in which there is only one water-tap to fourteen tenements, and a single closet is shared by fifteen families. Anyone who wishes to study the budgets of the poor will find abundant material in the pages of Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree. And he will learn that one of the most ironical facts of the social life of to-day is that slum property is highly profitable to the owner. We are told that wherever a room is, owing to its bad state

of repair or its dampness and general unhealthiness, to be had at a low rental, there is an eager demand for it among the poorest classes. It is impossible to deny that such a fact is nothing less than a disgrace to modern civilisation, especially in a country in which the national income reaches approximately the sum of £1,350,000,000. No doubt, a great part of that sum is represented by wages. But it is only in the ranks of the higher artisans that the rate of wages is sufficient to allow a margin for saving. And, as Mr. Hobson points out, a low wage is not accompanied by a low price for commodities.

The Hard Lot of the Poor

To begin with, the rent absorbs a large fraction of the wage. It is calculated that in certain pauper areas in London 86 per cent. of the inhabitants pay more than one-fifth of their weekly wages in rent. If, during the last fifty years, wages have risen, rents have also risen. Moreover, since the poor buy in small quantities, they are compelled to pay higher prices for their food. The price of fresh vegetables, such as carrots, parsnips, etc., in East London is not infrequently ten times the price at which the same articles can be purchased wholesale from the grocers. The results of a loss of employment or of sudden illness may be imagined in the case of men and women who exist in such conditions as these. Extra expenditure is met by savings on necessaries, and in order to purchase a pair of boots the family frequently goes without a dinner.

It has been estimated that out of a population of 45,000,000 only three out of every ten persons in the United Kingdom are able to live above the poverty line. On the first day of January, 1909, an old-age pension scheme, for providing for the aged poor, came into force. This measure is essentially socialistic. It may even be the beginning of a disastrous era for British finance and national security. But all parties in the state are in agreement that the time was ripe for some such provision. Yet we wonder whether it would not be wiser, both in the interests of the nation and of the individual, to aid the poorest of the working class not at the end, but at the beginning of their lives.

Millions Spent in Charity

The millions annually spent in charity are often spent too indiscriminately, and too late. And the state would receive a more adequate return, in the form of the higher physical and moral development of her weakest members, if her activities in social amelioration were better organised. Meantime, those writers are scarcely to be convicted of unreasonable pessimism who, after they have examined modern pauperism, doubt whether, in spite of all contrary appearances, modern civilisation marks any real social advance on ancient and mediæval slavery and serfdom.

Let us not forget that the social problem is universal, and that no nation is unaffected by it. Modern industrialism has produced in Germany, in America and in France, and, indeed, wherever it has spread its roots, exactly the same economic results which are found in Great Britain. But it is precisely in its international character that we may perhaps find the best promise of a mitigation if not of an ultimate cure of the great social disease of the modern world. At first sight, indeed, the reverse would appear to be the case.

For the armed condition of modern nations is the result not only of immemorial antagonisms, but also of rivalries engendered by the struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy. *Prima facie*, therefore, the working class of one country is the natural enemy of the working class of another. Nevertheless, internationalism, which is a wholly modern idea, was first proclaimed by the representatives of the industrial population of all the great European countries. It was by them that war was denounced as a crime against the essential solidarity of mankind. What would be the economic result of the abolition of war is difficult to forecast. But since that abolition would at least involve an immense reduction in taxation, and would divert industrial activity from wasteful production to a production socially useful, the moral and economic gain might be incalculable.

If War Should Cease?

At any rate, there exists the closest connection between the internal conditions and the external relations of a state. If, then, an international harmony could be discovered, each state would be left free to apply its energies and to devote its wealth to the solution of its own social problems. This, we should like to believe, is the consummation which lies before all the modern peoples. The ideal goal of history is the collaboration of states in the great tasks of a common humanity. The cost of the retardation of inter-racial

and international justice is too vast for measurement. Let us not forget that, although climatic influences, age-long habits, and many other complex causes have created a sense of actual physical repulsion between various breeds of men, the war which goes on between races erroneously supposed to be absolutely divergent is really the same kind of war which goes on within the limits of a single race, and, for that matter, within the frontiers of a single nation. It is the war for food. And yet the earth is capable of providing food for all. Every national group has reproduced within itself a minor and more or less modified form of the struggle for existence. The conflict between individuals for the means of subsistence and for liberty is the same kind of conflict which rages between states for territorial possessions. Empire is only a colossal form of landowning, and the history of war forms part of the history of property.

It was a perception of these permanent factors of disturbance in human society which caused Immanuel Kant to say that

Ideal Goal of Human History

" at the sight of the actions of men displayed on the great stage of the world, it is impossible to escape a certain feeling of disgust." Yet in his remarkable essay on " Universal History," Kant foreshadowed a set of inter-racial and international conditions which have been the dream and hope of less practical and more visionary minds. The last and the greatest task, he tells us, which will be offered to men will be the creation of a civil society founded upon justice, and embracing the entire earth. In spite of the fact that during the period which has elapsed since Kant's death the world has frequently vibrated with the shock of revolution and war, it cannot be said that this ideal goal of human history has wholly vanished out of human thought.

On the contrary, there are signs that civilised peoples are becoming more impatient with the doctrine that the work of the world must be inevitably accompanied by an eternal homicide. The gradual elimination of the idea that man, like any other living thing, is only a form of prey, meant a new route for human destiny. That idea, as expressed in the slave system, was the dominant principle of ancient society in its industrial aspect; and it lingered far into the Christian era. But in modern times the labourer is a free man, and he sells his labour for wages. The basis of human society has by this single fact been so revolutionised that only ignorance of history could make us deny that the relations existing within states and between them are infinitely more humane in the modern than they were in the ancient world. The doctrine that *réciprocité c'est justice* is, at least in practice, a purely modern idea, and it contains the secret of social harmony. The modern state is the result of a voluntary co-operation between its members. Sooner or later, amid all social conflagrations and confusions, the end has been the same, and that end has been the triumph of liberty.

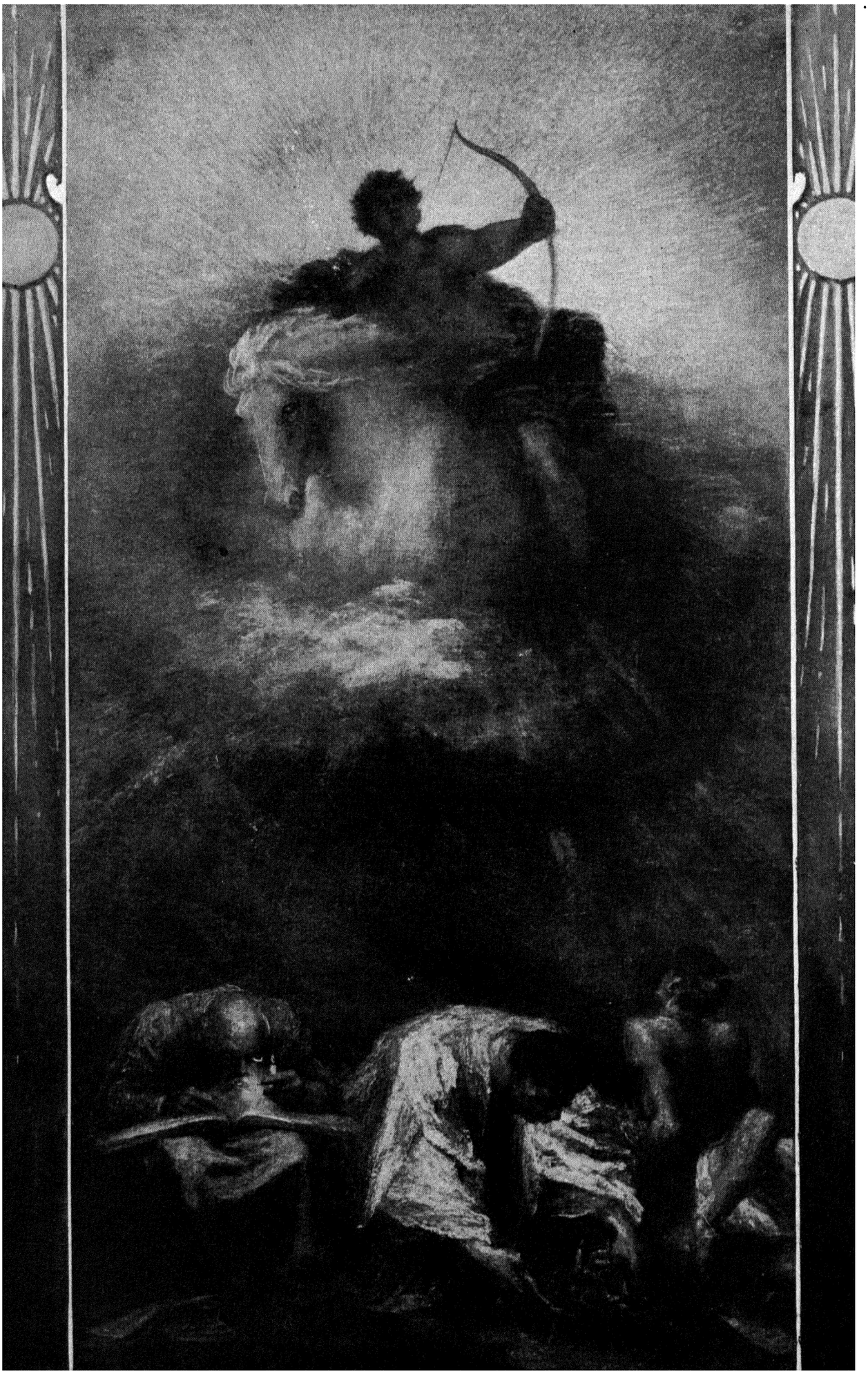
The Secret of Social Harmony

And it seems time to ask whether it is not just here in this common goal of states that we may be able to detect some promise of union in the broken history of man? For if they are all striving to be free, it is in the interests of every one of them that none shall be enslaved by another. The Bill of Rights which each of them has won or is winning must, unless human society is to remain fundamentally irrational, cover inter-racial and international relations. It is not unreasonable to suppose that just as the feuds of families and of clans gave way before the conception of national unity, so the feuds of nations and of races may be at last lost in a general collaboration of mankind. This would be the true *Foedus Amphictyonum.*

One of the remarkable facts of history is that, on the whole, all social systems at any given period tend towards uniformity. In Greece and in Italy the age of the despots was followed by the age of the democracies. Thus, too, during the mediæval period various forms of feudalism were simultaneously spread throughout a wide European area. In other words, political and social ideas have always been contagious, and to-day a common conception of human rights is being diffused through the world. History teaches us that out of the most disordered forces order has actually been created, and that in the world of man, as in the world of Nature, chaos is the first stage of cosmos. Although the stairs of human progress are broken, nevertheless they are stairs.

What History Teaches

WILLIAM ROMAINE PATERSON



PROGRESS
From the painting by G. F. Watts, by permission of Fredk. Hollyer

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THE TRIUMPH OF THE MIND OF MAN

By Dr. C. W. Saleeby

THE MASTER KEY OF PROGRESS OR HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF BIOLOGY

THE spectacle offered to the historian is not merely a succession of persons and scenes; it is not a panorama, nor a pageant, nor a phantasmagoria, but a sequence, or medley of sequences, which have direction and tendency. The happenings with which he deals are not merely events to be placed and dated, but processes. It is the difference between a succession of music-hall "turns" and an organic drama.

Being human, the historian inevitably applies to the spectacle before him criteria derived from the human sense of worth or value. He speaks of the decline and fall of an empire; he distinguishes between savagery and civilisation, barbarism and culture, ignorance and knowledge.

Here or there he witnesses processes which he calls progress or retrogression, advance or decadence. Whatever the meaning that he attaches to these terms, history unquestionably presents phenomena to which they may be applied. and for man as a spiritual being the questions that centre around the word "progress" are the vital questions of history, and those by which it is exalted to a rightful place above the purely physical sciences. However defined or conceived, progress has at least been observed at certain times and in certain places, and it is the supreme interest of the historian. In the present essay it is our business to consider the new conceptions of history which, as it seems to the writer, must necessarily follow from our new perception of the facts of biological science. It is biology after all, and not archæology, nor anthropology, that has given new dignity to history. It is the study of life as a whole, the study of all life—vegetable, animal, human—as a single fact, and the only important fact of the earth's surface, that has made for ever ridiculous the conception of the history of the world as neither more nor less than the history of man during the last few thousand years. The doctrine of organic evolution has revealed to us the continuity of man with his inferiors in the scale of life. The whole of human history may thus, for some purposes, be rightly conceived as only a chapter in the history of life—the greatest chapter, and that which gives meaning to all the rest, and perhaps the longest chapter when it is completely written, if it is to be ended at all, but at the time of writing, probably the shortest chapter in the history of important species.

Biology's Relation to History

Man as Part of a Process

The thesis of the writer is that in the light of the revelations of the nineteenth century it is impermissibly short-sighted any longer to conceive of human history as if it were not the latest term in a long series. We have to conceive a man as part and product of a process which is older than he. We derogate nothing from his dignity and from his unique position in thus conceiving him.

If, for instance, throughout the whole living world, apart from man, we find certain principles under which life has advanced here and degenerated there, multiplied or diminished, left the sea for the land or the land for the air, we are bound to ask ourselves whether man as a living being must not also be subject to these principles, though with profound modifications due to his unique character.

It is not merely that modern biology desires to trace the very earliest stages in the history of man. Certainly it is desirable that the historian, in attempting to write, for instance, the earliest pages of the history of the New World, should recognise the conclusion of the biologists that the human species arose in the Old World. It would be inconsistent with the largeness of our scheme if we failed to realise the weight of the fact that man claims a common ancestry with the anthropoid apes, and that these are exclusively confined to what we find it still convenient to call the Eastern Hemisphere.

A Creature Older than Man

Plainly, also, biology has a right to be heard in these days when it claims that not even the anthropologist is entitled to write the first chapter of human history. Older even than primitive man, older than the earliest or palæolithic civilisation, there was a creature, neither ape nor man—to be called the missing link, however, only by those who ignorantly think that man is descended from one of the present species of anthropoid apes—which had his history; and since every present time has all the future in its womb, the history of even the ape-man is part of the planetary epic. That history, however, it seems safe to say, will never be written. At present, indeed, we have only the scantiest evidence regarding the characters of the most primitive erected mammal. Nevertheless, a history of the world which contained no allusion to that evidence nor even to that period would be ludicrously imperfect. Yet there is no general historical work extant other than this one which alludes to this missing chapter, or, rather, this prologue to human history.

The positive evidence, then, which we actually possess regarding the first period in human history consists of the imperfect remains of a fossil skeleton discovered by Dr. Dubois in Pliocene deposits in Java in the year 1892. The creature thus suggested to us has been called *Pithecanthropus erectus*—the erect ape-man. It is not the immediate concern of the historian to study the characters of this skeleton; it is, at all events, his concern to note the fact that we are possessed of evidence showing an erected creature, neither ape nor man, to have lived in the Old World at the period indicated by these deposits. This fact, coupled with the contrast between the monkeys of the New World and the apes of the Old World, is the first great fact of human history.

The Old World's Erect Ape-man

It is not my purpose here, however, to dwell upon this matter. Suffice it that, at any rate in the twentieth century, we formally repair the omission of the first chapter of human history, which our predecessors during the last half century sanctioned, and of which their predecessors were, of course, wholly unaware. But I repeat that modern biology is of immeasurably greater importance to the historian than that involved in its contributions to the very earliest stages in the history of man. The point is that modern biology sees its principles illustrated in human history, sees them determining the lives not merely of individuals, but also of races and empires and civilisations.

Above all, it is the science of life, and that alone, from which we may obtain any real and fruitful understanding of the supreme fact of history, which is progress—not uninterrupted, continuous, inevitable, irresistibly cumulative progress, but progress sometimes, somewhere, and, on the whole, nevertheless.

History's New Definition

It is high time, indeed, that worthy conceptions of history, conceptions worthy of the spirit of age, should find due recognition amongst us. Never again must it be possible for any historian, distinguished or undistinguished, to pen those famous and monstrous words so often quoted from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire": "History, which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind."

On the contrary, the present writer would define history as the record of the ascent of man. Such a definition would have been impossible for Gibbon, who had no evidence of such ascent, and no conception of the emergence of man from the sub-human world. If the reader would estimate the services of biology to human thought, let him contrast the definition of history which was possible for a great genius like Gibbon and the definition which only requires a moment's reflection to be regarded as commonplace to-day, or if not to-day, at any rate to-morrow.

But in any discussion of progress we shall achieve less than nothing unless we successfully define this great term in which our interest centres. It is possible to

use the word " progress " concerning facts on many planes. Any change in the direction of differentiation, any passage from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, might conceivably be referred to as progress But this is not a sense of the word that can have any real value for us.

There was a time, we know, when not only was the earth's surface destitute of life, but even its crust was destitute of structure. Such structure was achieved in the course of ages,yet there is something incongruous in the term " geological progress." Again, in the course of time life appeared upon the earth, its first forms, as we must infer from the facts of nutrition, being vegetable, that is to say, forms capable of feeding wholly upon inorganic material. From these earliest beginnings there may be traced upwards the evolution of the vegetable kingdom, which has at last flowered, in what we call the flowering plants, including, of course, the mightiest trees.

In the course of this history there has been much advance from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, much differentiation,

What is Meant by Progress

much achievement of complexity; there has been everything that answers to Herbert Spencer's definition of his word " evolution." There has been what we might call anatomical or morphological progress, there has as certainly been physiological progress, increase in complexity and efficiency of function as well as of structure, yet is there not a something lacking, which causes us to regard the term " vegetable progress " as somehow incongruous ? It is less so, perhaps, than geological progress, because at least it deals with life. Yet, in spite of all, we feel that the word is not worthily used.

Plainly, then, our definition of progress must not be in terms of the physical. Physical evolution, whether mechanical or anatomical, is not progress. The evolution of the motor-car mechanism with six cylinders from that with one is not progress, nor yet the evolution of the many-celled anatomico-chemical mechanism called the oak from the one-celled plant. Our definition must be in terms of the intangible. It must have " thoughts of things which thoughts but tenderly touch." It must be in terms of mind. By progress we mean no series of physical changes, however admirable or perfect their physical result. Yet if without any physical changes that seem noteworthy there appears but the barest rudiment of the psychical, the merest glimmering of sentiency, the scarcely recognisable emergence of anything that feels, there is the very fact of progress before us. As a preliminary definition, then, let us take it that by progress we mean the emergence and increasing predominance of the psychical over the physical. Only in terms of mind—using that word in its widest sense—can we frame any definition of progress that appeals to us who are minds. Plainly, then, geological evolution is out of court. More noteworthy, however, is the fact that one-half of all biological evolution is out of court.

Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms

It is not easy to frame any final definition of the difference between an animal and a plant. Yet if we compare the animal and the vegetable kingdoms, it is possible to declare one overwhelming fact of contrast between them. The vegetable kingdom, with all its power and achievements, shows no growth of mind. On every other score but this the oak is vastly superior to the alga ; yet if we are to apply the criterion of the psychical to them the difference is naught. Everything has been achieved, but the one thing—the oak displays no unified consciousness, let alone self-consciousness, no volition, not even the scantiest, or any but the scantiest, differentiation of the primary sentiency which we are compelled to attribute to the first vegetables. So far as any psychical evolution is concerned, the history of the vegetable kingdom is substantially blank. This it is which, to my mind, constitutes the one difference that matters between the vegetable and the animal kingdoms.

We dismiss, then, as beneath our present notice the whole course of vegetable evolution, and turn to recognise the overwhelming contrast displayed in animal evolution. This displays a series of increasing complexities for the physicist, yet another for the chemist, yet another for the comparative anatomist, and another for the student of the cell. To all of these, however, a parallel might be found in the vegetable kingdom, but there is no vegetable parallel to that evolution which the psychologist discerns in the history of the animal world, and that psychical evolution is the only worthy thing that we can possibly mean by the

Complexities of Animal Evolution

word progress. I say psychical rather than mental, because it is not merely intelligence of which we must think, but all the attributes of the psyche.

It is the historic fact that upon the earth long ago there was nothing of the psychical, or, at any rate, no more than the hylozoist may attribute, like Empedocles, to the atoms with their "loves and hates." Later, there was no more of the psychical than is displayed by the bacterium or the oak to-day, and now there are intelligence and will and motherhood. Consider that if we study any kind of sentiency that may be found in the oak, we regard it as existing to serve the oak itself, and by the oak itself we mean the bodily, physical, material oak; similarly, also, in the case of the sensitive plant or the sea anemone or the worm. Any powers of sensation or discrimination or response that such creatures possess we describe as appanages or faculties useful for the plant or animal itself, and the self is still the physical being.

Man and Insect Compared

But now pass upwards. I do not say that there is presented to us a picture of animal species placed on the successive rungs of a ladder of intelligence, and I even remember that Father Wasmann declares, erroneously, I believe, that if there were such a ladder, we should have to put ants on the highest rungs above any monkey. But I will pass right up to man, and then we shall surely agree that the relation of things has been reversed. Such a mind as the insect has exists for its body. But the body of a man exists only to serve the man himself, and by the man himself we do not mean the bodily, physical, material man. We do not even require to pass up to man in order to realise this fashion in which the psychical has turned the tables upon the physical. Let the reader compare, for instance, his dog with a tree and a caterpillar, and consider the case of physical mutilation. If the branches of the tree be lopped off, part of the tree is gone; so with the caterpillar. But who that has a pet dog would consider that the creature he loves has partly vanished because a leg is amputated? It is its psyche that is the dog, it is its body that is the caterpillar; the psychical has turned the tables upon the physical—and that is progress. Its highest form is found in man, to whom were addressed the words: "If thy hand or foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast them from thee." The man is not composed of hand and feet and viscera—these are his body-servants.

Progress the Supreme Fact of History

Progress is therefore not an illusion of youth, but the supreme fact of the earth's history, and the final demonstration of that truth is the first service of biology and of the nineteenth century to mankind. Progress is possible because it has occurred. It is not an illusion, but a scientific truth. The common cant about the "illusion of progress" may make attractive literature or rhetoric, but to deny the reality of progress is as definitely to flout scientific truth as to deny the motion of the earth, and is an error immeasurably more grave. Even if we care to play with the terrible idea of Aristotle, that every art and every philosophy has probably been found out many times, up to the limits of the possible, and again destroyed, even then we have to reckon with the finding out, which is an aspect of progress.

The converse error is no less noteworthy. It consists in the teaching that science demonstrates progress to be constant and inevitable. This error, however, was long ago exposed. We may remember that during those years when Spencer was working towards his conception of universal evolution he wrote, in 1857, an essay called "Progress: Its Law and Cause." When he saw, however, that all change is not progressive, he introduced the word "evolution" as a term which does not commit us to any moral concept. We must remember, also, that his familiar phrase is not "survival of the best," but "survival of the fittest," and that fitness may at times be constituted by characters which are irrelevant to progress, such as vegetable characters; or by others which, so far from being the best, are the worst.

Survival of the Fittest

If we are inclined to believe that progress is constant and inevitable, let us recall the evolution of the intestinal parasites as proof of the possibility of degradation even under the action of natural selection. The survival of the fittest now becomes equivalent to the survival of the worst. Yet, again, biologists are familiar with what may be called survivals from the past in the plant world. Change in no direction can occur if there be nothing to cause it, and thus you may find species extant to-day which seem to have undergone no change for

untold ages. On the one hand, organic evolution asserts that progress is possible and has occurred, and on the other hand that it is neither constant nor inevitable under all conditions. Evolution demonstrates and has achieved, but is not synonymous with, progress.

This, of course, the historian knows full well, and one of the reasons why, during the last half century, he has failed to realise what organic evolution means for him is that he has been misled as to what the doctrine asserts. He knows that progress is not inevitable; he knows that the mightiest empires, having reached unexampled heights, have fallen. Where, he asks, are "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome"? He has pushed back his inquiries to Babylon, and yet more clearly he sees that progress is not inevitable. As Spain fell, and Rome and Greece, so did Egypt and Babylon. When, therefore, the doctrine of organic evolution is presented to him as asserting that progress is a constant law of Nature, can he be blamed for declining to waste his time upon what he knows to be false? It is our business in these pages to state the facts and the theory based upon them in a more correct fashion, and in the course of doing so to show that there is absolutely no conflict whatever between the teachings of biology and the facts of history. If there were such a conflict, which would have to go to the wall, does the reader fancy—the theories or the facts?

Is there a Goal to Progress?

But before we turn more closely to examine the historical facts let us endeavour to complete our concept of progress. We have agreed that, considered from afar, it is at any rate clearly discernible to be the increasing predominance of the psychical over the physical, and that, if it exists at all, it is involved in psychical evolution. We remind ourselves also that evolution under all its aspects is a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. Is it possible, then, to conceive of any finality, any goal to progress? Is there any ideal that seems to be indicated?

Plainly, I think, psychical evolution can result in nothing higher than what we call personality or individuality. If evolution is to result in the production of the heterogeneous, its ideal is most completely achieved in personality—"the most distinctive quality we know," as Professor Höffding says. Progress, then, must be such a series of changes as increase the conscious life of the individual. We can by no means plumb the depths which the conscious life may reach here or hereafter, but along this path and no other is our goal to be sought. If the machinery of a motor-car is not proof of progress, no more is the machinery of a society. The products of progress are not mechanisms, but men. Physical complexity, physical differentiation—all this as such is nothing to us. The life of the beehive, for instance, has to be judged by the ideals which we have formulated and not by any mechanical standards. If the machinery of the beehive does not make for individuality, it has nothing to do with the subject we are discussing, though as an achievement in vital mechanics it may be considerably more interesting than a motor-car. So much, then, by way of definition.

The Real Proofs of Progress

The older theory of organic evolution, which is commonly named after Lamarck, and which was expounded by him at length in 1809, the year of Charles Darwin's birth, asserted that characters acquired by the parent, such as the effects of use and disuse, are transmitted to the offspring. One of his examples was the case of the giraffe, which owes its long neck, he presumed, to the gradual stretching of the necks of many ancestors in their efforts to reach the leaves of trees. Now, it needs but the smallest consideration to recognise that this question of the transmission of acquired characters, commonly regarded as a quarrel of the biologists, is of the utmost moment to the philosophic historian.

In general, it is fair to say that historians have hitherto accepted, as popular opinion commonly accepts, the Lamarckian doctrine of the inheritance of acquirements. For many generations a race is disciplined, and so at last there is produced a people to whom discipline is native; or for many generations a nation finds it necessary to make adventure upon the water, and so at last there is produced a generation with blue water in its blood.

Doctrine of Inherited Acquirements

The theory applies equally to retrogression—a fact of history scarcely less salient than the fact of progress. Every historian has asserted that the vices of a people

will, in course of time, produce moral and physical degeneration in their posterity. Historians like to compare the history of a nation to the history of an individual, and this leads them to the very familiar assertion, repeated and believed almost everywhere, that the life of a species or race or nation, like the life of an individual, must inevitably show a period of growth followed by maintenance, and, as in the individual, ultimately by decadence and death. Now, modern biology has to be reckoned with in these interpretations of history, with its periods of progress and retrogression. And in the first place, for the case may be more briefly dealt with, let us observe that the argument from the necessity of death for the individual to the necessity of death for a species or race is, biologically considered, not merely false but ridiculous. On the contrary, between the individual and the race there exists only one overwhelming difference, which is precisely that, whilst the individual is necessarily mortal, the race is not, and the analogy between the life of the individual and the life of a nation belongs entirely to the domain not of science, but of rhetoric or poetry.

Biology an Aid to History

Every living man at this moment bears within him living elements which may trace back a continuous ancestry to the beginnings of life upon our planet. Life as a whole phenomenon does not die; it is only the individual that dies. To assert that because an individual dies a species or a nation must die is to prove oneself blind to the most salient fact that distinguishes the species from the individual.

Turn we now to the still more serious questions involved in the truth or falsity of the Lamarckian doctrine concerning the inheritance of acquired characters. Let us state in a concrete and striking form the magnitude of the contrast between the interpretations of history that respectively assert and deny this proposition. Let us imagine a nation which for many generations has lived in ever-increasing luxurious sloth and ease. Let us take this nation at a period when it would seem that decadence could no further go. But still, of course, there are many babies being born. Now, the question is as to the state of those babies at birth. According to the Lamarckian view, the new generation is predestined to failure; it is imbued with character acquired and accumulated by its ancestors. This is a "dying nation." Like an individual it has entered on its period of decadence, and, as in the case of the individual, no social medicine will restore either its adult manhood or its youth.

The Case of a "Dying Nation"

But suppose that we are empowered summarily to deny the transmission of acquired characters. Words can scarcely picture the contrast in our interpretation. The new generation, then, is, on the whole, not much better, not much worse, except through the slow operation of any form of selection for parenthood than was the new generation of centuries before. The baby makes a fresh start, the sins of the parent are not visited upon it in the direct fashion asserted by the other theory. If, then, something outside the new generation could be changed; if each baby could be born into the social environment into which its ancestors of centuries before were born, then, in an instant, so to speak, that nation would become again as great and worthy as in the days of old. It contains the constant possibility of recovery, which the individual who is "dying" in the course of Nature does not. Now, the answer to the question whether or not acquired characters are transmitted cannot be left to the historian. It is to be answered by the students of heredity; it is to be answered after experimental inquiry by the microscope, and by statistics. If the facts so obtained are incompatible with the facts of history, then further inquiry must show why it is that what is true of the dog or the chestnut is not true of man; but we shall find that there is no incompatibility with the facts of history. Let us see how we can defend that assertion.

History and Biology in Agreement

It is the conclusion of modern biology, and one which we are now compelled to accept, that acquired characters are not transmissible. We now recognise a principle that makes for organic evolution without requiring us to assume that acquired characters are transmissible. This principle we are about to study. But it is not merely that we do not need the transmission of acquirements; it is that on inquiry we find that it does not occur. To this statement there are some very dubious exceptions, derived, for instance, from the realm of immunity to disease; but these are quite irrelevant to the interpretation of history. So far as the historian is

concerned, acquired characters are not transmissible and are never transmitted. He has to reckon with this.

The result of this conclusion of the biologists is in a sense to enhance the importance of that department of history which is outside the sphere of biology. This is to say that in denying the transmission of acquirements by heredity we greatly restrict the importance of biological heredity in the study of history, whilst to do so is proportionately to increase the moment that must be attached to the facts of history that lie outside all biological heredity. In other words, whilst in explaining the degeneration of a people the historian might formerly transfer his burden to the shoulders of the biologist, as, for instance, by saying that a species must die as an individual dies, he is now compelled to explain the phenomenon in social terms and historical terms, in terms of events and customs and morality, and especially of environment, as the selector of parenthood. The transmission of acquired characters being denied, Lamarckian heredity will no longer bear the burden of explaining these tremendous phenomena of history. In effect, the biologist says to the historian: "No, you must not come to me for explanations; I will give you the great assistance, if you recognise it as such, of denying absolutely that I can give you any assistance at this point, and of asserting that you must find explanations for these facts in your own proper sphere."

History's Tremendous Phenomena

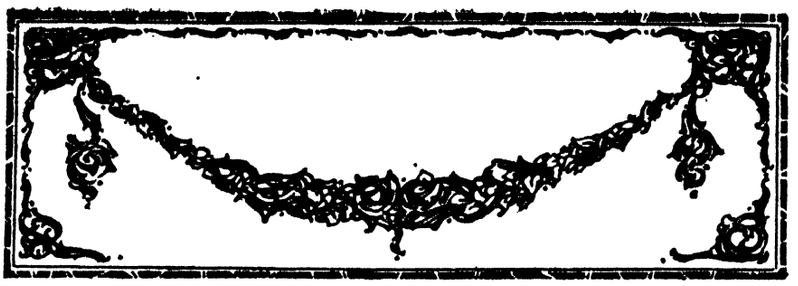
Now, certainly, if the historian found it impossible to make history reasonable without resort to the doctrine of the transmission of acquired characters or the doctrine that nations, like individuals, must die, then, as we have hinted above, the biologist would have to reconsider his position. He would have to ask himself whether, in the total absence of any other conceivable explanation, the decadence of Rome must not be explained in terms of such transmission. But there is no such necessity. On the contrary, the historian must be purblind who fails to see, staring him in the face, causes totally independent of the transmission of acquired characters or the supposed necessity for the death of a nation, which abundantly account for all the phenomena that he has to explain. What are these causes, I shall be asked, which to my mind so easily account for the tremendous phenomena hitherto found unaccountable by historians, except by recourse to biological doctrines now discredited? To this I answer that whilst the historian has recorded battles and intrigues and enactments, and so forth, he may possibly have neglected matters of greater moment. And here, also, he has to learn from the biologist; he has to be taught, and is, indeed, now learning, which are the potent and which the trivial factors of history.

The Historian's Debt to the Biologist

In an early chapter of the HISTORY OF THE WORLD it has been shown how history may be conceived as a history of knowledge, as a history of culture, as a history of liberty, as a history of political institutions. But if the present writer is assured of anything at all, it is that history may be conceived not only under these headings, but also, for instance, as a history of motherhood or as a history of morality.

Human history, after all, is the history of man the individual, in co-existence and in sequence with other individuals. It is a history of individual specimens of human nature, and the factors that have made it must necessarily be the factors that most nearly affect the individual. How, then, can history be rightly interpreted if, for instance, we have as yet no historian of childhood, as we have yet no historian of motherhood? Many have devoted themselves to the influence of the geographical environment upon history, the influence of the sea or the mountains; many to the influence of the mental environment; some have even deliciously conceived the history of mankind to be but a series of marginal notes upon the history of machinery.

How to Interpret History



THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

BEING LESSONS OF THE PAST FOR THE WORLD OF TO-DAY

IT is obvious that the inquiries raised have their value, but how relatively limited that value is we realise when we come to ask how far, in terms of mountains or machinery, there can be explained the great facts of history, which are, of course, the rise and fall of peoples. The evident answer is, to take the case of a mountain alone, that this constant and unchanging factor is plainly irrelevant. And the case of machinery is very little better. If history is to be interpreted in terms of human nature, we must interpret its greatest phenomena by the study of those factors which most closely influence human nature.

The Rise and Fall of Peoples

It is for the reader to decide whether, in the case of this man or that, in the case of this society or that, it is a mountain or a mother, the weather or the home, that is most worthy of his study. This question of the social interpretation of history, one of the most luminous and momentous ideas of this age, must be duly recognised elsewhere. Here we introduce it in order to note that the historian who seeks to explain progress and retrogression, and who is no longer allowed to find simple but false explanations in terms of Lamarckian heredity, need by no means be gravelled for lack of matter.

He has yet to study adequately marriage and motherhood, parentage, social and domestic morality, all the factors that most nearly influence the growing generation; he has to study the progressive modifications in those influences when, for instance, a nation finds it necessary to struggle for its life, or when, having gained success, it ceases to struggle. These subjects are inexhaustible and of inexhaustible moment. Turn we now to the modern theory of organic evolution as conceived and demonstrated by Charles Darwin. We now realise that the absolute ruler of all organic evolution is that all-important reality which Darwin calls "natural selection" and Spencer "the survival of the fittest." We must closely study these phrases if we are to understand the conditions which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, have resulted in the predominance of the psychical. As we saw, biology can tell us positively that this new predominance of the psychical, which is progress, has occurred. But that would be a small service if it could not proceed to tell us how it has occurred. We are interested in the past, of course; but it is onwards that our eyes are most commonly turned if we are really to justify ourselves as historians for this age, and the question is whether biology can pilot us.

Darwin's Theory of Evolution

Now, what is the theory of natural selection? It depends upon the existence of two facts, heredity and variation. Like begets like, but commonly not exactly like. The inborn degree of unlikeness is called variation. There are more born than can survive, survival including the idea of parenthood on their part—survival and reproduction in offspring; and therefore those variations which constitute superior fitness for whatever the environment may be are automatically or naturally selected, and those same variations will tend to be transmitted to posterity by the law of heredity. Observe that a variation is an inborn character—inborn, innate, inherent, fundamental, which you will, and as such tends to be perpetuated or transmitted.

The Laws of Heredity and Variation

This, of course, is an old and very long controversy, but for our present purpose it will suffice if we recognise that the distinction between variations and acquirements is a real one, and that it is variations the selection of which is of value, because it is variations, as distinguished from acquirements, which, being selected, can

perpetuate themselves. Now, natural selection in no sense creates—it selects. If there were no variation there would be nothing for it to select from; it would have no choice. Without variation there would have been no organic evolution.

What is it, then, that in any individual natural selection selects? The answer is that, with absolute indifference as to all other considerations, natural selection selects whatever has survival value, and in proportion as it has survival value.

Let us begin with the variations upon which it acts. We do not understand their production, but at least we find no more evidence to-day than Darwin found of the existence of any determinate character in them. When we call them fortuitous we must not imagine a "chance" outside the realm of law. On the contrary, the Mendelians find variations to be capable of analysis and prediction. No one who is acquainted with the work of this young school of biologists can speak of fortuitous variations without at any rate an unspoken reminder of the mathematical analysis of what we call chance. Further, only certain variations are possible for any species. The "fortuity" of natural selection is anything but the "law of higgledy-piggledy," as an academic opponent of Charles Darwin once called it.

Conditions of Natural Selection

Secondly, when we come to study the conditions under which natural selection acts—its dependence upon certain conditions, not merely as regards the production of variations but also as regards the degree to which the environment exercises stringent preference—we see how monstrous is the notion of chance having been set up as an idol and superstitiously worshipped by Darwin, as some would have us believe, and we see also that the law is not a blind law, but, from this point of view at any rate, a very reasonable and discerning one.

Thirdly, as we shall see when we come to study survival value more closely, the demands made by the law of natural selection are absolutely constant, notwithstanding the contrasts between the various fashions in which they are met. I have said that natural selection selects whatever has survival value, and in proportion as it has survival value. The word "value," as Ruskin himself reminds us, is derived from *valere*, to be strong, which is itself an idea derived from life. Now, life, despite its varying manifestations, is at bottom a constant thing, and it is this constant thing, life, and characters that have survival value, that natural selection invariably requires. Natural selection knows what it wants, and invariably gets it. Higgledy-piggledy is, plainly, not the word. I will grant that the manifestations of life answer so varyingly to our ethical judgments that we are liable to forget the absolute fundamental consistency which I have tried to indicate. Since life manifests itself in the microbe as well as in man, natural selection may be found selecting the microbe, if that be found to have more value, or, to translate the word into English, more strength.

Ruskin's Condemnation of Competition

Hence the superficial aspect of higgledy-piggledy which the law may assume in our eyes if we confine our study to any given moment instead of surveying the whole epic of life. For it is true that the character which possesses survival value may vary indefinitely and offer terrible contrasts to any ethical judgment such as that involved in the idea of progress. Hence the vehemence with which Ruskin condemns the law of competition as anarchy, the law not of life but of death.

In the microbe the characters having survival value are its poisons, or toxins; in the oak, green leaves, amongst other things, of course; in the tiger, teeth, claws and muscles; in the ox, a complicated stomach; and so on. In so far as the character makes for life it must perpetuate itself; its might constitutes its right. Nature makes no explicit avowal of any bias towards what we have defined as progress; she does not declare outright that she is after quality rather than quantity, after the psychical rather than the physical. Thus, though, as we are about to see, the psychical commonly triumphs, simply because it has superior survival value, it is not spared if the physical characters of some lower form of life can conquer it. The crab, a crawling invertebrate, may eat the bird. It is said that "on sand-banks among the Laccadive Islands land crabs often kill the nestling terns by the hundred." Yet more striking, man himself, and often the finest souls amongst mankind—a Spinoza or a Schubert—may be killed by a despicable

Why the Psychical Triumphs

fungus, the tubercle bacillus. The bacillus has some character which is of superior survival value, and accordingly it survives. Thus, so far as natural selection is concerned, there is no right but might. Yet, somehow, the right, as, for instance, the conception of right, has emerged. We can only conclude, then, that if our principle be correct, the right, everything that we admire, or more comprehensively, the psychical, must possess might. Even in a world of claws and toxins it must have possessed sufficient survival value to survive. This is the great thesis of Carlyle in other words. If it be true that natural selection has no prejudices, we can only explain in terms of survival value the present dominance of the psychical.

Process of Animal Evolution

It is evident enough, if we come to think in terms of this concept of survival value, that lowly psychical characters, such as sensory acuity, sensory discrimination, sensory memory, would constitute factors having survival value for the creature that displayed them. Such creatures would tend to succeed in the struggle for life and to transmit their powers to their offspring. More and more we might expect to find creatures living by their wits rather than by force of bone or muscle. The survival value of such aptitudes is self-evident, and the increasing part they play in the course of animal evolution is one of the most easily explicable of facts.

In short, the evolution of instinctive and intelligent powers is a necessary consequence of their high survival value. Given the action of natural selection upon all vital characters, and given the indisputable, if mysterious, fact that such vital characters may include intelligence, then the emergence and dominance of intelligence is inevitable. The "fluke" theory of its history is untenable. The very reverse is the truth. The only possible theory of the emergence of intelligence is a necessitarian theory. It was given no unfair start; on the contrary, it has not been favoured by the judge; it has not been allowed to emerge without a struggle; it has emerged only where there has been struggle, and it has emerged because it could—because of its superior survival value. It has the right which belongs to might. When, then, man is described as the "poor fluke or sport of the anthropoid ape," this conclusion, which is advanced as the inevitable inference from biology, seems to me to assert everything that biology denies. So far as the intellectual powers of man are concerned, their emergence and dominance in the light of the concept of survival value seem to me to have been inevitable, not under any conditions, but under the conditions that have obtained. If we believe with Tyndall that their promise and potency must be discerned by the scientific imagination in the primeval nebula, then they must out. When out, as we have seen, they may have to compete even with the tubercle bacillus. Nature never gives a final verdict, but out they must.

Successful Struggle of Intelligence

This is as much as to say that though progress is not constant, and though evidence of retrogression is only too easy to find, yet, given certain conditions which have obtained, progress was fore-ordained. Contrast with the assertion that man is a "fluke" Sir E. Ray Lankester's "specific assertion that he is the predestined outcome of an orderly, and to a large extent perceptible, mechanism." But hitherto we have considered the survival value of the psychical only in so far as discrimination, memory, instinct and intelligence are concerned. We turn now to what is infinitely more important for us here, progress being really an ethical term—the psychical characters which may be summed up under the word love.

Love's Survival Value

Now, if it is possible to assert the survival value of intelligence, it is immeasurably easier to assert the survival value of love, and this in direct contravention of the Nietzschean misinterpretation of the Darwinian theory, and also in direct contravention of the famous opinion of Huxley that "cosmic evolution is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before." According to Huxley, as to Ruskin, moral or ethical evolution is opposed, radically opposed, to cosmic evolution. But let us look at love in terms of survival value, and let us, if you please, begin with the lowest vertebrates, and we shall end with man.

Sutherland found that so soon as the slightest trace of parental care emerges amongst the fishes, the chance of survival is increased and, as we should expect, the birth rate lowered. This advance

may be traced right through the vertebrate kingdom, increase of parental care, that is, of love, being associated with a lower birth rate and a lower infant mortality, this meaning a greater proportion of life to death and a greater possibility of individuation for the parent individual, in consequence of the economy effected in reproduction; whilst the offspring, though fewer, increase in individual power, especially since parental care, in the highest stages of evolution, is concentrated upon a few instead of scattered upon many, and, therefore, weakened for each.

This sequence may be traced through the fishes, amphibia, reptiles, birds and mammals progressively, the birth rate of the anthropoid apes and man being the lowest known. In man the period of gestation, the period of what we may call organic morality, is, in proportion to weight, the longest known, and the natural lactation period of three or four years is also the longest known. Sociologists tell us that the same sequence is to be observed in the human race itself. "Diminutions in the number of deaths and child-births per family accompany advances in parental care from society to society or from class to class in the same society." In short, the psychical fact called love is demonstrated to constitute a factor of supreme survival value. Natural selection actually selects morality, and we come to realise that man is the highest product of morality. Without love no baby can live for a week. Every one of the 1,600 millions of human beings on the earth at this moment is a product of mother-love, and I am entitled to say "no morals, no man." So far is Darwinism from reducing morality to the level of a superstition that natural selection, which is the Darwinian principle, actually selects morality, because of its superior survival value. The creature in whom, as the comparative facts of gestation and lactation show, organic morality is at its height has become the lord of the earth.

Man the Highest Product of Morality

I have no space to discuss the argument that the prolongation of infancy, depending upon parental care—that is to say, upon love—has made possible the transmutation of instinct into intelligence and educability, the instruments of man's dominance. There still remains the fact, seeming to confirm Huxley, that the indiscriminate extension of sympathy, involving the abrogation of the law of the survival of the fittest, would lead to the multiplication of the unfit. This is a very small difficulty, however, since it is quite possible to extend every kind of sympathy and care to the unfit whilst meanwhile forbidding them just one thing, and that is parenthood. This is to effect mercifully what natural selection would, in a former age, have effected unmercifully. Our argument requires completion now only by one further proposition, which is that not only has the psychical a survival value, but this demonstrates itself increasingly to outweigh that of the physical. Obviously, by no other means could the psychical have emerged and become dominant.

Creations of the Mind of Man

This proposition is absolutely vital to our argument, but, fortunately, it requires no labouring. Man daily achieves by means of his mind what the lower animals have to achieve by physical means. If he cannot run so fast, his mind creates a train; if his teeth do not last so well, he makes false ones, and so on. It was so from the first. The Drift-men of Taubach, living in the Interglacial Period, could kill the full-grown elephant and rhinoceros. Says Ranke: "It is the mind of man that shows itself superior to the most powerful brute force, even where we meet him for the first time." Furthermore, whilst the physical methods are all self-limited, whether as to the achievement of speed by means of muscles, or cutting power by means of teeth, the method of mind is not limited; it is even more than cumulative, and multiplies its capacities by geometrical progression. That dominance of the psychical which we call progress is due to its dominant survival value.

If this sometimes fails us, still, when measured with the physical, as when it is pitted against the toxins of the tubercle bacillus, that is only for a season. Carlyle despised the evolutionists, and there is, therefore, all the more interest and piquancy in the fact that during the years when he produced "Past and Present," and "Heroes and Hero Worship," with their magnificent assertion of the survival value of the psychical, Darwin was filling his note-books with facts supporting the idea of natural selection. In the whole of Carlyle's

Carlyle and the Evolutionists

philosophy there are few ideas more important, more characteristic and more frequently expressed than the idea of natural selection. Indeed, Carlyle believed in natural selection unqualified; he does not care that Mohammed propagated his religion by the sword:

Nature Can Do No Wrong

I care little about the sword; I will allow a thing to struggle for itself in this world, with any sword or tongue or implement it has, or can lay hold of. We will let it preach, and pamphleteer, and fight, and to the uttermost bestir itself, and do, beak and claws, whatsoever is in it; very sure that it will, in the long run, conquer nothing which does not deserve to be conquered. What is better than itself it cannot put away, but only what is worse. In this great duel, Nature herself is umpire, and can do no wrong; the thing which is deepest-rooted in Nature, what we call *truest*, that thing, and not the other, will be found growing at last.

Parallel passages are to be found—need we remind ourselves?—in the wonderful second chapter of "Past and Present." There are few more interesting passages of literature for the biologist, who knows how profoundly true they are. Yet one more point as to competition. Ruskin tells us that in all things anarchy and competition are the laws of death. Modern biology declares, on the other hand, that it finds no anarchy in the world of life, but that it finds competition to be the law of life, even if it be the competition of mother and child together against foes which do not so co-operate. The antithesis between competition and co-operation is obviously superficial. In Carlyle, on the other hand, we find it constantly asserted that by competition, and only by competition, can any kind of progress, physical or psychical, be effected. Up to this present, competition has been in all things the law of life, for it has been the necessary factor of all progress.

That is what the doctrine of natural selection and survival value asserts. It is a matter of infinite moment to the historian, who so frequently observes that no nation can survive complete success. It advances until, perhaps, it is mistress of the world, and from that moment the historian may trace its decline. We have seen already that, misled by deceptive analogies from biology, historians have interpreted this phenomenon as really identical with the yielding of adult strength to senility in the individual. Though that analogy is false, the historian may, nevertheless, find assistance in biology for the phenomenon which he deplores, and it is in terms of selection for parenthood that he will find the true biological explanation of the facts.

Success Fatal to Nations

Here is, indeed, a whole conception of history which has yet to be used by historians. The historians must not ask the biologists to undertake the task, for they have not the historical knowledge. The historian, however, can hear and accept the biological principle in a single breath, and the application is plainly his duty. We have to realise that natural selection did not cease to operate with the production of man. In every generation, including those which initiated new epochs in history, natural selection has been at work. Always some have been taken and others left; those taken were the least fit for the environment in question, and those left were the fittest.

It is the duty of the historian to apply the idea of survival value to history. What were the factors that possessed survival value in the age of Pericles, in the periods of religious persecution in Sparta? He must answer the question for every place and every time. Observe the value of this process, apart from its explanation of history. Take, for instance, the case of religious persecution. The characters that, so far from having any survival value, make directly for death are the courage and the something immeasurably nobler than courage which will make a man willing to die for what he believes to be true. Religious persecution is, therefore, condemned by biology because it takes the worthlessness of the hypocrite and gives it survival value, whilst it confers a value for death alone upon all that is really valuable. A form of selection continues to operate, but the circumstances are such that its whole tendency is reversed, and it is made to work for the evil and against the good.

Factors in Rome's Greatness

But observe, furthermore, the services of the idea of natural selection in the understanding of history. Take, for example, the case of Rome. There was a time when the factors which possessed survival value in Rome were such as courage, devotion, hardihood and the patriotism that did not fear death. The babies born in that generation were very much like the babies a hundred years before

and a hundred years after. But those which displayed these characters were selected—and so much the better for Rome.

Take a somewhat later generation. The material upon which selection is to operate is much the same; there has been no time for marked consequences to follow the previous selection. In a given number of babies of that age you will find just about as many potential patriots and potential traitors as before. But there has been what Nietzsche would call a "transvaluation of values." Patriotism and hardihood and honour are at a discount. Smooth speaking and elegance and worse things are selected, and so much the worse for Rome. I follow the convention in speaking of the men first, but I might speak of the women also. What if in one age motherliness gives a woman survival value, but in another is regarded as a nuisance, and is rejected for smartness? There is no substantial difference between the girl babies in the two cases, for this transvaluation may take place in a single generation. But observe the immediate consequences.

The Meaning of Racial Deterioration

Nay, more, observe remoter consequences, for motherliness tends to be transmitted, and so does its nameless opposite. If the valuations agreed upon persist for generations you will indeed have real consequences in the blood of the people. If patriots alone have been selected for fathers, and motherly women for mothers, you will indeed have produced a race with patriotism and motherliness in its blood. I need not state the converse case.

Here, at last, we have before us, in a form that biology not merely accepts but demands, a true conception of racial degeneration as distinguished from racial deterioration. The issue between the meanings of these two terms is one which is not merely of vital importance to every civilised community of to-day, but also to the historian who holds fast to the idea that the characters of the individual human being are the key to history.

We shall use the term racial deterioration to mean the worsening of the individuals of the race after their birth and in consequence of their environment. Such deterioration is to be witnessed in every city in the world, and might have been so witnessed throughout the whole course of history. We shall use the term racial degeneration to involve a process which acts in the blood of the people, or, to use technical language, which acts upon the germ-cells themselves, a process producing change which will show itself entirely apart from environment. This restriction in the use of the term will help us to avoid many misapprehensions. A bad environment may cause deterioration in one who is also a degenerate, but also in one who is not.

What of the Next Generation?

Now, observe the overwhelmingly important judgment of biology upon these distinctions. In any time or place the individuals of a race may be deteriorated by a bad environment in consequence of its direct action upon the individual. The case is simplicity itself so far, and no theory of heredity needs to be invoked to explain it. We are faced with our problem, however, directly we ask what the consequences will be for the next generation. Will the children of these deteriorates be degenerates?

The popular answer is and always has been affirmative, the same being true of the ascent as well as the descent of a people, because the deteriorate and the degenerate have not been distinguished till very recently. But the answer of modern biology is definitely negative, and the historian in his future interpretations must accept that negative. In general, each generation, now or in the past, makes a fresh start so far as its inborn characters are concerned. It may, in its turn, be deteriorated by the environment; but in a healthy environment it would have utterly surpassed in every way its deteriorated parents.

This proposition is generally true, not merely of physical, but also of psychical characters. Ideals of patriotism, to take an instance, may be taught to any generation at school though its ancestors have lost them for centuries, or have never had them. The critics, including some historians, may reply that these assertions are monstrous, it being the historical fact that races do alter in type, thus making history, whether for better or for worse. This, however, is not for a moment denied by biology. Only it is asserted that the factors of this change differ radically from those asserted in the Lamarckian conception which has held sway for so long. The biologist is now compelled to believe, and the historian must follow suit,

Alteration in the Type of Races

that the inherent, inborn characters of any species or race or nation—vegetable, animal, or human—are altered for better or for worse only under the influence of selection, selecting those inborn characters, new or old, which are the fittest for the environment in question. Observe that this does not deny the importance of the environment any more than the Lamarckian view does, for it is the environment that determines fitness, which may vary from the abominable to the admirable, ethically considered. What, then, are the conditions under which modern biology permits us to recognise that a nation will ascend or degenerate in so far as the inborn characters of its people are concerned? Let us note the importance of this last phrase.

The Place of Selection in Progress

It involves the proposition that natural selection is the only essential factor of progress, because the characters which it selects are inborn and transmissible. The happy adjustment of the environment so as to make the most of every individual, but such as to abrogate selection, will also make for progress, but it is only superficial progress. Change the environment for the worse, and you instantly discover that you have not radically improved your stock. That can only be achieved by what we soon learn to call eugenic selection, and for the simple reason that acquired characters are not transmissible. History offers terrible instances of these truths.

A nation will ascend under the influence of natural selection such that the fittest are also the best; a nation will degenerate under the influence of natural selection such that the fittest are also the worst. More than this, a nation will degenerate if natural selection be abrogated altogether, and universal survival or indiscriminate survival be substituted for any process of selection at all. Let us consider these propositions. If a nation can ascend in any sure way—its surety being dependent upon the fact that the ascent is in the very blood of the people—only when natural selection actively operates in the choice of the best, then we begin to realise why it is that in the whole course of history hitherto this sure ascent has not been realised. Babylon may have lasted for 4,000 years, as the historians tell us; yet at last it fell. If natural selection had been operating in Babylon throughout that time, choosing only the best, the noblest and the wisest, conferring upon them, and upon them alone, the supreme privilege and duty of parenthood, Babylon could not have fallen. It would have had a population fit to excite the admiration of all ages, and one from which would have been recruited the dominant peoples of all time thereafter.

Babylon's Fall after 4,000 Years

The overwhelming truth for the historian is this: that natural selection, the sole factor of efficient and permanent progress, the factor which has definitely evolved man from the brute, and has definitely awarded him the sceptre of this, his planet, is constantly thwarted, if not entirely abrogated, or even inverted, by man himself—"Nature's insurgent son."

In human society, the natural state has necessarily been altered by a thousand factors. The fittest will survive; but fitness may mean anything. More than this, the fitness which is chosen may be, and very often is, only an acquired fitness, not dependent upon any inborn characters, and therefore not transmissible. Nature takes the fitness and rewards it. But she is deceived; she expects it to be transmissible, and so she expects to achieve her great purpose—I speak in figure. But, suppose the fitness has been acquired merely in consequence of a legacy of monetary wealth; is it not plain that the whole value of the process of selection is utterly destroyed? Or, suppose that the fitness has been due not to anything inherent in the individual, nor yet to anything acquired, but to the well-meaning kindness of others or the state, who have given room and food and mercy to an imbecile—and that he has thereby been enabled to exercise the privilege of parenthood, which, in a state of nature, would have been necessarily and with real mercy to the future, denied him. Processes which are typified in these examples are not merely characteristic of human society, but are absolutely peculiar to it. There is no parallel to them in the case of any other living creature than man.

No Enduring Empire in History

We are faced, then, with the fact that the conditions necessary for the secure ascent of any race, an ascent secured in its very blood, made stable in its very bone, have not yet been achieved in history. I advance this as the true reason why history records no enduring empire. This is the biological conclusion,

and it is made all the stronger when we discover how stringent selection requires to be in order to produce substantial results. In the case of the lower animals, and in the whole vegetable kingdom, natural selection is stringent, and stringent within the species. Let us quote from the most authoritative of recent pronouncements, Sir E. Ray Lankester's Romanes Lecture of 1905. He says :

> The world, the earth's surface, is practically full—that is to say, fully occupied. Only one pair can grow up to take the place of the pair, male and female, which have launched a dozen, or it may be as many as a hundred thousand, young individuals on the world. . . . One pair in a new generation, only one pair, survive for every parental pair. Animal population does not increase. The struggle for existence takes place not . . . between different species, but between individuals of the same species, brothers and sisters and cousins. . . . In Nature's struggle for existence death, immediate obliteration, is the fate of the vanquished, whilst the only reward to the victors—few, very few, but rare and beautiful in the fitness which has carried them to victory—is the permission to reproduce their kind; to carry on by heredity to another generation the specific qualities by which they triumphed. It is not generally realised how severe is the pressure and competition in Nature, not between different species, but between the immature population of one and the same species, precisely because they are of the same species and have exactly the same needs.

Nature's Severe Competition

Contrasted with these facts, the struggle for existence and the process of selection within human society can scarcely be recognised at all. It is still survival value that determines survival and parenthood. But Nature can scarcely distinguish survival value as it has been transvalued by her insurgent son.

As regards the other aspect of the account. It follows from these principles that a nation will degenerate with surety, in a stable fashion which is beyond repair, only if natural selection selects the worst and breeds from them; not, as all but the instructed few believe, under the accumulated and transmitted influence of a bad environment. We must recognise the bright as well as the dark aspect of our principles. If they explain to us why progress has been so unstable and ascent so unsure in human history, they also assert that deterioration in a people is also unsure and unstable. The historian cannot name a people in which the selection of the worst has been consistently carried out, any more than he can name a people in which the selection of the best has been consistently carried out. Therefore, he can no more assert that any people have irredeemably fallen, assuming that they are still in existence at all, than he can assert that any past or present people have risen to heights from which they cannot fall. Whilst the abrogation of anything like natural selection in human society denies the permanence of historical ascent, it also denies the permanence of historical descent. A contemporary instance of very great magnitude is the case of Spain. We have been brought up to believe that there is no possible future for Spain; it is a dying nation, a senile individual, a people of degenerates; it has had its day, which can never return. This has been explained by the false analogy between a race and an individual, and by the false Lamarckian theory of heredity.

Prevalent Conception of Spain

To these the biologist can now retort with comments upon their falsity, and with the conviction that since Spain has not been subjected to the only process which can ensure real degeneration, viz., the consistent and stringent selection of the worst, she is yet capable of regeneration. Regeneration is not really the word, because there has been no real degeneration, but only the successive deterioration of successive and undegenerate generations. The corresponding term to deterioration should be amelioration.

If we took an animal species that has degenerated, such as the intestinal parasites, and endeavoured to regenerate them, we should begin to realise the magnitude of our task. That is not the task for Spain, the biologist asserts. Merely the environment must be altered, not the mountain ranges and the rivers, but the really potent factors in the environment, the spiritual and psychical and social factors, and the deterioration, for it is only a deterioration, will give place to amelioration. I am using these opposed terms with great care and of set purpose. And the biologist is right. The facts concerning which so many historians have shaken their heads, and upon which they have based so many moralisings and theories of history, the facts which they have cited in support of their false analogies and misconceptions of heredity—due, of course, to the errors of former biology—turn out to be not facts at all, or, at any

Where the Biologist is Right

rate, only facts of the moment. The "dying nation," as Lord Salisbury called it, has occasion to alter its psychical environment. It introduces the practice of education; it begins to shake off those superstitions which have uniformly cursed mankind since the days when the first Palæolithic savage persuaded his fellows that he was a witch doctor. And what are the consequences? The new generation — which the casual and scarcely directed action of natural selection, acting on ten or twelve generations, has not affected in any substantial way— is found to be potentially little worse and little better than its predecessors of the sixteenth century. There has been no national or racial degeneration. The environment is modified for the better, and Spain, as they say in misleading phrase, "takes on a new lease of life."

Spain's Brighter Future

The historian of the present day, basing his theories upon sound biology, knowing as a historian what qualities of blood have been in the Spanish people, may confidently assert that that blood, incapable, as he knows, of degeneration by any Lamarckian process, may still retain its ancient quality and will yet make history. The signs that he is right are to be followed almost week by week in the world's chronicles, and not least by those who realise how inevitable is the importance of South America in the making of future history.

I have deliberately taken Spain as a contemporary test case because of its magnitude and because of the manner in which it is now falsifying the assertions which the contrast between its recent past and its already passing present have drawn from so many historians.

But the historian might well write a volume upon the same thesis as applied to China and Japan. We know historically what were the immediate effects in one generation of a total change of environment in Japan. That change has not yet occurred in China, but must inevitably occur. Consider for a moment how the historian, made far-sighted and clear-sighted by biology, must contemplate the history of this astounding people. The popular belief used to be that China illustrated the so-called law of nations. It was the decadent, though monstrous, relic of an ancient civilisation; it had had its day. Inevitable degeneration, which must sooner or later befall all peoples, had come upon it. Behold it in the paralysis which precedes death!

The Change in China and Japan

But in the light of the facts of Japan, the man in the street and the historian alike have in this case found modern biology superfluous in enabling them to arrive at sound conclusions. They now believe what the Darwinian has been compelled to believe for close upon half a century, and more strongly than ever during the latter part of that period, when the doctrine of the transmission of acquired characters was finally discarded. A clever writer invents the phrase "the yellow peril," and people discard their old theories. The metaphor must be changed. This is not paralysis, but merely slumber. Doubtless, it is an unnatural slumber; doubtless, it is not the slumber which brings renewed strength. It is suspense, not recuperation; but assuredly it is not paralysis. Is there a man who now would dare to say that China has had its day, even if he still clings to the old fictions about Spain? I repeat that the contemporary facts of history are all on the side of modern biological theory, and that the historian is not incompetent, if he will look at all the facts and discard all preconceptions, to reach true principles for himself. I will go further, and say that if biologists, as it happens, had not already discarded their old ideas and arrived at sounder ones, they would now have been in the position of learners, as to the fundamental facts of heredity, at the feet of the historians It is scarcely more than an accident—the birth of a certain baby in the year 1809—that the historians are not now turning round upon the biologists and saying, "Your doctrine of the transmission of acquired characters must be false, for look at Spain and Japan and China."

Biology Supported by History

In the demonstrable absence of stringent selection of the worst, true racial or national degeneration has not occurred in human history. That peoples do not degenerate is false; deteriorate they may, and often do. The difference between the two words is exactly the difference between the former assertions regarding, for instance, Spain and China, and the facts which we are witnessing to-day.

TRIUMPH OF THE MIND OF MAN

BY DR. C. W. SALEEBY III

INDIVIDUALITY AND PROGRESS

FACTORS IN MANKIND'S UPWARD MARCH

SO much, then, at present, for matters which cannot be studied at too great length. At least we have seen nothing that causes us to question our original proposition, that the emergence and even the dominance of the psychical can be recorded in accordance with the principle of selection and the concept of survival value. Let us now go back to the very beginning and see whether we can discern throughout the whole history of life another principle which has worked itself out, and is still working itself out, under the influence of natural selection, and which has most conspicuously played into the hands of the psychical.

Let us attempt, then, to set before our eyes the drama of the earth, and, if possible, to interpret as we observe. Looking without keen interest upon the changes wrought in the earth before the appearance of life, we find much to rouse us in what followed. We may ignore the vegetable world, which has devoted itself to synthetic chemistry, apparently at the cost of the psychical, and which now is of no intrinsic worth, but simply serves the animal kingdom. If we look upon this last, or, indeed, upon the whole kingdom of life, we see what suggests, as someone has observed, some impulse in Nature towards obtaining at any cost just so much life as may be. We seem to see what Shelley imagined in "Adonais":

Before Life Appeared on the Earth

> . . . The one Spirit's plastic stress
> Sweeps through the dull, dense world, compelling there
> All new successions to the forms they wear;
> Torturing th' unwilling dross that checks its flight
> To its own likeness, as each mass may bear;
> And bursting in its beauty and its might
> From trees and beasts and men into the Heaven's light.

The chief concern of life seems to be to multiply and magnify itself, and whatever device will make for more life Nature will welcome. It is, one can safely assert, the fact that in so far as we may speak quantitatively of life at all there is more life upon the earth at this moment than ever before in any period of her history. But whilst all living things attempt to obey the command to be fruitful and multiply, we find ourselves compelled to recognise, what Malthus did not see, viz., that as individuality, which is obviously correlated with the psychical, increases, so fertility diminishes. This is the great law of multiplication which we owe to Herbert Spencer. It is as much as to say that the older method of achieving the utmost life the method which trusts in numbers, becomes gradually superseded by the method which trusts in quality, a word which has psychical connotations. Amongst the bacteria or the fishes we see the older method, that to which we are besought to return by those, bachelors and others, who are alarmed at our falling birth-rate.

Spencer's Great Law of Multiplication

We find this "antagonism between individuation and genesis" illustrated even up to man himself, where the process of genesis is actually so slow that commonly only one new being is produced at a birth, whilst the period of gestation in proportion to the body weight is, as we have seen, the longest known. Yet this creature is lord of the earth, and his lordship constitutes the triumph of the psychical as well as the satisfaction of Nature's demand for fulness of life. For increasing individuation culminates at last in human personality. This great fact, the ousting of quantity by quality, and quality is practically a psychical conception, is worthy of a little closer study. It implies a steadily falling birth-rate from the unicellular organisms up to man who, as we have seen, has the lowest birth-rate known—on the average about one child to each

Quality Before Quantity

female every two years. The higher orders of mammals taken together yield a corresponding figure of rather more than one per annum. Go lower amongst the mammals, and the figure is three per annum, amongst the birds five, amongst the reptiles seventeen, amongst the amphibia 441, and amongst the fishes 646,000. As for the multiplication of bacteria it is really quite unthinkable. Surveying the animal world as a whole, then, we recognise the observed fact, not a theory, of a falling birth-rate. We have already observed how this makes for individual development, since the fewer the offspring the greater the proportion of parental care and parental education that is available for them. Observe, also, that it makes for individuation because of the vital economy effected for the parent. Amongst not a few lowly forms of animal life the act of reproduction terminates the life of the parent. What an unthinkable contrast to our case! Amongst bacteria the act of reproduction involves the absolute and complete disappearance of the parent. To use Herbert Spencer's own terminology, here is the maximum of genesis and the minimum of individuation. Survey the whole animal world, then, and we see that a falling birth-rate is a factor associated with, involved in, and making for, progress.

The World's Declining Birth-rate

Yet again, consider the death-rate, and especially the infant mortality, which is the dominant factor in all death-rates. We hear much nowadays of infant mortality, though not nearly enough; but infant mortality, if the term may be used, is a phenomenon which is common to the whole living world. The high rate of infant mortality among fishes is astounding. If it were not 99 in 100 the ocean would be solid with fish from shore to shore. But as life ascends and the birth-rate falls the infant mortality falls also, and with it, obviously, the general death-rate. I have not the slightest doubt that our own infant mortality, appalling though it be, is considerably lower than any to be found amongst any animal species apart from human care. This low death-rate goes with the low birth-rate which accompanies increasing individuation.

Appalling Infant Mortality

Already we have expressed in terms of parental care the fashion in which this falling birth-rate plays into the hands of the psychical by giving it increased importance as a factor of survival value, plays into the hands of quality as against quantity. If we are prepared to look further into these relations observed in the sub-human world, we will be interested to discover that they hold in our own society to-day.

The dominant classes are not those which excel in production of quantity, but those the birth-rate of which is lowest, but the products thereof the most highly developed individually. We shall find also that a high death-rate, and especially a high infant mortality, is constantly found associated with a high birth-rate, just as amongst the bacteria or the fishes. Indeed, the more one tries to work out this wonderful law of multiplication, which is so simple and which yet had to wait so long for its recognition, the more its value becomes apparent. If progress means anything, it means the deepening and the broadening of the conscious and self-conscious life of the individual, and this most certainly involves, as the whole history of life proves, a decline in his fertility. But observe that this decline and this increasing individuation are absolutely reconcilable with Nature's demand for the maximum of life, for they involve the attainment of a state of things in which the amount of life shall be the greatest possible, and the births and deaths the fewest possible. This is surely clear enough, nor need I ask the reader to delay for more than a moment in looking at the matter in another way.

Conditions that Make for Progress

Would not progress be served if the enormous amount of human energy now expended in giving birth to, and subsequently burying, the children who die before they have completed one year of life were devoted to the development of life in the adult population—if the energy and labour spent by the mother in producing the thirteenth and fourteenth child, let us say, which will very likely die, were expended upon the older children? Is it not better to bring up four children with a mother's loving care than to leave ten motherless? Which, then, makes most for progress? After all, I am only saying what everyone with any practical acquaintance with the subject believes—that, except, perhaps, from the merely military point of view, the birth-rate

amongst the lowest classes of our population is higher than is compatible with the maximum rate of progress. Nor am I by any means sure that the military point of view is incompatible with that proposition.

When we come to discuss the great eugenic idea of Sir Francis Galton we shall see how utterly remote these assertions are from meaning that all is well with the birth-rate in what we call the upper classes—or in such of them as have any birth-rate.

It would seem that by following these principles a race might apparently improve itself off the earth altogether. If we consider, however, that sterility is palpably the very last thing that natural selection can select, the very first thing that it rejects, we will see that nothing so stultifying as that can ever be the final result of the process of individuation. If we push the matter further and argue that, reproduction being necessary if a race is to continue at all, there therefore appears to be a limit to the degree to which the individuals of the race may develop their individualities, then the reply is: Are we sure that, except in a few abnormal, I do not say morbid, cases, the individual can develop his or her personality to the utmost and the best without parenthood? Now, it is most important to observe that this law of multiplication constitutes a very potent modification of the principle of Malthus. This, enunciated in 1798, asserts that human population multiplies faster than the supply of food and that, apart from deliberate control, it will continue to do so. Man must go on multiplying in geometrical progression, his food only in arithmetical progression, nor is there anything to correct the appalling struggles between men for food which must inevitably follow.

Malthusian Principle of Multiplication

This idea has enormous interest for the historian of thought, since it was the reading of Malthus that independently gave both to Darwin and to Wallace the idea of natural selection. Spencer's law of multiplication, however, supplies the missing half of the Malthusian principle, which is only a half truth. For we find that the unlimited multiplication which Malthus observed leads to its own correction. It provides an abundance of material for natural selection to work upon, and then the survival value of individuation, wherever it appears, asserts itself, with the consequence that the rate of multiplication declines. This process has been in evidence throughout the whole course of animal evolution. Malthus desired to lower the birth-rate; but under the influence of natural selection and the dominant survival value of individuation, which is inimical to a high birth-rate, the birth-rate has fallen, and continues to fall. Malthus desired that we should postpone marriage to later ages so as to lower the birth-rate. Yet, though not one in a thousand of the population has ever heard of Malthus, and though it is incredible that there should ever have been any individual so impersonal in his outlook as to postpone his own marriage on Malthusian principles, we find that the increasing necessity and demand for individuation are actually leading to that postponement in marriage which Malthus desired. This is a progressive tendency in both sexes in our own country during the last thirty years; and not only so, but as civilisation advances the age of marriage becomes later and later, a fact some aspects of which Professor Metchnikoff has discussed in his wonderful book "The Nature of Man." Thus, we must observe that there is no excuse whatever at the present day for accepting the Malthusian principle as if it were the whole truth.

Civilisation's Effect on Marriage

For the sake of completeness we must add a second qualification to the Malthusian principle in the case of man—which is that he is a creator, and can achieve amongst other things what is practically equivalent to the creation of food. Just in so far as man makes his environment, moulding Nature to provide him with the means of sustenance, just in so far the Malthusian principle requires correction. We may say, then, that one of the results of progress has been, is, and will be, persistently to lower the importance of the Malthusian principle until it becomes of purely historical interest. Turn we now to the specific case of man. It is possible in our thought to distinguish between physical variation and psychical variation, and it is man himself who most clearly illustrates the distinction. Some biologists tell us that man is the least variable of animals, but in so saying they are thinking exclusively of physical variation. His physical variation seems to have very nearly lapsed

Man's Physical Variation

with the practical completion of his physical evolution. That is an easily told story. From the chaos of the invertebrates there emerged the first vertebrates. To this new kind of being there were added four limbs, two in front and two behind. Lastly, the anterior pair of limbs, originally locomotor, was entirely freed from that function which, in the case of man, is performed by the posterior limbs alone. To this end, the centre of gravity of the body had to be somewhat modified in position so that, whereas the vertical line from it to the ground falls in front of the hip joints in the case of the lower vertebrates, it falls behind the hip joints in the case of man. Hence man is erect and erected, as Stevenson said.

At the Goal of Physical Evolution

Thus, we may admit without alarm as to the possibility of future progress that variations are the indispensable raw material of organic evolution, and yet that man is the least variable of animals—with the all-important qualification that we are speaking of physical variation only. There is no need for physical variability, so to say, for there is no further goal in particular that we want the body of man to reach. So far as physical evolution is concerned, the goal has been attained with the erect attitude. There doubtless will be a certain lightening of the ship, casting overboard the superfluities, but that is all.

It is worth noting, perhaps, as not entirely irrelevant to the question of progress under its æsthetic aspect, that the superfluities to which I have referred do not necessarily include everything that is without immediate utility. No biologist could assent for a moment to the monstrous pictures that have been drawn of the man of the future, without hair or teeth or nails, only with difficulty supporting his enormous head upon his puny trunk and limbs. Let him who would entertain such a notion, and declare that here as elsewhere progress is only another name for the supersession of the beautiful, turn to Darwin's "Descent of Man," and there learn how the particular form of natural selection, which he called sexual selection, has endowed even beauty as such with survival value. It is sexual selection that has encouraged and developed physical beauty, both for its own sake and indirectly because of the correlation between grace and ease, between beauty of movement and efficiency of movement. Now, to suppose that the future evolution of man will involve the total destruction of everything that we call beauty is, in the first place, to ignore the possibility of changes in the canon of beauty, and, in the second place, to suppose, against Darwin and the facts, that beauty is without survival value. On the contrary, few will doubt that the skin-deep variety of beauty in women has, in the past, like claws and tearing teeth, been possessed of too great survival value.

Darwin's "Descent of Man"

This will shrink, it is now shrinking, to more reasonable proportions. "The saying that beauty is but skin-deep is but a skin-deep saying," remarked Spencer somewhere. We know well that facial beauty, at any rate, may be the direct outcome of beauty of mind or character. We have only to read Darwin's "Expression of the Emotions" to see that this is and must be so. That consideration is my answer to the critic who may reply to my argument regarding sexual selection, that on my own assumptions sexual selection must surely be transferred to the psychical from the physical plane, and that, since men and women will no longer choose each other for characters of body, but for characters of character, physical beauty and all structures which are now without any other value will become decadent. The argument may be admitted in part, but with the comment that all the beauty which is not skin-deep will persist and increase under the new conditions in consequence of the increasing survival value of those psychical characters of which it is the expression.

Will Physical Beauty Become Decadent?

I may not depart so far from my proper subject as to inquire whether, for instance, front teeth will persist, on account of their æsthetic value, in smiling, whilst back teeth, having no æsthetic value, and having lost, as nails have already lost, their original function, will disappear. But at least this digression will serve to modify the first conception which we form of physical superfluity, and also to complete the assertion that in the future history of man physical selection would seem to be of little moment, except, perhaps, as Dr. Archdall Reid would insist, in respect of evolution against disease by the natural selection of the least susceptible. Physical selection will be of little moment, I say;

but more, even now it is scarcely occurring as compared with the past. In our present epoch man seems to have lost most of the variability upon which the possibility of selection depends. Having attained his goal, he can practically dispense with physical selection, and, in point of fact, physical selection has been superseded in the main by something else.

We may grant as much as we please that man is the least variable of animals physically. For all we know or care, as students of society, that is true enough; but beyond a doubt he is the most variable psychically. We may question this when we see the sheep-like behaviour of a crowd. But I am not now talking of man as moulded by social life and imitation; I am writing, not of psychical acquirements but of psychical variations, and for them we must go to the nursery. That is where we will find character; that is where we will find individuality that is inborn, and being inborn is transmissible. There, certainly, we will be content to believe—what, indeed, I think no one will question—that man is psychically the most variable of animals.

Individuality the Goal of Progress

We may put it this way, then, that what in man we call individuality is the psychical analogue of physical variation in the lower animals. At bottom individuality is inborn, as the nursery demonstrates against the market-place, and, being inborn, it is transmissible. Just, then, as the natural selection of physical variations has been the factor of organic evolution, so the natural selection of psychical variations, expressed in man as personality, may be submitted to be the factor of psychical evolution. Individuality is thus at once the goal of progress and its instrument.

Now, before we devote ourselves to this proposition, with all that it involves, let us clear the way by contemplating a new fact which emerges with man, or, to be more accurate, with *homo sapiens*, with man the speaker, and immeasurably more so with man the writer. I have already asserted that organic evolution has proceeded without any aid from that transmission of acquired characters in which Lamarck and Spencer, and even Darwin himself to some extent, believed. We seem nowadays to be compelled to credit the Darwinian principle of natural selection, or survival of the fittest, as bearing the whole burden of organic change upon its shoulders, the fundamental fact of inborn variation being taken for granted. Now, this natural selection is a terribly slow process so far as substantial results are concerned, and this even in the most favourable circumstances for its operation. Even to-day,

Nature Never in a Hurry

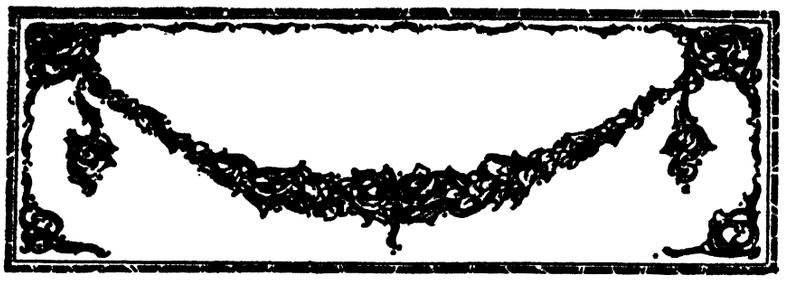
when we read of the work of Mendel and De Vries and Bateson, who rather qualify Darwin's adherence to the principle that Nature does nothing by leaps—even to-day we have to recognise organic evolution as an exceedingly slow process. But suppose we had been able to watch its course from a great distance, we should have contemplated slow, æonian change, involving, together with degeneration and stagnation, slow æonian advance, until at last there appeared an erected mammal who learnt to communicate with his fellows by speech.

The process, so far, has occupied, we seem compelled to believe, scores at least—hundreds possibly—of millions of years; further ages elapse between the men who made the eoliths and the beginnings of recorded history, and then, in what is relatively scarcely more than the twinkling of an eye, such a long-lived observer would recognise the achievement of the amazing thing which we call civilisation. It is man, the historian or recorder, who has made human history possible. It is man, the historian, who has made possible what history now records. No historian—i.e., no recording—no history. Thus, in a new sense, the historians have made history. By his trick of recording his speech, man has succeeded, in a sense, in achieving that transmission of psychical acquirements which is otherwise impossible.

Nevertheless, however fully we recognise this, the importance of individuality remains. The acquirements which have been thus transmitted to us by a

If Natural Selection were to Cease

sort of heredity acting outside the germ-plasm were the deeds of individuals. As Mill says: "Nothing was ever yet done which someone was not the first to do." Yet, further, if the process of natural selection were to cease, we can readily understand how there would eventually be produced a race which cared for none of these things, and so the idea of Aristotle would be realised, and all that had been accomplished would be lost.



NATURE AND MAN

THE SOCIAL RESULTS OF NATURAL SELECTION

WE must not allow ourselves to lose hold of the valid distinction that still remains between an acquirement and a variation. Natural selection, as we have observed, has no means of distinguishing between the inborn and the acquired, the transmissible and the non-transmissible. If the acquirement makes for life, it will prosper just as much as if it had been an inborn character. Except in the case of the products of genius or talent, such prosperity, however, is of little value to the future, because the acquirement on which it was based is not transmissible. From the point of view of natural selection, then, it is the variations, the inborn characters, the transmissible characters, that we desire to see made the most of.

The Theory of Organic Evolution

So far as the theory of organic evolution will carry us, it seems to me absolutely plain that we must condemn anything that tends towards the suppression of individuality or psychical variation, and therefore towards the obliteration of its natural function, which is to provide material for natural selection. Anything that interferes with the natural selection of variations seems to me to interfere with the essential factor of all progress; anything that resulted in the practical suppression of individuality would put a stop to progress for ever. This remains true even if you choose to ignore the theory of natural selection, or, with Huxley, to deny that it is applicable to human society. Let us now observe how this bears on certain of our questions. In the first place, it bears profoundly upon the theory of education, which I like to define as the provision of an environment. Since we are aiming at individuality, whether as an end in itself—which it is—or as affording material for natural selection, or as the means by which the race makes its acquirements, and since psychical variation is, in fact, so great that no two children are quite identical, and since for each child you can provide only one environment that will most completely educe all its most worthy potentialities, it follows that the ideal of uniformity in education is quite the worst that can be conceived. This applies not only within the sexes but as between the sexes, and is, moreover, relevant to the current question of co-education.

Education the Provision of an Environment

If biology teaches us anything at all, it is that sexual differentiation has been an instrument of progress, and it is incredible that progress can be served by any attempts to minimise or abolish this. I do not believe that co-education constitutes such an attempt, but I do say that we ought to recognise what we want to obtain.

Then, again, this view, that the realisation of the potentialities in all psychical variation, except in so far as they may be anti-social, is the object of education, suggests that the home environment rather than the school environment will serve our purpose best. Since the boy tends to be a chip of the old block, the environment which his parents have created, and of which, indeed, they are the most important part, will be, on the average, the most suitable for him. This is one more argument for the home, which has all the arguments for it, and against it none. Unfortunately, there is no present space for going further into this matter of the principles of education as they are taught us by biology. At least, however, we find new warrant, if it were needed, for rejecting the principle of uniformity, which, I suppose, we all reject in principle, yet very nearly all of us accept in practice, if not for our own children, at any rate for other people's children.

Helpful Environment of the Home

Secondly, all these foregoing considerations must lead us to regard, even with more detestation than formerly, our infant mortality. In the present stage of progress,

with so little done and so much to do, we have every reason for making the most of the selective opportunities afforded by the birth-rate. The enormous slaughter of children, amounting in practice to a virtual reduction of our birth-rate by more than one-half, would at least serve the selective purpose if the children slain were, as has been asserted, the least fit. But every doctor knows that this is pure myth. It is not a question whether the child is less or more inherently fit, but whether the mother gives it her own breast or a feeding-bottle with a long tube. The weakliest child, nursed by its mother, will probably survive, and the strongest, if poisoned long enough, will certainly die. If we are to have a birth-rate as high as ours is, at least let us make the most of it. At present we slay quite blindly.

Thirdly, we find amongst those practices of ours which interfere with natural selection all such as prejudice the fairness of the start; and with the best desire in the world one finds it impossible to meet the argument of Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace that the inheritance of property is incompatible with the principle of selection in that it makes the start unfair. To accept this conclusion of Mr. Wallace's is not merely to part company with Spencer, the great exponent of the principles which I am trying to lay before the reader, but it is to run counter to almost universal practice. Therefore, if I saw any possible means whereby the inheritance of property could be reconciled with principles which, so far as I can see, are indefeasible, I would gladly welcome it.

Problem of Inherited Wealth

Another reason for welcoming such an escape is that, if you are going to abolish the inheritance of wealth, you are faced with the problem of dealing with that wealth, and at this point the collectivist comes up to you with open arms. And so, with many apologies, I must leave this point, which it would, perhaps, have been more politic to ignore. That, however, was really impossible. If it be true that throughout the ages organic advance has been effected by the choice of inherent fitness as against inherent unfitness, then it seems absolutely impossible to deny that that advance is interfered with by anything which makes it possible that inherent unfitness shall be given a practical advantage over inherent fitness. And now we must approach a larger question still. I suppose the word individualism is still associated in many minds with the extreme political doctrines of Herbert Spencer or Mr. Auberon Herbert—opinions which there is really no one to uphold to-day. But, after all, there may still be a use for the word, even though it should designate nothing so extreme. We must have some word to express the doctrine which is opposed to the modern forms of Socialism or collectivism. Let us suppose for a moment, then, that we accept a definition of progress in terms of machinery, and achieve our end. We obtain complete social efficiency and internal order.

Progress in Terms of Machinery

If we are fortunate we shall have a society or social machine as perfect as the beehive. We shall doubtless require to follow the bees' example, and distinguish between the workers and the breeders. I am informed that the Japanese are trying experiments in that direction now. We shall completely realise the idea of the social organism—its parts nicely balanced, the whole practically self-regulating, no disorder, perfect discipline, life, regarded as a series of physico-chemical reactions, perfectly achieved. Now you have to reckon with two facts.

The first is that you have barred the onward road. How much room do you think there is for variation in the beehive? There, any variation is, as such, a monstrosity. But if no kind of individuality, nothing new or original, is to be permitted, since, of course, it would interfere with the balance of your machine, our first principles make it quite evident that you never go any farther. "Genius," which is an extreme variation, "can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedom," said John Stuart Mill; and John Milton has the same idea when he speaks of "Liberty, which is ever the nurse of great wits." But, well and good, the collectivist may reply; there is no farther to go. Do you not see that when we have perfected this machine, with a place for everyone, and everyone in his place, progress will have reached its goal? If this machine is so constructed that it will run indefinitely, like the societies of the social bees, what more do you want? Perfection has been realised and arrangements for its perpetuation completed with it. The answer is that the reason why we desire to see some possibility of change,

After Perfection—What?

which may mean progress, in such a society is that nothing further from our ideal can possibly be conceived. For what is our ideal? The goal of progress, we declared, is the realisation of the utmost for the conscious life of the individual: the products of progress are not mechanisms but men. We will welcome any machine that makes for that, but we have no interest in any machine that does not; we are not mechanics. Here, in the admirable words of Professor Höffding, is the ideal of progress, including, of course, social progress:

The Ideal of Progress

> If the single individual, in developing itself in its own peculiar way, gives the best possible contribution to the whole life of society, and if, on the other hand, society is organised in such a manner that a free and full development is possible for all individuals, then we are approaching to the ethical ideal.

And again in his "Philosophy of Religion," he says:

> The ideal is a kingdom of personalities, in which each individual unfolds his personality in such a manner that in this very act he helps others to unfold their own.

We may remember Herbert Spencer's discussion of what he called the social organism, and of how the analogy between a society and an organism may be worked out; you will remember also that at the last point it breaks down, thus demonstrating, Mr. Kidd tells us, its weakness. But to my mind the point at which the analogy breaks down, and the fact that it does so break down, is just what gives it its value. In a society "the living units do not, and cannot, lose individual consciousness, since the community, as a whole, has no corporate consciousness."

This is the condemnation of the beehive, or the collective state. We have chained the individual in order to make a good machine—and we have got it. Now, in the case of the individual cells of my body, that is worth while, because somehow there realises itself in this machine a mode of consciousness higher than that which any of the individual cells of my body could display. But in our social machine, with our system of standardisation and an endless supply of "spare parts," like the motor-car makers, what have we achieved? Nothing but the machine—nothing more interesting and valuable than the human body would be if it were simply a walking *automaton*.

The Social Machine and its Value

That is not progress, but its absolute stultification. The society that follows this path will run into its miserable little *cul de sac* as the bees have done.

The bee, as we have seen, is an insect of far older genealogy than any vertebrate, let alone man. Well, we may run our human society off the main rails in this fashion, and let it play with itself at the top of a siding, and if it waits long enough there will be evolved from the races which keep to the open road a society of the future as superior to our piece of machinery as we are to the bees; and, just as we use the bees' honey, so that society of the future will use our collective machine to turn out whatever it has a use for. But it will doubtless be a good machine.

If this is not to be our sorry end, we have no choice but to recognise and even improve upon Nature's method of rewarding capacity. "Never, no never, did Nature say one thing and Wisdom say another." "Nature is to be commanded only by obeying her," says one writer. "The law," says Spencer, "that each creature shall take the benefits and the evils of its own nature has been the law under which life has evolved thus far. Any arrangements which, in a considerable degree, prevent superiority from profiting by the rewards of superiority, or shield inferiority from the evils it entails, any arrangements which tend to make it as well to be inferior as to be superior are arrangements diametrically opposed to the progress of organisation and the reaching of a higher life." I have suggested that we can improve upon Nature, and so undoubtedly we can. We can reconcile cosmic with ethical evolution by extending to the unfit all our sympathy, but forbidding them parenthood, a solution of Huxley's dilemma so simple and obvious that one reads his famous lecture on "Evolution and Ethics" with ever-increasing astonishment at the difficulties he has made for himself. Should the reader be scandalised let him remember that already wise societies provide for the permanent care of the feeble-minded, at once giving them love, and averting misery and disaster from the future, reconciling Nature and love.

Improving Upon Nature

Yet, again, if once we realise that worth of any kind is always worth something to others than its possessor, we may provide for the survival of those whose worth

does not directly make for life, and for whom sub-human nature would find no room; for whom, alas, society itself has too often found no room—for a Mozart and a Keats, and for all who can create anything that serves the psychical life of man. But, at all costs, we must do what Nature has done: wherever there is a scrap of anything new it must have a hearing. Only so can we achieve the true and good. If it be not the real thing it will come to naught; "but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." You must have freedom of thought for progress—that is to say, you must allow psychical variation to express itself.

If, then, we look to no machinery for our salvation, but to the potentialities of human nature itself, and if we agree that human nature is a thing which is displayed in individuals, let us focus in the individual our hope for the future, or if in such things as laws, only in them because they may make for progress through the individual. "The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul." We have agreed already that the future evolution of man the individual, which is the necessary condition of progress, is to be psychical and not physical. It is this that Sir Francis Galton has recognised in his prosecution of the science which he calls eugenics, the science which promises to realise Huxley's suggestion that some day theoretical biology would become useful, just as physics and chemistry are. The aim of eugenics, says Sir Francis, is "to bring as many influences as can be reasonably employed to cause the useful classes in the community to contribute more than their proportion to the next generation." "This science," he says, "co-operates with the workings of Nature by securing that humanity shall be represented by the fittest races. What Nature does blindly, slowly and ruthlessly, man may do providently, quickly and kindly."

The Workings of Man and Nature

This whole conception has been criticised in anticipation by Huxley in the lecture to which I have already referred. He says, we may remember:

> There is another fallacy which appears to me to pervade the so-called ethics of evolution. It is the notion that, because, on the whole, animals and plants have advanced in perfection of organisation by means of the struggle for existence and the consequent "survival of the fittest"; therefore men in society, men as ethical beings, must look to the same process to help them towards perfection. I suspect that this fallacy has arisen out of the unfortunate ambiguity of the phrase "survival of the fittest." "Fittest" has a connotation of the "best"; and about "best" there hangs a moral flavour. In cosmic nature, however, what is "fittest" depends upon the conditions.

The answer to that, I take it, is simply that eugenics propose to establish such conditions, social, sentimental, legal, whatever are necessary, that the best shall be the fittest, and the fittest the best. Of course, Sir Francis Galton is no pioneer, for Plato set the same object before him more than two thousand years ago; but he is the pioneer of this great idea in the age of science. A word invented by him, *stirpiculture*, is now familiar, especially in America; but later he substituted for it another term, *eugenics*, which literally means good breeding. In brief, he maintains that, as his cousin Charles Darwin proved, man is the product of eugenics; and therefore that in eugenics must now be recognised the essential factor of progress, not in legal enactments, nor in mechanical discovery, but in the extension and facilitation of the process which has already brought us thus far—the process which made man man.

Man the Product of Eugenics

In his own writings, and in his choice of a title for his proposals, Galton has laid stress almost exclusively upon what, for myself, I prefer to call the positive aspect of eugenics, the selection, by means later to be considered, of the best members of the community to do more than "their share" in the infinitely responsible task of continuing the species. But in a short paper which I published in 1904 I ventured to employ the terms "positive eugenics" and "negative eugenics," thus including both the encouragement of the propagation of the best and the discouragement of the propagation of the worst. Sir Francis Galton approved highly of that little paper, and the terms which it instructed are now generally accepted. Indeed, the controversy between those who insist upon the exclusive importance of either aspect of eugenics as against the other seems to me to be without a logical basis. Some say that the method of Nature is to choose the best for reproductive purposes; others, that the method is simply

Nature's Method in Reproduction

to destroy the worst. By some the latter method is declared incapable of achieving progress, and capable merely of preventing retrogression; by others, the former method is characterised as utterly impracticable. But, candidly, I cannot see that there is any real basis for controversy. Surely our terms are relative. Surely the elimination of the worse necessarily implies the selection of the better; surely the encouragement of the better implies the relative discouragement of the worse. Complete encouragement of the better and complete discouragement of the worse would surely be identical in result. I hold, therefore, that this claiming of Nature as being definitely in favour of the one side or the other is a mere confusion of thought.

Factors in Race Extinction

In answer to those who assert that natural selection is entirely in abeyance in human society, let us observe that both the negative and positive factors of eugenics are already in operation, and will doubtless continue to operate amongst us as throughout the past ages. The relative unfitness which is implied by disease obviously tends to its own extinction, since disease shortens life and in other ways lessens fertility. Mental inferiority also tends towards extinction, since it certainly lessens the chances of marriage. Even moral inferiority, though with many and salient exceptions, tends towards extinction, since imprisonment and other forms of punishment interfere with the possibility of fertility.

Since I insist elsewhere upon the principle of the worth of individuality, it is hardly necessary to reply to the critics who expend themselves against propositions of their own imagining, such as "Sir Francis Galton desires to create a dull uniformity of type"; as if this great student of heredity did not know the value of variation. Allusion has already been made to our obvious duty in respect of the hopelessly unfit, such as the insane. It can scarcely be doubted that one feature which distinguishes our present civilisation from all past civilisations is our attitude, not consciously but effectively, in looking with favour upon the reproduction of such persons. It is probably to be questioned whether such reproduction has ever occurred in time past to a degree sufficient to be of any great historical moment. It is another question whether the historian of the future would make the same statement of to-day.

Our Duty to the Unfit

If now we turn away from the definitely unfit and look more at the positive aspects of eugenics, we shall do well to recall what has already been said at length regarding the antagonism between individuation and genesis. The truth that the higher the individual type the less is its fecundity is illustrated not only throughout the whole organic world, but also in human society, and it is impossible to doubt that it has played an enormous part in history.

"Society," as the writer has said elsewhere, "is an organism that reproduces itself from below. One cannot eat one's cake and have it; cannot write a system of philosophy and successfully bring up a large family. The energy available by any one of us is finite, and if it be expended upon the race it cannot remain for the service of the individual; if expended for the individual it is not available for the race. No eugenic system will alter this fact; but it surely lends added force to the contention that, at any rate, we should do what we can by way of removing any difficulties that may affect the marriage of the worthy. The granting of eugenic certificates for marriage, the development of social opinion in the direction of added respect for the parents of worthy children, the establishment, after the fashion of the Chinese, of a Golden Book wherein will be recounted the names and achievements of worthy families—these and many other measures, some easy, others difficult, some in more or less vigorous action to-day, and others novel, will serve for that encouragement of the best which is as certainly part of Nature's method as the destruction of the hindmost."

The One Qualification for Parentage

This, of course, is not the place for anything more than an allusion to Galton's great ideas. I am tempted, however, to make one comment. I am not quite comfortable in my mind about any kind of exterior device for persuading people to become parents, neither a tax on bachelors, nor a golden book of merit, nor any of Sir Francis's suggestions. Assuming physical and psychical health and adequate means, there seems to me to be just one qualification for parentage that overrides all others, and that is the love of children for their own sweet sake.

TRIUMPH OF THE MIND OF MAN

BY DR. C. W. SALEEBY V

THE FUTURE OF THE HUMAN RACE

SCIENTIFIC VIEWS OF THE WORLD'S DESTINY

IF, then, it be in terms of individual worth, in terms of the value of the individual life, the self-conscious life, that progress is to be measured, what limits may we set to its course? It seems to me that there are no limits discernible. I love to turn over in my mind Spencer's remark that what is possible for human nature here and there is possible for human nature at large. This is the promise of the deathless dead. A Newton shows what is possible for the intellect of man; a Buddha or Socrates or St. Francis what is possible for his soul; a Shakespeare and a Beethoven what is possible for his artistic capacity. "The best is yet to be."

Surely it is no longer possible for us to accept the doctrine of organic evolution, yet fail to see its magnificent implication that man is not a finished product, but is in climax. To do so, as has well been said, would be to commit the folly of the man who sets forth to tell a good story, but leaves out the point. The truth is that we get from science not only a promise, but also the means by which that promise may be made good at no late date. The writer has failed utterly in his endeavour if he has not persuaded the reader to protest with him against the common opinion, very forcibly expressed by a great thinker, only just departed, in one of his greatest works.

Man Yet in the Making

In the prelude to "The Egoist," Mr. George Meredith says of our request for aid from the doctrine of evolution: "We were the same, and animals into the bargain. That is all we got from science. Our disease was hanging on to us again with the extension of a tail. . . . We have little to learn from apes, and they may be left." Another noble-minded thinker, John Ruskin, compared Darwin to "some dim comet, wagging its tail of phosphorescent nothing against the steadfast stars." We have seen also that Carlyle, whom Ruskin well describes as "the greatest historian since Tacitus," despised the teachings of modern biology, even though he had independently reached its salient conclusions himself. Amongst the distinguished figures of the nineteenth century who denied that biology had any lessons for man were Carlyle, Ruskin, Gladstone, Salisbury, Disraeli, Manning and Newman. For names of equal weight on the other side we have only Tennyson and Emerson. But it is high time that even amongst that great majority who are not directly concerned with biology, and the greatest of whom in recent times we have just named, there should be realised the truth foreshadowed by Huxley that the science of life would one day be as useful to living man as, let us say, the science of electricity, and ineffably more so.

Lessons of Biology Denied

Assuredly "the best is yet to be," but there is no student of natural science who would not demur if I were to make another quotation from the great optimist who wrote those words, and declare that "man has for ever."

He said: "What's time? Leave now for dogs and apes!
Man has For ever!"

It is not that we fear the coming of the year 2000, like our ancestors, who thought that the year 1000 would usher in the end of the world, nor is it that we fear to be brushed off the earth by the tail of some chance comet, not yet need we expect to be drowned in the rising sea of carbonic acid gradually accumulating in the atmosphere and driving our descendants to the mountains, higher than which they cannot go. Superstitions and speculations like these are not seriously to be regarded. Much graver, though infinitely remote and dubious, is the suggestion seriously countenanced by no less an authority than Professor Simon Newcomb that in the course of the apparent journey of the solar system towards Vega, or at the end of it,

Possible End of the World

we may encounter some star, perhaps some dark star which the astronomers cannot see, but the disturbing gravitational influence of which upon the planets they may detect—and that the ensuing collision, by no means an unprecedented occurrence in the stellar world, may teach us "what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue," and slay us in the teaching. This, however, is possible, but not inevitable. The sun, for instance, may have an orbit and may not reach Vega or any other star. There remains, however, an end apparently inevitable.

The Threat of the Physicists

For there hangs over us the threat of the physicists. If I ask the physicists whether, in their sinister predictions, they have reckoned with mind, some of them may answer that they have not reckoned with mind because mind needs not to be reckoned with. It is, they say, quoting Maudsley and Huxley, an "epiphenomenon," or by-product of cerebral chemistry, the impotent but interested spectator of a drama in which its own destinies are decided.

This was the view of Huxley; yet in the very essay in which he denies that man can ever arrest the procession of the great year, he tells us that there lies within man "a fund of energy, operating intelligently, and so far akin to that which pervades the universe, that it is competent to influence and modify the cosmic process." The physicists cannot dispose of mind in their predictions on the ground of its impotence, and so much the worse for the epiphenomenal theory of mind. More acceptable to the psychologists of the present day is the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism, which we commonly associate with the name of Wundt, of Leipsic. According to this, mind and matter—or shall we say the physics of the brain and the psychics of the mind?—proceed in two parallel lines, the psychical never being able to influence the physical, nor the physical the psychical. This is plausible teaching, and it comes to us with the authority of great thinkers, but it is difficult to reconcile with admitted facts. It must seriously be asked whether the doctrine of Wundt, now current, is compatible with the known facts of the spiritual history of mankind, or with each man's consciousness of purpose and volition within himself, or even with the manufacture of a thimble. Materialists, idealists, or whatever we be, we know, as an inalienable first-hand fact, that purpose and the effecting of purpose do verily exist, if not in the world around us, at any rate in ourselves. Hence, I will venture to declare that there are no schools of philosophy, however mutually hostile, which can bring the philosophical argument, at any rate, against my view that in forecasting the future of the evolutionary process as we may observe it in the external world, or in what passes for us as the external world, the human intelligence has hitherto failed to reckon with itself.

Teaching of Great Thinkers

Man has a good deal to learn, you will say, before he can remould this "scheme of things entire" as he would please, and meanwhile the sun grows cold. But the latest developments of physics tell us that even if the sun is already beginning to grow cold, the process will take far longer than used to be thought. The estimate of Helmholtz, based upon the assumption that the solar energy is due to gravitation alone, is undergoing profound modification, and instead of three, five, or seven million years to go, we hear talk of a minimum of thirty millions. Also we are finding a source of heat in radium in the earth's crust which is not self-cooling, but self-heating. The sun and the earth, we are beginning to suspect, are not old, but young. As for man, it is but a brief period that comprises his whole history, and he is self-conscious already. If this past be compared with the future promised him, even apart from any extension by his intelligence, man is not merely not yet adult, he has scarcely begun to be at all.

The Doubtful Future

Once we cease to accept the law of the dissipation of energy, we are face to face with the possibility that the human mind is not threatened with necessary extinction. If our own race alone can produce a Newton, a Darwin, a Kelvin already, and if much of their work—though not, we now suspect, the theory of the dissipation of energy—remains, who will venture to say what we shall achieve when we begin to grow up? I take it that "What's past is prologue," and that, for the future.

Our Friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

C. W. SALEEBY

HOPE

One star, one string, and all the rest
  Darkness and everlasting space,
Save that she shelters in her breast
  The travail of the race.

Borne thro the cold and soundless deep,
  With ruin riding down the air,
She bows, too heavenly to weep,
  Too human to despair.

And ever on her lonely string
  Expects the music from above,
Some faint confirming whispering
  Of fatherhood and love.

One star, one string, and thro' the drift
  Of æons sad with human cries
She waits the hand of God to lift
  The bandage from her eyes.

HAROLD BEGBIE

From the painting by George Frederick Watts, R.A., photographed by Hollyer.

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THE END OF THE WORLD

THE THOUGHT OF MASTER MINDS ON THE FINAL DESTINY OF THE HUMAN RACE

By Harold Begbie

THE PROBLEM OF LIFE BEYOND THE GRAVE

Even as, heavy-curled,
Stooping against the wind, a charioteer
Is snatched from out his chariot by the hair
So shall Time be ; and as the void car, hurled
Abroad by reinless steeds, even so the world :
Yea, even as chariot dust upon the air,
It shall be sought, and not found anywhere.
ROSSETTI

Though earth and man were gone,
And suns and universes ceased to be ;
And Thou were left alone,
Every existence would exist in Thee.
EMILY BRONTË

"In the year 626 of our era," says Emerson, "when Edwin, the Anglo-Saxon king, was deliberating on receiving the Christian missionaries, one of his nobles said to him, 'The present life of man, O King, compared with that space of time beyond, of which we have no certainty, reminds me of one of your winter feasts, where you sit with your generals and ministers. The hearth blazes in the middle and a grateful heat is spread around, while storms of rain and snow are raging without. Driven by the chilling tempest, a little sparrow enters at one door and flies delighted around us till it departs through the other. Whilst it stays in our mansion it feels not the winter storm ; but when this short moment of happiness has been enjoyed, it is forced again into the same dreary tempest from which it had escaped, and we behold it no more. Such is the life of man, and we are as ignorant of the state which preceded our present existence as of that which will follow it. Things being so, I feel that if this new faith can give us more certainty, it deserves to be received.'"

The Dark and Doubtful Future

But what was before us, we know not,
And we know not what shall succeed.

In spite of centuries of religion, in spite of centuries of science, in spite of immemorial and increasing rhetoric, man knows nothing of the great central mystery of existence—its origin, its purpose, and its end. Theology can produce no document of immortality, and Science can formulate no explanation of life. We are still in the sad case of that sparrow of the year 626 of our era, now, undoubtedly dead ; we are still surrounded by a great darkness that does not lift ; and in spite of Sir Thomas Browne's gallant gospel—"For the World, I count it not an Inn, but an Hospital ; and a place not to live, but to die in"—the vast majority of the human race consider this life as a warm and cheerful hearth at which they warm themselves for a little, with the door of birth open to one darkness and the door of death open to another.

What Follows Death?

What is beyond ?

As we warm our hands at the blaze, as we draw our chairs nearer to the human hearth, from which so many that we once knew have departed and to which so many more of whom we know nothing are approaching, we ask ourselves more and more the question which no man has yet answered with certainty : What is beyond?

Many rebuke us for these anxious glancings towards the dark door where the storm rages and the darkness abides. Solomon and Epicurus and Omar Khayyam have each their good reason why we should keep our faces to the fire, the cup to our lips, and our ear to the song :

Come, fill the cup, and in the fire of spring
Your winter garment of repentance fling :
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter, and the Bird is on the wing.

Emerson, too, that high and lofty soul, has his own reproach for us: "You shall not say, 'O my bishop, O my pastor, is there any resurrection? What do you think? Did Dr. Channing believe that we should know each other? Did Wesley? Did Butler? Did Fenelon?' What questions are these? Go read Milton, Shakespeare, or any truly ideal poet. Read Plato, or any seer of the interior realities. Read St. Augustine, Swedenborg, Immanuel Kant. Let any master simply recite to you the substantial laws of the intellect, and in the presence of the laws themselves you will never ask such primary-school questions."

The Soul's Eternal Question

But in despite of these differing rebukes the soul of man still asks: What is beyond? And not on all the congregated inspiration of Milton, Shakespeare, Plato, Augustine, Swedenborg, Kant and Emerson can he rest his soul and feel secure with certainty.

"The human mind," says Pasteur, "actuated by an invincible force, will never cease to ask itself: What is beyond? It is of no use to answer: Beyond is limitless space, limitless time, or limitless grandeur; no one understands those words." The question is not in rhetoric, but in the simple longings of the human heart. When I close the eyes of my child, when I fold her hands, and when, shut down in darkness, the little body so dear to me is borne out of the house she made like heaven, and lowered into the silence and ruin of the tomb—is *that* the end? I want to know that. I want to know: Is she as if she had never been? I do not want limitless space, limitless time, limitless grandeur; I only want to know if *somewhere* and in *some state* the soul of my child is conscious and still sensitive to my love. Victor Hugo, who leaned upon the cold stone of death and cried to his child: "Feelest thou that I am there?" uttered his lamentation and his surrender to God in these words:

Man's Quest After Certainty

Je sais que vous avez bien autre chose à faire
Que de nous plaindre tous,
Et qu'un enfant qui meurt, désespoir de sa mére,
Ne vous fait rien, à vous.

Je sais que le fruit tombe au vent qui le secoue,
Que l'oiseau perd sa plume et la fleur son parfum;
Que la création est une grande roue
Qui ne peut se mouvoir sans écraser quelqu'un.

"I know that You have many other things to do than pitying us, and that the child who dies and breaks his mother's heart makes no difference to You. I know that the fruit falls in the wind that shakes it, that the bird loses its plumage, and the flower its scent; that creation is a great wheel which cannot move without crushing someone."

This is the attitude of the contemporary mind. The vastness of God is acknowledged, the insignificance of man is admitted, the terrible silence and cold-bloodedness of natural law is accepted; but human love still ventures to ask the Infinite whether perhaps He has no use for it. Victor Hugo said that when he threw angry cries at God he was like a child who throws a stone at the sea; and he bowed and said: "Humble as a child and soft as a woman, I come to adore You."

It was apprehension of the Infinite that bowed the god-like soul of Victor Hugo; it is the suspicion of the Infinite that keeps the ordinary man reverent and obedient to his conscience. "He who proclaims the existence of the Infinite—and none can avoid it—accumulates in that affirmation more of the supernatural than is to be found in all the miracles of all the religions; for the notion of the Infinite presents that double character that it forces itself upon us and yet is incomprehensible. When this notion seizes upon our understanding, we can but kneel . . . I see everywhere the inevitable expression of the Infinite in the world; through it the supernatural is at the bottom of every heart. The idea of God is a form of the Idea of the Infinite. As long as the mystery of the Infinite weighs on human thought, temples will be erected for the worship of the Infinite, whether God is called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah or Jesus; and on the pavement of those temples men will be seen kneeling, prostrated, annihilated in the thought of the Infinite."

Mystery of the Infinite

Thus Pasteur, who studied the Infinite, not through a telescope, but through a microscope; who knew, not the infinitely great, but the infinitely little, and saw marvel, miracle, and annihilating infinity in the invisible kingdom of bacteriæ.

There are men of science who tell us that the unconquerable hope is vain, that the inviolable shade is a mirage. Pasteur is dead; he believed with Victor Hugo that the tomb which shuts out the earth opens the firmament, and that this which we take to be the end is the beginning;

but he produced no proof, and he has not come back to tell us of the beyond. Another occupies his chair at the great Institute in Paris; and this man, Metchnikoff, tells us that "a man is as old as his arteries," that we only desire immortality because our manner of living abridges the natural term of life by some sixty or seventy years; and that if by right living we reached a hundred and fifty human years —mortality's natural span—we should have no desire at all for immortality, only a tired leaning towards eternal sleep.

There are also men of science who look away from the individual end of the world—the death of a man—and, speculating on the cosmical end of the world, lose all sense of personal identity, and show us the destruction of the planet on which we live and kneel and bury our dead as an event of trivial significance, if significant at all, to the rest of the universe. We have traced in these volumes the history of the world. From the beginning of things to the present day we have followed the march of humanity from barbarism to civilisation. Such an undertaking, never attempted before, staggers the mind and fills one with an awful sense of vastness and despair. We have seen peoples rise and fall like the waves of the sea, mighty empires and historic dynasties go out like candles, age-long religions expire like last season's popular novel, philosophies, customs, morals, manners and laws that seemed eternal change with climate and with race, and lose all likeness to their origins; nay, we have seen that before recorded history began uncountable centuries stretched behind—æons in which continents of which we know nothing bore under the stars the palaces and temples of civilisations which were blotted out, and left not a rack behind, and when the present configuration of our planet was a little dust at the bottom of the ocean.

Secrets of the Dim and Distant Past

But even as human history is only as a day to the history of a blade of grass, so is the total history of our earth but as the trembling of an eyelid to the history of the universe in which it swims.

The birth of our planet was a trivial and late event in the history of the universe; its destruction would be to the rest of the universe only like the falling of a child's kite which for a few moments hung in the blue air of a summer day.

And again, the total history of that whole swarm of worlds which we call the universe, to the eternity which saw its birth, and which, according to some, is quite indifferent to its death, is like the splutter of a catherine wheel. "We must admit," says Sir Oliver Lodge, in "Man and the Universe," "that science knows nothing of ultimate origins. Which first — the hen or the egg? is a trivial form of a very real puzzle. That the world in the sense of this planet, this homely lump of matter we call the earth—that this had an origin, a history, a past, intelligible more or less, growingly intelligible to the eye of science, is true enough. The date when it was molten may be roughly estimated. The manner and the mechanism of the birth of the moon has been guessed: the earth and moon, then, *originated* in one sense; before that they were part of a nebula, like the rest of the solar system; and some day the solar system may again be part of a nebula, in consequence of collision with some at present tremendously distant mass. But all that is nothing to the universe; nothing even to the visible universe. The collisions there take place every now and then before our eyes.

Where Science is Ignorant

"The universe is full of lumps of matter of every imaginable size: the history of a solar system may be written—its birth and also its death, separated perhaps by millions and millions of years; but what of that? It is but an episode, a moment in the eternal cosmogony, and the eye of history looks to what happened before the birth and after the death of any particular aggregate; just as a child may trace the origin and the destruction of a soap-bubble, the form of which is evanescent, the material of which is permanent. While the soap-bubble lived it was the scene of much beauty, and of a kind of law and order impossible to the mere water and soap out of which it was made, and into which again it has collapsed. The history of the soap-bubble can be written, but there is a before and an after. So it is with the solar system; so with any assigned collocation of matter in the universe. No point in space can be thought of 'at which if a man stand it shall be impossible for him to cast a javelin into the beyond.' Nor can any epoch be conceived in time at which the

History of the Solar System

mind will not instantly and automatically inquire, 'and what before' or 'what after'?" Science is quite emphatic that the end of the world is a definite event of the future. Whatever may be the end of the world in the individual sense, the physical end of the great globe itself is inevitable.

The Earth Moving to Destruction

This misshapen ball, with its atmosphere and clouds, swinging in perfect silence round an immense conflagration which we call the sun, this little star, this planet, this earth, with its varying languages, climates, morals, manners and religions, which, like a moth in the universal ether, flies round the candle of the sun, will, at some awful moment in the womb of time, perish, and be as if it had never been.

Our history of which we are so proud, man's struggle for political liberty, his advance from slavery and ignorance, his conflicts with other nations, his beheadings of tyrannical kings, his French Revolutions, which fill libraries with the documents of their achievements—these things, which have meant nothing to the earth on which they were enacted, are but like the buzzings of flies. They have scratched with a pin the earth's crust during her silent circlings of the sun; they are merely the movements of parasites swarming on the monster that is moving, wholly indifferent to us, to his own destruction. The central, absolute, and dwarfing fact is the destiny of the earth itself, and that destiny is destruction.

How will it end?

Although it is Science that makes us certain of the world's end, long before there was exact science men of the ancient world had foreseen, prophesied, and speculated upon this vast event. We will examine some of these inspirational notions before we proceed to consider the definite predictions of dogmatic Science. The phrase of Sir Oliver Lodge, that the question, Hen or egg—which first? represents a trivial form of a very real problem will suggest to the reader that there is an element of immodesty in attempting to discuss the end of something about whose origin we are ignorant. This is quite true. But man is immodest whenever he opens his mouth to historise yesterday, to prophesy to-morrow, or to dogmatise the present. We do not know which came first, the hen or the egg.

On the Outskirts of the Infinite

We can weigh the stars, measure the heavens, elaborate our thesis of evolution; but we cannot for the life of us tell whether in the beginning an egg hatched the first hen, or a hen laid the first egg. We are, in fact, concerning origins, concerning certainty, as much in the dark as our earliest ancestors.

Therefore at the head of all our inquiries we set the words of the writer of the Book of Job:

> These are but the outskirts of His ways:
> And how small a whisper do we hear of Him!
> But the thunder of His power who can understand?

Standing in the outskirts of the Universal Infinite, knowing that we hear but a faint whisper of His Being, acknowledging that it is utterly beyond our finite understanding to comprehend the fulness of His Power, we may with reverence contemplate the destiny of the apparently self-captained vessel whereon humanity, like a party of excursionists, makes sixty or seventy journeys round the sun, and consider how it will end.

"WHEN THE SEA GIVES UP ITS DEAD"
From the painting by Lord Leighton, P.R.A.

THE END OF THE WORLD

BY HAROLD BEGBIE II

HOW WILL THE WORLD END?

THE VOICE OF LITERATURE AND OF SCIENCE ON THE FINAL CATACLYSM

ONE central fact of all ancient speculations on this head is their apprehension of an everlastingness outside of man and his earth. It is well to bear this in mind.

From the days of the Psalmist, with his cry, "From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God . . . a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night," down to the days when Shakespeare uttered sweetest melancholy in the sonnet beginning—

When I consider everything that grows
Holds in perfection but a little moment,
That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows
Whereon the stars in secret influence comment—

down to our time, when Science has made infinity and existence as absolutely facts of the universe as the transitoriness of the globe on which we speculate—man has *always* been conscious of some Vast surrounding him with majestic incomprehensibility.

Man's Brief Span of Life

Of old hast Thou laid the foundations of the earth,
And the heavens are the work of Thy hands.
They shall perish, but Thou shalt endure;
Yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment:
As a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed:
But Thou art the same,
And Thy years shall have no end.

PSALM cii., 25-27.

Behold, God is great, and we know Him not:
The number of His years is unsearchable.

JOB xxvi., 26.

It would be tedious to multiply instances of this conviction of the human heart. Man from the first has felt that he is like the grass of the field, that the earth and the stars shall perish; but that the Power which called them into existence will continue for ever. We find also in some of those millennial prophecies which distinguish ancient literature the idea of an end to the world in its present form:

Isaiah, who said—

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.—xi., 9.

said likewise—

Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment; and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner, but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished.—li., 6.

Christ himself, in His own unique fashion, prophesied the end of the world.

As [Jesus] sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto Him privately, saying: Tell us . . . what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the end of the world? [The consummation of the age.]

And Jesus answered, and said unto them: Take heed that no man lead you astray. For many shall come in My name, saying, I am the Christ; and shall lead many astray. And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled; for these things must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places. But all these things are the beginning of travail. Then shall they deliver you up unto tribulation, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all the nations for My name's sake. And then shall many stumble, and shall deliver up one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold.

But he that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come.

. . . . .

As the lightning cometh forth from the East, and is seen even unto the West, so shall be the coming of the Son of Man. Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles [vultures] be gathered together.

But immediately after the tribulation of those

days the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken ; and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven ; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory . . .

Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away. But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only. . . . For as in those days which were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the Ark, and they knew not until the flood came, and took them all away ; so shall be the coming of the Son of Man.

ST. MATTHEW, xxiv.

Take heed to yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare, for so shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the earth.

ST. LUKE, xxi., 34.

And so we go on to the Apostles, and find the same prophecy, strengthened by the conviction that upon them the ends of the world were already come.

In the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts, and saying : Where is the promise of His coming ? For, from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. For this they wilfully forget that there were heavens from of old, and an earth compacted out of water and amidst water, by the word of God ; by which means the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished ; but the heavens that now are, and the earth, by the same word have been stored up for fire [stored with fire], being reserved against the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men.

But forget not this one thing, beloved, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning His promise, as some count slackness ; but is long-suffering to usward, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.

But the day of the Lord will come as a thief ; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements [heavenly bodies] shall be dissolved with fervent heat ; and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing, then, that all these things are thus to be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy living and godliness, looking for and earnestly desiring the coming of the day of God, by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat ? But, according to His promise we look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

2 ST. PETER, iii., 5.

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth : for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away, and the sea is no more.—REV. xxi., 1.

Ever since the days of the Apostles men have attempted to prophesy the end of the world, every generation containing some who looked for the Second Coming of Christ.

The end of the world, we learn from Hallam's "The Middle Ages," ought to have occurred, according to Cardinal Nicolas de Cusa, in 1704. He demonstrated his thesis in this manner : The Deluge happened in the thirty-fourth jubilee of fifty years from the Creation (A.M. 1700), and, therefore, the end of the world should properly occur on the thirty-fourth jubilee of the Christian era, or A.D. 1704. The four grace years are added to compensate for the blunder of chronologists respecting the first year of grace.

The most popular dates of modern times for the end of the world, or, what is practically the same thing, the Millennium, are the following: 1757, Swedenborg ; 1836, Johann Albrecht Bengel, Erklärte Offenbarung ; 1843, William Miller of America ; 1866, Dr. John Cumming ; 1881, Mother Shipton.

Preparing for the World's End

It was very generally believed in France and Germany that the end of the world would happen in the 1,000th year after Christ ; and, therefore, much of the land was left uncultivated and a general famine ensued. Happily, it was not agreed whether the 1,000 years should date from the birth or the death of Christ, or the desolation would have been much greater. Many charters begin with these words : "As the world is now drawing to its close." Kings and nobles gave up their state ; Robert of France, son of Hugh Capet, entered the monastery of St. Denis ; and at Limoges princes, nobles, and knights proclaimed "God's truce," and solemnly bound themselves to abstain from feuds, to keep the peace towards each other, and to help the oppressed.

Another hypothesis is this : As one day with God equals 1,000 years (Psalm xc., 4), and God laboured in creation six days, therefore the world is to labour 6,000 years, and then to rest. According to this theory, the end of the world ought to occur in A.M. 6000, or A.D. 1996 (supposing the world to have been created 4,004 years before the birth of Christ).

Turning from foolish speculations, we come to the prophecies of literature concerning the final cataclysm, and see how man (whose immortality is an open question) can occupy his transitory days

with attempts to visualise the final destruction — the strangest diversion, surely, unless, as the Preacher says, God hath set eternity in man's heart.

Few descriptions can vie with the extraordinary rhetoric of Philip James Bailey, in "Festus," a book, unfortunately, so little known that we shall quote his prophecy in full. It is Bailey, by the way, who has the fine lines :

Tremble! Ye dare not believe.
No, cowards! Sooner than believe ye would die;
Die with the black lie flapping on your lips,
Like the soot-flake upon a burning bar.

Here is the picture from "Festus" :

BAILEY'S PICTURE OF THE CATACLYSM

It is earth shall head destruction. She shall end.
The worlds shall wonder why she comes no more
On her accustomed orbit ; and the sun
Miss one of his apostle lights ; the moon,
An orphaned orb, shall seek for earth for aye,
Through time's untrodden depths, and find her not.
No more shall morn, out of the holy east
Stream o'er the amber air her level light ;
Nor evening, with the spectral fingers, draw
Her star-sprent curtain round the head of earth.
Her footsteps never thence again shall grace
Heaven's blue, sublime. Her grave, Death's now at work,
Gaps in space. See tombwards gathering, all
Her kindred stars in long process, night-clad ;
Each lights his funeral brand, and ranks him round.
And one by one shall all yon wandering worlds,
Whether in orbed path they roll, or trail
Gold-tressed, in length inestimable of light,
Their train, returnless from extreme space, lease ;
The sun, bright keystone of Heaven's world-built arch,
Be left in burning solitude ; the stars
As dewdrops countless on the ætherial fields
Of the skies, and all they comprehend shall pass ;
The spirits of all worlds shall all depart
To their great destinies ; and thou and I,
Greater in grief than worlds, shall live, as now.
And let the worst come to the worst, you say,
There always will be time to turn ourselves,
And cry for half an hour or so to God.
Salvation, sure, is not so very hard ;
It need not take one long ; and half an hour
Is quite as much as we can spare for it.
We have no time for pleasures. Business! business!
No! ye shall perish suddenly and unsaved.
The world shall stand still with a rending jar,
As though it struck at sea ; or as when once
An arm Titanian, say not whose, but jogged
By earthquakes, wryed the pole, and o'er the dry
Poured competitive mains. The unsleepful sea,
Mooning and bellowing now round caverned coasts ;
Now, drawing hard through thirty thousand teeth,
Upon the shingly shore, his pauseful breath,
Like some monogamous monster which hath lost,
Poor fool! his mate ; and every rock-hole searched
By torch of foam-light, dogs her steps with sad,
Superfluous faithfulness, shall rest at last,
Nor wist which way to turn him ; ebb nor flow
No more to choose. All elements as though smote
With reasonablest disloyalty to man's
Usurpful claim, their constrained suit shall cease,
And natural service; men their mightiest wont,
Their meanest use and craft. The halls where parle
The heads of nations shall be dumb with death.
The priest shall dipping, die. Can man save man?
Is water God? The counsellor, wise fool,
Drop down amid his quirks and sacred lies.
The judge, while dooming unto death some wretch,
Shall meet at once his own death, doom and judge.
The doctor, watch in hand and patient's pulse,
Shall feel his own heart cease its beats, and fall.
Professors shall spin out, and students strain
Their brains no more. Art, science, toil, shall cease,
Commerce. The ship shall her own plummet seek,
And sound the sea herself and depths of death.
At the first turn, death shall cut off the thief,
And dash the gold-bag in his yellow brain.
The gambler, reckoning gains, shall drop a piece ;
Stoop down, and there see death ; look up, there God.
The wanton, temporising with decay,
And qualifying every line which vice
Writes bluntly on the brow, inviting scorn,
Shall pale through plastered red ; and the loose sot
See clear, for once, through his misty, o'er-brimmed eye.
The just, if there be any, die in prayer.
Death shall be everywhere among your marts ;
And giving bills which no man may decline,
Drafts upon hell one moment after date.
Then shall your outcries tremble amid the stars :
Terrors shall be about ye like a wind ;
And fears fall down upon ye like four walls.

Thomas Campbell with feebler power has attempted to show the condition of the dying world inhabited by a solitary survivor of the human race. The poem is called, "The Last Man."

THE LAST MAN

All worldly shapes shall melt in gloom,
The sun himself must die
Before this mortal shall assume
Its immortality.
I saw a vision in my sleep
That gave my spirit strength to sweep
Adown the gulf of Time ;
I saw the last of human mould
That shall Creation's death behold,
As Adam saw her prime.

The sun's eye has a sickly glare
The earth with age was wan,
The skeletons of nations were
Around that lonely man.
Some had expired in fight—the brands
Still rusted in their bony hands ;
In plague and famine some!
Earth's cities had no sound nor tread,
And ships were drifting with the dead
To shores where all was dumb!

Yet, prophet-like, that lone one stood,
With dauntless words and high,
That shook the sere leaves from the wood
As if a storm passed by,
Saying, We are twins in death, proud sun!
Thy face is cold, thy race is run,
'Tis mercy bids thee go;
For thou ten thousand thousand years
Hast seen the tide of human tears
That shall no longer flow.

What though beneath thee man put forth,
His pomp, his pride, his skill,
And arts that made fire, flood, and earth
The vassals of his will!
Yet mourn I not thy parted sway,
Thou dim discrowned king of day;
For all those trophied arts
And triumphs that beneath thee sprang
Healed not a passion or a pang,
Entailed on human hearts.

Go, let oblivion's curtain fall
Upon the stage of men,
Nor with thy rising beams recall
Life's tragedy again.
It's piteous pageants bring not back,
Nor waken flesh upon the rack
Of pain anew to writhe—
Stretched in disease's shapes abhorred,
Or mown in battle by the sword,
Like grass beneath the scythe.

Even I am weary in yon skies
To watch thy fading fire;
Test of all sumless agonies,
Behold not me expire!
My lips that speak thy dirge of death,
Their rounded gasp and gurgling breath,
To see thou shalt not boast;
The eclipse of Nature spreads my pall,
The majesty of Darkness shall
Receive my parting ghost!

The spirit shall return to Him
Who gave its heavenly spark;
Yet think not, sun, it shall be dim
When thou thyself art dark!
No, it shall live again, and shine
In bliss unknown to beams of thine,
By Him recalled to breath
Who captive led captivity,
Who robbed the grave of victory,
And took the sting from death!

Go, sun, while mercy holds me up
On Nature's awful waste,
To drink this last and bitter cup
Of grief that man shall taste.
Go tell the night that hides thy face
Thou saw'st the last of Adam's race
On earth's sepulchral clod,
The darkening universe defy
To quench his immortality,
Or shake his trust in God!

Tennyson's end of the world, like all his poetry, is gentle, ideal, and graceful—a millennium and not a cataclysm. Could there be greater contrast than that between "Festus" and the two "Locksley Halls."

TENNYSON'S VISION OF MILLENNIUM

Far I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm;
Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world,
There the common-sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

. . . . . .

Many an æon moulded earth before her highest man was born,
Many an æon, too, may pass when earth is manless and forlorn.

. . . . . .

When the schemes and all the systems, kingdoms and republics fall,
Something kindlier, higher, holier—all for each and each for all?
All the full-brained, half-brained races, led by justice, love, and truth;
All the millions one at length with all the visions of my youth?
All diseases quenched by science, no man halt, or deaf, or blind;
Stronger ever born of weaker, lustier body, larger mind?
Earth at last, a warless world, a single race, a single tongue—
I have seen her far away—for is not Earth as yet so young?—
Every tiger madness muzzled, every serpent passion killed,
Every grim ravine a garden, every blazing desert tilled,
Robed in universal harvest up to either pole she smiles,
Universal ocean softly washing all her warless isles.

This faith in some culminating perfection, some Paradisal baptism of earth in the waters of millennium, was apparently shared by Browning.

My own hope is, a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched
That, after Last, returns the First,
Though a wide compass round be fetched;
That what began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once, prove accurst.

The attitude of Joseph Addison, if he expressed it in "Cato," differed from anything of a millennial character, and

concerned only the immortality of a soul infinitely greater than the perishable earth. His beautiful lines march with the hopes of humanty.

It must be so—Plato, thou reasonest well!
Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after immortality?
Or whence this secret dread and inward horror
Of falling into naught? Why shrinks the soul
Back on herself, and startles at destruction?
'Tis the divinity that stirs within us;
'Tis Heaven itself that points out an hereafter,
And intimates eternity to man.
Eternity! thou pleasing, dreadful thought!

I'm weary of conjectures,—this must end 'em,
Thus am I doubly armed: my death and life,
My bane and antidote, are both before me:
This in a moment brings me to an end;
But this informs me I shall never die.
The soul, secured in her existence, smiles
At the drawn dagger, and defies its point.
The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and Nature sink in years;
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
The wrecks of matter, and the crush of worlds.

No man, of course, with greater dignity and nobler restraint of power, has matched Shakespeare's sublime utterance in the familiar passage:

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on; and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

There is a sense of mystery in these glorious lines, as though the great and inscrutable master, taking his leave of the stage in a sweet allegory—

> Deeper than did ever plummet sound
> I'll drown my book——

let himself hint at some knowledge of eternal verities which he possessed and could not more impart. But always in Shakespeare's greatest moments there is this hinting spirit of a profound knowledge of the mystery of existence, as for instance in the lines

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Shakespeare, we may say, is saturated with mystery, and he seems to us to stand at the head of the human race smiling on all children of imagination, and gently and with a large tolerance rebuking those smaller spirits who shout that the universe is merely an inferior machine on a large scale. It has always struck us that Shakespeare, with his large soul and ample powers, his abiding calm, and his profound mystery better answers both in himself and in his works the arguments of a soulless materialism than all the packed logic of theism and transcendentalism.

The Finite and the Infinite

Mystery is the quintessence of Shakespeare as it is of all great imaginative work. Sir Thomas Browne spoke for a considerable number of the human race when he said, "I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my Reason to an *O altitudo!* . . Who can speak of Eternity without a solecism, or think thereof without an extasie? Time we may comprehend, 'tis but five days elder than ourselves, and hath the same Horoscope with the World; but to retire so far back as to apprehend a beginning, to give such an infinite start forwards as to conceive an end in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my Reason to St. Paul's Sanctuary: my philosophy dares not say the Angels can do it; God hath not made a Creature that can comprehend Him; 'tis a privilege of His own nature. *I am that I am* was his own definition unto Moses; and 'twas a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God, or ask Him what He was . . . . In Eternity there is no distinction of Tenses . . . what to us is to come, to His Eternity is present, His whole duration being but one permanent point, without Succession, Parts, Flux, or Division."

This attitude is characteristic of all our literature on the great subject of God and Man, Time and Eternity. While we confess the utterness of our inability to comprehend Infinity, Omnipotence and Eternity, we love to lose ourselves in the mystery and to pursue our Reason to an *O altitudo!* Perhaps this concern with

In the Atmosphere of Science

such tremendous and infinite issues on the part of a finite and insignificant creature, inhabiting so small a planet in the visible universe is a fact as important to science as the teeth of an anthropoid ape, the nature of radium, or the functions of the liver.

When we turn from literature to science we find ourselves in a quite different atmosphere. The reader who is constitutionally averse from rhetoric and

prejudiced in favour of the calm, grave, and passionless vocabulary of science will rejoice to escape from Bailey and Tennyson and Addison to listen with reverence and attention to Professor Clifford and Professor Flammarion. But a caution is necessary. "The whole drift of my education," says Professor James, in "The Varieties of Religious Experience," "goes to persuade me that the world of our present consciousness is only one out of many worlds of consciousness that exist, and that those other worlds must contain experiences which have a meaning for our life also; and that although in the main their experiences and those of the world keep discreet, yet the two become continuous at certain points, and higher energies filter in. By being faithful in my own poor measure to this over-belief, I seem to myself to keep more sane and true. I *can*, of course, put myself into the sectarian scientist's attitude, and imagine vividly that the world of sensations and of scientific laws and objects may be all. But whenever I do this, I hear that inward monitor of which W. K. Clifford once wrote whispering the word 'Bosh!' Humbug is humbug, even though it bear the scientific name, and the total expression of human experience as I view it objectively, invincibly urges one beyond the narrow 'scientific' bounds.. Assuredly the real world is of a different temperament—more intricately built than physical science allows."

Experience Preferred to Science

It will certainly be well for the reader, in following the man of science in his dogmatic and convincing forecast of cataclysm, to remember that inward monitor of Professor Clifford, and to remind himself of that healthy word, "Bosh!" When we have done with the man of science we shall consult the psychologists and philosophers, who have studied that mind and that consciousness employed by the man of physical science to arrive at his conclusions. Let us begin by a quotation from one of the most emphatic and brilliant of scientists, Professor W. K. Clifford, who, in "The First and Last Catastrophe," writes:

"The First and Last Catastrophe"

"The life which exists upon the earth is made by the sun's action, and it depends upon the sun for its continuance. We know that the sun is wearing out, that it is cooling; and although this heat that it loses day by day is made up in some measure, perhaps completely at present, by the contraction of its mass, yet that process cannot go on for ever. There is only a certain amount of energy in the present constitution of the sun, and when that has been used up the sun cannot go on giving out any more heat. Supposing, therefore, the earth remains in her present orbit about the sun, seeing that the sun must be cooled down at some time, we shall all be frozen out. . . . . .

"In any case, all we know is that the sun is going out. If we fall into the sun, that we shall be fried; if we go away from the sun, or the sun goes out, then we shall be frozen. So that, as far as the earth is concerned, we have no means of determining what will be the character of the end. But we know that one of these two things must take place in time. But in regard to the whole universe, if we were to travel forward as we have travelled backward, in time, consider things as falling together, we should come to a great central mass, all in one piece, which would send out waves of heat through a perfectly empty ether, and gradually cool itself down. As this mass gets cool it would be deprived of all life or motion; it would be just a mere enormous frozen block in the middle of the ether.

When the Sun Cools

"But that conclusion, which is like the one that we discussed about the beginning of the world, is one which we have no right whatever to rest upon. It depends upon the same assumption that the laws of geometry and mechanics are exactly and absolutely true, and that they will continue exactly and absolutely true for ever and ever. Such an assumption we have no right whatever to make. We may therefore, I think, conclude about the end of things that, so far as the earth is concerned, an end of life upon it is as probable as science can make anything; but that in regard to the universe we have no right to draw any conclusion at all."

In another form we have the end of the world adumbrated by Professor Camille Flammarion in an article which is as reasonable as any prophecy ever yet ventured upon by seer or scientist. We quote it at some length because it is the most representative expression of materialistic opinion which obtains at the present day.

We might say with confidence that if the world is to end at all, this is certainly how it will happen.

"What is the future of our planet and of all that which adorns it now—mankind, plants, animals, birds—of the continents and of the ocean? Will it fall into ruins, as an ancient monument of the firmament, decayed by millions of centuries of existence?

"Yes; without death, for it is not immortal. It has not always existed, and will not always exist. The earth has had a birth, and will consequently die. But as there are as many possible modes of death for a world as for other human beings the question may possibly arise, what will be its end?—and an attempt made to indicate the nature of the crisis that will destroy it.

"On the one hand, water and air diminish; on the other, the plane of the continents is gradually sinking, and certainly reducing the surface of the globe to one general level. Will the earth perish from drought and cold; or, on the contrary, will it be overwhelmed by the conquering ocean? Water sustains the heat and life of the earth. Should it disappear this would mean the total extinction of all that lives, breathes, and renders Nature active. Should the liquid element, on the contrary, invade the dry land, such an action, though diametrically opposed to the preceding, would produce, nevertheless, a similar result. In either case it would mean the destruction of the human race.

The World Without Water

"On the planet Mars, which is also smaller than the earth, and certainly in a more advanced period of planetary life, without being so aged as the moon, we observe seas reduced to narrow inland straits: the great oceans have disappeared, rain is scarce, and the sky is nearly always clear.

"Doubtless the future will reserve for us a similar destiny, more like that of the present state of Mars than of that of our satellite, the moon; and we may anticipate an inexorable fatal day wherein languishing terrestrial living Nature will be deprived of the element that is indispensable to its maintenance—water.

"Water constitutes the vital part of all living bodies. The human organism contains 70 per cent., whether in the liquid state or in the form of vapour in the atmosphere. It is the element that governs life, and preserves on the surface of the globe the heat that is necessary to the development of all beings. The suppression thereof signifies, therefore, a death warrant; and it is in the power of Nature to inflict such a sentence upon us. But doubtless it is not alone the want of water in itself that will cause the end of things; it will be rather the effect this cause will have on the climate. It is the invisible water vapour, spread through the atmosphere, that exercises the paramount influence on the temperature, though its quantity be evidently very small, since to every 200 molecules of oxygen and of azote there is not found one of water vapour. This latter possesses, nevertheless, eighty times more energy and efficacy than the other 200.

The Fate Awaiting the Earth

"These minute transparent drops, suspended in the atmosphere, act like heat condensers, to concentrate the rays of the sun, and to retain them in the lower layers of the atmosphere. What will happen when this protecting veil shall have disappeared? The temperature of the soil will become glacial, and will render the globe uninhabitable.

"From the summit of the mountains the mantle of the snows will be spread over the valleys, driving before it both life and civilisation. New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Rome would successively sleep under the eternal snows. Such towns would only then be arid deserts, split with fissures much more terrible than the solitudes of those Polar regions at present known to us.

"There will be no more spring, no more nests, no more birds, no more luxurious plants, flowers, or fruits; no more bubbling springs, richly stocked rivers, lakes bordered by willows and poplars; no more shall the crested waves sing with monotonous voice their rhythmic chant. The last representatives of the human race will come and expire on the shores of the last remaining equatorial sea, beneath the rays of a feeble sun that from henceforth will only light a moving tomb that shall turn again and again around a light-giving but insufficient heat. At this epoch our planet would have reached a temperature approximating to 273° below zero. Such will be the necessary end of the earth should its vital elements be removed. It appears more than probable

How the End Will Come

that the earth will end thus, as not only the water vapour is diminishing, but also the other elements of the air, such as oxygen and azote, are gradually decreasing. From century to century the atmosphere is becoming poorer, and in consequence the conditions of terrestrial life are themselves becoming weaker. In 10,000,000 of years the great body of the earth—worn, aged, sterile, and solitary—will only bear on its dried surface the ruins of its brilliant past."

A Grim Picture of the Future

But is there no Mind behind all this creation, beauty and destruction? "Life must have had a beginning," says F. W. Hutton, "and must come to an end." Yes; very true. But what was before the beginning of life? Professor Clifford, in a letter to Dr. Martineau, wrote: "The idea of an external conscious being is unavoidably suggested, as it seems to me, by the categorical imperative of the moral sense; and, moreover, in a way quite independent, by the aspect of Nature, which seems to answer to our questionings with an intelligence akin to our own." The laws of the universe are not accidents, apparently. "It is prima facie," says Newman, in the "Grammar of Assent," "unaccountable that an accident should happen twice, not to speak of it happening always." "The sceptic," says Emerson, "affirms that the universe is a nest of boxes with nothing in the last box."

Here is a great point made by Newman: "A law is not a cause, but a fact; but when we come to the question of cause, then *we have no experience of any cause but Will.*"

"The presence of Mind," says Sir John Herschel, "is what solves the whole difficulty."

Every child thinks that its hand is the visible cause of the swing of the toy in its hand; but it can be made to see that the hand is merely the obedient servant of its will. Everything that the materialist predicates of the world's creation, and prophesies of its final destruction, the philosopher can subscribe to if only the materialist will place Will at the back of phenomena, without which force—so far as all human knowledge goes—there can be no movement, no ordered action, no law.

The Force Behind the Universe

And now what remains?

Professor Flammarion tells us what the Psalmist told his contemporaries, what St. Peter told his contemporaries, what almost every intelligent man since the creation of the world has believed, that the earth will perish.

Then at the loud but solemn peal the heavens shall burst away;
The elements shall melt in flame at Nature's final day.

It does not matter how greatly the theories of Professor Flammarion are affected by the discovery of radium, by the mysteries of radio-active bodies still puzzling the scientist as much as the problem of hen or egg; it does not matter whether our professor is altogether right or altogether wrong; the fact stands that in some way or other the physical world will end, and that for each individual man it ends at death.

What remains?

Consciousness!

The hope of humanity is the despair of the materialist; it is this mystery of all mysteries, *consciousness.* How man (matter) became conscious, became self-conscious, was able to take pen and write, "I am not immortal," in order to controvert his fellow lump of matter who argued that he was immortal, is a puzzle just as baffling as the hen and the egg. Consciousness, a materialist might say, makes cowards of us all.

Man's Spiritual Nature

What is this mystery of our minds which we call consciousness? What is its place in the universe?

One cannot call consciousness a by-product of evolution without making oneself ridiculous. Consciousness is not something without which life would have been very much what it is now. Indeed, it is only by considering the spiritual nature of man that history becomes in the least intelligible. Whether materialists realise the significance of this fact or not, certain is it that history concerns the spiritual nature of man struggling towards fulfilment.

"On the hypothesis of this spiritual nature, superadded to the animal nature of man, we are able to understand much that is otherwise mysterious or unintelligible in regard to him, especially the enormous influence of ideas, principles, and beliefs over his whole life and actions," writes Professor A. R. Wallace. "Thus alone we can understand the constancy of the martyr, the unselfishness of the philanthropist, the devotion of the patriot, the enthusiasm of the artist, and

the resolute and persevering search of the scientific worker after Nature's secrets. Thus we may perceive that the love of truth, the delight in beauty, the passion for justice, and the thrill of exultation with which we hear of any act of courageous self-sacrifice are the workings within us of a higher nature which has not been developed by means of the struggle for material existence."

Evolution, it has been said, can account well enough for the land-grabber, the company promoter, and the sweater; but it fails to account for the great intellects and lofty souls who have led the advance of humanity from barbarism to civilisation. This world — this physical and material world of man—has been moved infinitely more by spiritual forces than by material and selfish forces. History, if it is anything, is a struggle towards idealism. The animal does not content man. He never is, but always to be blest. *Why?* This question is at the beginning of all theses, confronts all dogmatisms.

Nature's Process of Evolution

"The higher gifts of genius: poetry, the plastic arts, music, philosophy, pure mathematics—all of these are precisely as much in the central stream of evolution—are perceptions of new truth and powers of new action, just as decisively predestined for the race of man as the aboriginal Australian's faculty for throwing a boomerang or for swarming up a tree for grubs," says F. W. H. Myers in "Human Personality." "There is, then, about these loftier instincts nothing exotic, nothing accidental; they are an intrinsic part of that ever-evolving response to our surroundings which forms not only the planetary but the cosmic history of all our race.

"What inconsistencies, what absurdities, underlie that assumption that evolution means nothing more than the survival of animals fittest to conquer enemies and to overrun the earth. On that bare hypothesis the genus homo is impossible to explain. No one really attempts to explain him, except on the tacit supposition that Nature somehow intended to evolve intelligence—somehow needed to evolve joy; was not satisfied with such an earth-overrunner as the rabbit, or such an invincible conqueror as the influenza microbe. But *how much* intelligence, *what* kind of joy Nature aimed at? Is this to be left to be settled by the instinct of l'homme sensuel moyen? Or ought we not rather to ask of the best specimens of our race what it is that they live for? Whether they labour for the meat that perisheth, or for Love and Wisdom"? Let us endeavour to see this mystery of human consciousness in a steady, unsentimental, and historical manner. Let us try to realise the beginning of this mystery about whose end we are now concerned. "Since the germ of life appeared on earth," the same author goes on to say, "its history has been a history not only of gradual self-adaptation to a known environment, but of gradual discovery of an environment, always there but unknown.

The First Ancestors of Man

"It is probable, to begin with, that the only environment which the vast majority of our ancestors knew was simply hot water. For the greater part of the time during which life has existed on earth it would have been thought chimerical to suggest that we could live in anything else. It was a great day for us when an ancestor crawled up out of the slowly cooling sea—or say, rather, when a previously unsuspected capacity for directly breathing air gradually revealed the fact that we had for long been breathing air in the water, and that we were living in the midst of a vastly extended environment—the atmosphere of the earth.

"It was a great day again when another ancestor felt on his pigment-spot the solar ray—or say, rather, when a previously unsuspected capacity for perceiving light revealed the fact that we had for long been acted upon by light as well as by heat, and that we were living in the midst of a vastly extended environment—namely, the illumined universe that stretches to the Milky Way. It was a great day when the first skate (if skate he were) felt an unknown virtue go out from him towards some worm or mudfish—or say, rather, when a previously unsuspected capacity for electrical excitation demonstrated the fact that we had long been acted upon by electricity as well as by heat and by light; and that we were living in an inconceivable and limitless environment—namely, an ether charged with infinite energy, overpassing and interpenetrating alike the last gulf of darkness and the extremest star. All this—phrased perhaps in some other fashion—all men admit as true. May we

Stages in Evolution's March

not then suppose that there are yet other environments, other interpretations, which a further awakening of faculty still subliminal is yet fated by its own nascent response to discover? Will it be alien to the past history of evolution if I add: It was a great day when the first thought or feeling flashed into some mind of beast or man from a mind distant from his own? When a previously unsuspected capacity of telepathic percipience revealed the fact that we had long been acted upon by telepathic as well as by sensory stimuli; and that we were living in an inconceivable and limiltess environment—a thought-world or spiritual universe charged with infinite life, and interpenetrating and overpassing all human spirits—up to what some have called world-soul, and some God"?

The Dawn of Thought

From that extraordinary moment in history when the first thing *thought to itself*, up to this day, when physicians study nervous diseases and the alienist writes his reports from the lunatic asylums, what has history been but a continual change in the nervous cells, a continual movement in the brain, a perpetual straining forward of faculties nowhere to be found in the animal kingdom? Our bodies are very like those of the first man; but the difference which separates the soul of Shakespeare, the soul of Newton, and the soul of Darwin from the souls not only of our earliest ancestors but the souls of the greatest Greeks, the greatest Romans, and *their own souls* (*i.e.*, the difference between the knowledge of Newton and Darwin, both men of science, fellow-countrymen, and born within a few years of each other), is so considerable that no form of words can express it. One has only to think quietly for a moment or two to perceive that history in its totality is the record of change in the spiritual and intellectual outlook of the human race. Before proceeding to consider what modern science has to tell us about consciousness, it will be useful to our argument if we confront the protagonists of materialism with the consequence of their thesis. If consciousness is a by-product, the accident of an accident, how can we trust the conclusions of our men of science?

History a Record of Change

They tell us how the world came into existence, and inform us emphatically that man is not an immortal soul; their elaborate arguments, their bold deductions, the closeness of their reasoning, fill us with respect. But to believe their conclusion, arrived at by means of a by-product of evolution, how ridiculous! We know that man can examine his environment only with human senses so imperfect that instruments are necessary for all work but the coarsest; but the work of these imperfect senses is reflected upon, matured, and presented for our belief by *consciousness*—a mere accident. Is it reasonable to suppose that such work can be true, can represent the eternal verity of facts?

It is like a watchmaker making a watch to tell, not the time, but that there is no such thing as time. This at the outset of our consideration. But even if we can believe that accidental consciousness reports truly on the facts of existence, even if we perfectly agree that human consciousness is an accident, and functions only till the moment of death, when it ceases as absolutely as the beating of the heart or the movements of the blood corpuscles—dare any man in any nation in any degree of civilisation propose that humanity should act upon this thesis? This is the test at which materialism absolutely breaks. There is no question about it. Brought to this place, no materialist dares to act. And on this ground the plain man may take his stand and reply to the materialist: "Your arguments are all very fine, but their consequence in practical life is impossible."

Where Materialism Fails

Moral restraints are essential to society; moral aspirations are essential to society's progress. "From the time he can understand what is said to him," writes Protagoras, "nurse, and mother, and teacher, and father, too, are bending their efforts to this end—to make the child *good*; teaching and showing him as to everything he has to do or say, how this is right and that not right, and this is honourable and that vile, and this is holy and that unholy, and this do and that do not." Is this to cease, this illogical education of moral qualities which are unreasonable in a soulless world? No man dare say so. No father, no teacher, no statesman, no man of science dare announce that right and wrong are distinctions without sanction of some spiritual kind. David's struggle with his nature has been unquestionably one of the greatest levers in evolution; the Psalms have strengthened and encouraged

generations of the human race to live up to their conscience. Is it contended that he was a fool, and that the world would have done just as well if he had lived like a satyr? No materialist can deny that India without religion would be ungovernable, or that Christianity—the religion and not the ecclesiasticism—has been of the essence of European progress. Without conscience nothing is logical except anarchy. Philanthropy, which is not merely a relief of the poor but rather the exercise of a divine and formative function of the soul, would cease to play its part in evolution, would cease to be. Instead of self-denial, we should have self-assertion. Instead of wisdom we should have brute force. Instead of love and help, egotism of the most terrible kind.

Professor Goldwin Smith has a remarkable passage which must surely give pause to blank materialism:

"The Christian doctrine of fraternity is, at all events for many of us, more comfortable than that of mutual jostling and the survival of the strongest. We cannot all be foremost in the race of competition, we cannot all thrust each other aside, we cannot all climb over each other's heads. But we can all do our duty in our place; and if duty is the pledge of happiness, we can all in a measure be happy . . . .

Carlyle on the Spread of Christianity

"Nobody could be more free from orthodox superstition of any kind than Carlyle, who in one of his essays, after speaking of other agencies of progress, says:

> Or, to take an infinitely higher instance, that of the Christian religion, which, under every theory of it, in the believing or unbelieving mind, must ever be regarded as the crowning glory, or rather the life and soul, of our whole modern culture. How did Christianity arise and spread abroad among men? Was it by institutions and establishments and well-arranged systems of mechanism? Not so; on the contrary, in all past and existing institutions for those ends its divine spirit has invariably been found to languish and decay. It arose in the mystic deeps of man's soul, and was spread abroad by the "preaching of the word," by simple, altogether natural, and individual efforts; and flew, like hallowed fire, from heart to heart, till all were purified and illuminated by it; and its heavenly light shone, as it still shines, and (as sun or star) will ever shine, through the whole dark destinies of man.

"It happened that when I laid down Carlyle there met my eyes a gilt cross on the spire of a Catholic church illumined by the sun. The cross was the emblem of all that was materially weak, of slavery and the shameful death of the slave. The eagle was the emblem of the Roman Empire, the greatest embodiment of force which the world has ever seen. The eagle and the cross encountered each other. Which prevailed?"

Is Man Only an Animal?

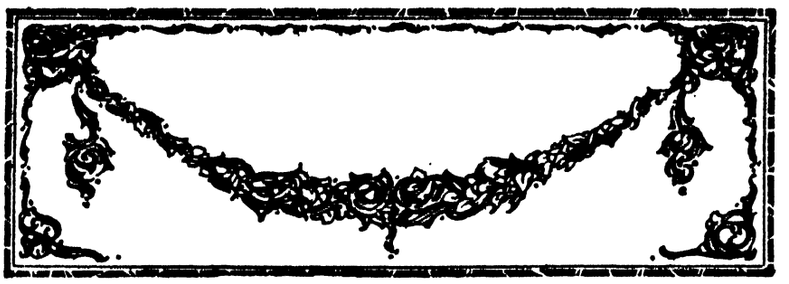
In no subject more than in this question of man's nature is it essential for the reader to guard himself against the persuasions of the *technical* or the *expert* mind. When such a man as Metchnikoff shuts himself up in a library, and, safeguarded by the police, and nourished by food and warmed by raiment which others have produced for him, proceeds to prove that man is only an animal, other people reading the result of his labour in a comfortable seclusion may easily come to consider that he is perfectly correct.

But if Metchnikoff stood up in the open streets, exposed to the elements and surrounded by the extraordinary atmosphere of the "full air," which is so much more real than the artificial atmosphere of stove-warmed rooms, and there attempted to enunciate his doctrine, the ordinary citizen would feel something lacking in this dogmatism, would be conscious of large and potent verities of life lying altogether outside physiology and chemistry, and would desire the orator to turn his attention from phagocytes and bacteria to explain the hard struggle of Plato for virtue, the grandeur of Michael Angelo, the sweetness of Fenelon, and the consciousness in animal man of disturbing moral responsibility.

We believe we are stating the firm conviction of the best modern minds when we say that materialism as a thesis of existence cannot be applied to social life without destruction, and that it provides no explanation whatever of human consciousness. We are still in the position of Bacon: "I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal Frame is without a Mind"; materialism only succeeds in making the universal Frame, which includes everything, even materialism itself—*irrational*.

Mind at the Back of the Universe

THE END OF THE WORLD



BY HAROLD BEGBIE III

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

THE MYSTERY OF HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS

TO begin with, a caution is necessary as to any use of the term Man in a fixed and generic sense, as if he has always been what he is now, and always will remain precisely the same: as if the average man, and not the genius, is of importance to psychology: "The word normal in common speech is used almost indifferently to imply either of two things, which may be very different from each other—conformity to a standard and position as an average between extremes," says F. W. H. Myers in "Human Personality." "Often, indeed, the average constitutes the standard—as when a gas is of normal density; or is practically equivalent to the standard—as when a sovereign is of normal weight. But when we come to living organisms, a new factor is introduced. Life is change; each living organism changes; each generation differs from its predecessor.

The Human Race in Evolution

"To assign a fixed norm to a changing species is to shoot point-blank at a flying bird. The actual average at any given moment is no ideal standard; rather, the furthest evolutionary stage now reached is tending, given stability in the environment, to become the average of the future. Human evolution is not so simple or so conspicuous a thing as the evolution of the pouter pigeon. But it would be rash to affirm that it is not even swifter than any variation among domesticated animals. Not a hundred generations separate us from the dawn of history; about as many generations as some microbes can traverse in a month; about as many as separate the modern Derby winner from the war-horse of Gustavus Adolphus.

Physical Changes in Man

"Man's change has been less than the horse's change in physical contour—probably only because man has not been specially bred with that view; but, taking as a test the power of self-adaptation to environment, man has traversed in these thirty centuries a wider arc of evolution than separates the race-horse from the eohippus.

"Of all creatures man has gone furthest both in differentiation and in entegration; he has called into activity the greatest number of those faculties which lay potential in the primal germ, and he has established over those faculties the strongest central control."

To come a little nearer to this mystery of consciousness, we would remind the reader of a simple passage from "De Profundis," which is science, literature, and common-sense: "I said in 'Dorian Gray' that the great sins of the world take place in the brain; but it is in the brain that everything takes place. We know now that we do not see with our eyes or hear with the ears. They are really channels for the transmission, adequate or inadequate, of sense impressions. It is in the brain that the poppy is red, that the apple is odorous, that the skylark sings."

The Soul after Death

Here is an admirable figure from McTaggart's "Some Dogmas of Religion."

"If a man is shut up in a house, the transparency of the windows is an essential condition of his seeing the sky. But it would not be prudent to infer that, if he walked out of the house, he could not see the sky because there was no longer any glass through which he might see it."

"After death," says Kant, "the soul possesses self-consciousness, otherwise it would be the subject of spiritual death, which has already been disproved. With this self-consciousness necessarily remains personality and the consciousness of personal identity."

We can present a modern view of the mystery of consciousness as it strikes a distinguished contemporary, qua philo-

sopher and qua physicist, by a few extracts from Sir Oliver Lodge's "Man and the Universe."

"We display ourselves to our fellows in a certain garb, artificially constructed of animal and vegetable materials, and in the form of a certain material organism, put together by processes of digestion and assimilation, and likewise composed of terrestrial materials. The source of these chemical compounds is evidently not important; nor is their special character maintained. Whether they formed part of sheep or birds or fish or plants, they are assimilated and become part of us; being arranged by our subconscious activities and vital processes into appropriate form, just as truly as other materials are consciously woven into garments, no matter what their origin.

"Moreover, just as our clothes wear out and require darning and patching, so our bodies wear out; the particles are in continual flux, each giving place to others and being constantly discarded and renewed. The identity of the actual or instantaneous body is therefore an affair of no importance: the body which finally dies is no more fully representative of the individual than any of the other bodies which have gradually been discarded en route: there is no reason why it should persist any more than they: the individuality, if there is one, must lie deeper than any particular body, and must belong to whatever it is which put the particles together in this shape and not another. . . .

The Truth about The Body

"The more frankly and clearly the truth about the body is realised, namely, that the body is a flowing and constantly changing episode in material history, having no more identity than has a river, no identity whatever in its material constitution, but only in its form—identity only in the personal expression or manifestation which is achieved through the agency of a fresh and constantly differing sequence of material particles—the more frankly all this is realised, the better for our understanding of most of the problems of life and being.

"The body is the instrument or organ of the soul, and in its special form and aggregation is certainly temporary—exceedingly temporary; for in the most durable cases it lasts only about a thousand months—a mere instant in the life-history of a planet. But if the body is thus trivial and temporary, though while it lasts most beautiful and useful and wonderful, what is it that puts it together and keeps it active and retains it fairly constant through all the vicissitudes of climate and condition, and through all the fluctuations of atomic constitution? . . . .

The Meaning of Immortality

"When the body is destroyed, therefore, the soul disappears from physical ken; when the body is impaired, its function is interfered with, and the soul's physical reaction becomes feeble and unsatisfactory. Thus has arisen the popular misconception that the soul of a slain person, or of a cripple or paralytic, has been destroyed or damaged: whereas, only its instrument of manifestation need have been affected. The kind of evils which really assault and hurt the soul belong to a different category. . . .

"Now let us consider what is meant by Immortality. Is there anything that is not subject to death and annihilation? Can we predicate immortality about anything? Everything is subject to change, but are all things subject to death? Without change there could be no activity, and the universe would be stagnant; but without death it is not so clear that its progress would be obstructed, unless death be only a sort of change.

"But is it not a sort of change? Consider some examples: When a piece of coal is burnt, and brought to an apparent end, the particles of long-fossilised wood are not destroyed; they enter into the atmosphere as gaseous constituents, and the long-locked-up solar energy is released from its potential form and appears once more as light and heat. The burning of the coal is a kind of resurrection. And yet it is a kind of death too, and to the casual eye nothing is left but ashes. . . .

Facts of Physical Science

"Never in physical science do we surmise for a moment that something suddenly springs into being from previous non-existence. All that we perceive can be accounted for by changes of aggregation, by assemblage and dispersion. Of material aggregates we can trace the history, as we can trace the history of continents and islands, of suns and planets and stars; we can say, or try to say, whence they arose and what they will become; but never do we state that they will vanish into nothingness, nor do

we ever conjecture that they arose from nothing."

Huxley, we may notice in passing, answers the question, "What, then, is certain?" with these words: "Why, the fact that the thought, the present consciousness, exists. Our thoughts may be delusive, but they cannot be fictitious. As thoughts, they are real and existent, and the cleverest deceiver cannot make them otherwise. . . . Thought is existence. More than that, so far as we are concerned, existence is thought, all our conceptions of existence being some kind or other of thought."

"Riddles of the Sphinx"

Here follows a passage from "Riddles of the Sphinx," a book by F. C. S. Schiller, a brilliant American of Cornell University, now at Oxford: "Matter is an admirably calculated machinery for regulating, limiting, and restraining the consciousness which it encases . . . If the material encasement be coarse and simple, as in the lower organisms, it permits only a little intelligence to permeate through it; if it is delicate and complex, it leaves more pores and exists, as it were, for the manifestations of consciousness . . . On this analogy, then, we may say that the lower animals are still entranced in the lower stage brute lethargy, while we have passed into the higher phase of somnambulism, which already permits us strange glimpses of a lucidity that divines the realities of a transcendent world. And this gives the final answer to Materialism: it consists of showing in detail . . . that Materialism is a hysteron proteron, a putting of the cart before the horse, which may be rectified by just inverting the connection between Matter and Consciousness.

"Matter is not that which produces consciousness, but that which limits it, and confines its intensity within certain limits: material organisation does not construct consciousness out of arrangements of atoms, but contracts its manifestation within the sphere which it permits. This explanation . . . admits the connection of Matter and Consciousness, but contends that the course of interpretation must proceed in the contrary direction. Thus it will fit the facts alleged in favour of Materialism equally well, beside enabling us to understand facts which Materialism rejected as 'supernatural.' It explains the lower by the higher, Matter by Spirit, instead of *vice versa*, and thereby attains to an explanation which is ultimately tenable, instead of one which is ultimately absurd.

Connection of Matter and Consciousness

"And it is an explanation the possibility of which no evidence in favour of Materialism can possibly affect. For if, *e.g.*, a man loses consciousness as soon as his brain is injured, it is clearly as good an explanation to say the injury to the brain destroyed the mechanism by which the manifestation of the consciousness was rendered possible as to say that it destroyed the seat of consciousness. On the other hand, there are facts which the former theory suits far better. If, *e.g.*, as sometimes happens, the man, after a time, more or less, recovers the faculties of which the injury to his brain had deprived him, and that not in consequence of a renewal of the injured part, but in consequence of the inhibited functions being performed by the vicarious action of other parts, the easiest explanation certainly is that, after a time, consciousness constitutes the remaining parts into a mechanism capable of acting as a substitute for the lost parts. And, again, if the body is a mechanism for inhibiting consciousness, for preventing the full powers of the ego from being prematurely actualised, it will be necessary to invert also our ordinary ideas on the subject of memory, and to account for forgetfulness instead of for memory. It will be during life that we drink the bitter cup of Lethe; it will be with our brain that we are enabled to forget. And this will serve to explain not only the extraordinary memories of the drowning and the dying generally, but also the curious hints which experimental psychology occasionally affords us that nothing is ever forgotten wholly and beyond recall."

Psychology and the Memory

To go deeper into the matter:

"The expression, 'field of consciousness,' has but recently come into vogue in the psychology books," writes Professor William James in "The Varieties of Religious Experience." "Until quite lately the unit of mental life which figured most was the single 'idea,' supposed to be a definitely outlined thing. But at present psychologists are tending, first, to admit that the actual unit is more probably the total mental state, the entire wave of consciousness or

fields of objects present to the thought at any time; and, second, to see that it is impossible to outline this wave, this field, with any definiteness. As our mental fields succeed one another, each has its centre of interest, around which the objects of which we are less and less attentively conscious fade to a margin so faint that its limits are unassignable.

"Some fields are narrow fields and some are wide fields. Usually, when we have a wide field, we rejoice, for we then see masses of truth together, and often get glimpses of relations which we divine, rather than see, for they shoot beyond the field into still remoter regions of objectivity, regions which we seem rather to be about to perceive than to perceive actually. At other times, of drowsiness, illness, or fatigue, our fields may narrow almost to a point, and we find ourselves correspondingly oppressed and contracted. Different individuals present constitutional differences in this matter of width of fields.

The Mental Vision of Genius

"Your great organising geniuses are men with habitually vast fields of mental vision, in which a whole programme of future operations will appear dotted out at once, the rays shooting far ahead into definite directions of advance. In common people there is never this magnificent inclusive view of a topic. They stumble along, feeling their way, as it were, from point to point, and often stop entirely. In certain diseased conditions consciousness is a mere spark, without memory of the past or thought of the future, and with the present narrowed down to some one simple emotion or sensation of the body.

"The important fact which this 'field' formula commemorates is the determination of the margin. Inattentively realised as is the matter which the margin contains, it is nevertheless there, and helps both to guide our behaviour and to determine the next movement of our attention. It lies around us like a 'magnetic field,' inside of which our centre of energy turns like a compass neeedle, as the present phase of consciousness alters into its successor. Our whole past store of memories floats beyond this margin, ready at a touch to come in; and the entire mass of residual powers, impulses, and knowledges that constitute our empirical self stretches continuously beyond it. So vaguely drawn are the outlines between what is actual and what is only potential at any moment of our conscious life, that it is always hard to say of certain mental elements whether we are conscious of them or not.

"The ordinary psychology, admitting fully the difficulty of tracing the marginal outline, has nevertheless taken for granted,

Psychology's Notable Discovery

first, that all the consciousness that the person has now, be the same focal or marginal, inattentive or attentive, is there in the field of the moment, all dim and impossible to assign as the latter's outline may be; and, second, that what is absolutely extra-marginal is absolutely non-existent, and cannot be a fact of consciousness at all. . . .

"I cannot but think that the most important step forward that has occurred in psychology since I have been a student of that science is the discovery, first made in 1886, that, in certain subjects at least, there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual centre and margin, but an addition thereto in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts, and feelings which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs. I call this the most important step forward because, unlike the other advances which psychology has made, this discovery has revealed to us an entirely unsuspected peculiarity in the constitution of human nature. No other step forward which psychology has made can proffer any such claim as this." The reader will perceive from these extracts that a more bold and exhaustive psychology is now at work on the mystery of existence. Psychologists are not debating questions of the schools, but are exploring consciousness itself. An immense advance in this supreme science has been made during

The March of Science

recent years by means of hypnotism and psychical research. It is possible to think that before the world plunges into ruin or gradually chills until life is impossible on its surface man will have discovered the riddle of terrestrial life, perhaps—as some believe—established telepathic communication with other stars. But certainly we may expect that the history of the world from this time onward will lie largely with the

discoveries of the psychologist. Far from being at the end of existence, we are only now at the beginning. Interesting as it has been, studying earthworms, classifying beetles, collecting fossils, and examining bacteriæ under microscopes, the real beginning of knowledge, discovery, and excitement for us men and for our salvation lies ahead of us in the exploration of consciousness.

Goethe said : "It is to a thinking being quite impossible to think himself non-existent, ceasing to think and live ; so far does everyone carry in himself the proof of immortality, and quite spontaneously. But so soon as the man will be objective and go out of himself, so soon as he dogmatically will grasp a personal duration to bolster up in cockney fashion that inward assurance, he is lost in contradiction." Upon which Emerson comments : " My idea of heaven is that there is no melodrama in it at all ; that it is wholly real. Here is the emphasis of conscience and experience ; this is no speculation, but the most practical of doctrines. Do you think that the eternal chain of cause and effect which pervades Nature, which threads the globes as beads on a string, leaves this out of its circuit—leaves out this desire of God and men as a waif and a caprice, altogether cheap and common, and falling without reason or merit ? "

Emerson's Idea of Heaven

The vast majority of human-kind long for personal identity, and cling to it with a sweetness of faith which seems to have the force of reality :

Life ! I know not what thou art,
But know that thou and I must part ;
And when, or how, or where we met
I own to me's a secret yet.

Life ! we've been long together
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather ;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear—
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear ;
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time ;
Say not good-night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me good-morning.

The new psychology, fortified by sane psychical research and utterly uninfluenced by a crazy spiritualism, begins—so it seems to some, at least—to offer reasons for our faith in personal identity after death. Whether it is Eternity or Immortality to which we move—the two great opposing battle-cries of those who follow the Christ and the Buddha—it would appear that most reasonable men look beyond physical death for explanation, satisfaction, and life.

The crash and ruin of worlds can hardly affect the thought which has so far risen above physical things as to comtemplate either eternity or immortality. If the reader will reflect as he reads the following poem by George Eliot, that he is acquainting himself with the deliberate utterance, so far as words can effect it, of a soul's longing, a longing quite free of hunger for personal reward or personal identity, he will feel it difficult to imagine that this pure and spiritual desire is merely a functioning of the material brain, and that it has no more significance than the ravings of a madman or the gibberish of a monkey :

O may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence : live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.
So to live is heaven :
To make undying music in the world,
Breathing a beauteous order that controls
With growing sway the growing life of man
So we inherit that sweet purity
For which we struggled, failed and agonised
With widening retrospect that bred despair.
Rebellious flesh that would not be subdued,
A vicious parent shaming still its child.
Poor anxious penitence, is quick dissolved ;
Its discords, quenched by meeting harmonies,
Die in the large and charitable air.
And all our rarer, better, truer self
That sobbed religiously in yearning song,
That watched to care the burthen of the world,
Laboriously tracing what must be,
And what may yet be better—saw within
A worthier image for the sanctuary,
And shaped it forth before the multitude
Divinely human, raising worship so
To higher reverence more mixed with love.
That better self shall live till human Time
Shall fold its eyelids, and the human sky
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb
Unread for ever.
This is life to come,
Which martyred men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow. May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardour, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty—
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible
Whose music is the gladness of the world.

THE END OF THE WORLD

BY HAROLD BEGBIE IV

MAN'S DESTINY AFTER DEATH

AND THE ETERNAL HOPE OF A FUTURE LIFE

AT the beginning of this essay we indulged ourselves in some of those dimensional comparisons which overwhelm the mind and sadden consciousness with the conviction of human littleness and terrestrial insignificance.

Standing on this earth, surrounded by a vast host of marching worlds, and well assured that his journey round the particular sun of his own solar system is only a matter of some sixty or seventy times, man may excusably feel himself so mean and trivial an atom that any assumption of immortality or significance to the universe on his part would be in the nature of absurdity.

The modern mind has been peculiarly exposed to this paralysing humility. A multitude of half-educated and entirely unphilosophic men of science have taken advantage of the cheap Press and that eager demand for knowledge which is characteristic of our emerging democracy to publish their reflections on the work of the master-minds in science with such dimensional comparisons from astronomy and physics as will so daze the reader as to make him imagine his author a very considerable fellow.

Reflections on the Master-minds

A philosophic mind, however, will not be disturbed by such "showing-off." It will know, for instance, that time and space (by which alone these comparisons can be made) are ideas purely human. London is a long way from Penzance; it is further still from St. Petersburg; compared with this latter distance, that between London and Penzance is trivial—a man in St. Petersburg would call it nothing. Nevertheless, for a man starting out to walk from Penzance to London, the distance *is* considerable. A dog is small beside an elephant, but to his parasites even his tail is an interesting and extensive peninsula; an elephant compared to the county of Yorkshire is a mere beetle, compared with the globe it is less than a parasite on the dog. All these interwindings in relativity may amuse a schoolboy, but they will not disturb the outlook of a Wordsworth, nor humble the godlike imagination of a Shakespeare. Professor William James refers to one of these modern and unphilosophic ideas which disturb men in their contemplation of immortality—the vast numbers of souls already peopling any possible heaven. As this thought is likely to press upon some minds contemplating the end of the world, and as Professor James has corrected this impression in a passage whose lucidity equals its force and beauty, we will do ourselves the pleasure to quote him at some length:

Professor James on Immortality

"An immortality from which inconceivable billions of fellow-strivers should be excluded becomes an irrational idea for us. That our superiority in personal refinement or in religious creed should constitute a difference between ourselves and our messmates at life's banquet, fit to entail such a consequential difference of destiny as eternal life for us, and for them torment hereafter or death with the beasts that perish, is a notion too absurd to be considered serious. Nay, more, the very beasts themselves—the wild ones, at any rate—are leading the heroic life at all times. . . .

"If any creature lives for ever, why not all? Why not the patient brutes? So that a faith in immortality, if we are to indulge it, demands of us nowadays a scale of representation so stupendous that our imagination faints before it, and our personal feelings refuse to rise up and face the task. The supposition we are swept along to is too vast; and, rather than face the conclusion, we abandon the premise from which it starts. We give up our own immortality sooner than believe that all

Is There a Future Life for Animals?

the hosts of Hottentots and Australians that have been, and shall ever be, should share it with us *in secula seculorum*. Life is a good thing on a reasonably copious scale; but the very heavens themselves, and the cosmic times and spaces, would stand aghast, we think, at the notion of preserving eternally such an ever-swelling plethora and glut of it."

Participants in Immortality

After saying that he himself was once oppressed by this fallacy, Professor James goes on: "It is the most obvious fallacy in the world, and the only wonder is that all the world should not see through it. It is the result of nothing but an invincible blindness from which we suffer, and insensibility to the inner significance of alien lives, and a conceit that would project our own incapacity into the vast cosmos, and measure the wants of the Absolute by our own puny needs. . . .

"But is not such an attitude due to the veriest lack and dearth of your imagination? You take these swarms of alien kinsmen as they are *for you*; an external picture painted on your retina representing a crowd oppressive by its vastness and confusion. As they are for you, so you think they positively and absolutely are. *I* feel no call for them, you say; therefore there is no call for them. But all the while, beyond this externality which is your way of realising them, they realise themselves with the acutest internality, with the most violent thrills of life. 'Tis you who are dead, stone dead, and blind, and senseless, in your way of looking on.

"You open your eyes upon a scene of which you miss the whole significance. Each of these grotesque or even repulsive aliens is animated by an inner joy of living as hot or hotter than that which you feel beating in your private breast. The sun rises and beauty beams to light his path. To miss the inner joy of him, as Stevenson says, is to miss the whole of him. Not a being of the countless throng is there whose continued life is not called for, and called for intensely, by the consciousness that animates the being's form. That you neither realise, nor understand, nor call for it, that you have no use for it, is an absolutely irrelevant circumstance. That you have a saturation-point of interest tells us nothing of the interests that absolutely are. The universe, with every living entity which her resources create, creates at the same time a call for that entity, and an appetite for its continuance—creates it, if nowhere else, at least within the heart of the entity itself. It is absurd to suppose, simply because our private power of sympathetic vibration with other lives gives out so soon, that in the heart of infinite being itself there can be such a thing as plethora, or glut, or super-saturation. It is not as if there were a bounded room where the minds in possession had to move up or make place and crowd together to accommodate new occupants. Each new mind brings its own edition of the universe of space along with it, its own room to inhabit; and these spaces never crowd each other—the space of my imagination, for example, in no way interferes with yours."

The Passion for a Future Life

Not only does this passage completely do away with the particular human notion of an overcrowded heaven, but the spirit which inspires it reveals to us the whole question of eternity, infinity and immortality in the true, reasonable and philosophic light. If man's consciousness, which, as we have seen, seems to represent something super-physical, endures when the body has collapsed, it will find itself not in a place, but in a state of being, where the yard measure, the compass, and the plummet are wholly unnecessary. Our outlook is upon a physical universe, but our identity is a personal feeling. We inhabit ideas rather than houses; we travel by imagination rather than by tram-car. It is in our spirit, far more than in our muscles and our blood, that we spend the days of our life on earth; and it is very certain that a man who reflects upon himself can come to no other conclusion than that his happiness or unhappiness is a condition of his feelings, independent altogether of physical circumstance or physical environment.

The Kingdom of Heaven Within us

Christ's startling announcement, *The Kingdom of Heaven is within you*, is almost the foundational thing in all religion. The history of the world, in addition to wars, rebellions and revolutions, tells us of thousands of men and women, called by the religious saints, who in miserable circumstances or in physical pain have preserved the brightest of dispositions, and manifested a sweetness of character which has inspired the most brutal with reverence, respect and imitation. Whether these people delude themselves,

or whether they have discovered the secret of existence, they are an incontestable proof of the religious claim, *The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.* They prove to us, if we do not already know it, that the real life of a man resides in his feelings, and that by the disposition of those feelings he can render himself immune from disaster, and independent of exterior influences.

Therefore, the wise man is not disturbed by dimensional comparisons or by scientific or literary prognostications concerning the final cataclysm. We may even imagine a man who would be more concerned by the burning of his house than by the sudden rush of this planet towards the flames of the sun. The destruction of the world does not weigh heavily on our spirits; we are not greatly occupied by the thought of our own death. We are in the position of the first man beholding for the first time Night and the Stars, as Blanco White in his immortal sonnet has pictured him :

Mysterious Night ! when our first parent knew
Thee from report divine, and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame,
This glorious canopy of light and blue ?
Yet 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting flame,
Hesperus with the host of heaven came
And lo ! Creation widened in man's view.

Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
Within thy beams, O Sun ! or who could find,
Whilst flower and leaf and insect stood revealed,
That to such countless orbs thou mad'st us blind.
Why do we then shun death with anxious strife ?
If Light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life ?

In a word, we feel ourselves conscious of a hope, we feel ourselves to belong to the universe, we cannot think that we shall altogether die; and in our brightest and purest moments we have a longing for more and fuller life, which seems to us a divine and quite beautiful desire.

Longing for the Fuller Life

"The soul of man is like the world," says Alexander Smith, "one half in day, the other dipped in night; the one is music and the flying cloud, the other silence and the wakeful stars."

It is quite certain that all pessimism concerning life has come from a misconception of the facts, physical reaction, or a self-delusion almost amusing. To begin with, if existence is a burden, those who say so convict themselves of the most illogical position in taking the trouble to tell us so when they might their own quietus make with a bare bodkin. This is no *argumentum ad hominem.* The most intellectual of pessimists does, on the face of it, vitiate his whole position by remaining alive to take it at all. Logic forces us to perceive that the whole chain of his reasoning, and all the gloomy majesty of his rhetoric are dissipated by the solitary fact that he deems it *worth while* to remain alive preaching his pessimism. Death is so easily, so painlessly, and so decently to be obtained that no logical pessimist can be excused for remaining in existence. By remaining in existence—eating his breakfast, reading his books, opening his window to the fresh air, taking a walk in his garden, receiving his friends, and by studying the newspaper—he convicts himself of preferring life to annihilation.

The Mysterious "Something after Death"

Shakespeare's "something after death" makes, for one set of men, "calamity of so long end"; for another set of men it is the flood and glory of existence.

The fact is the man who condemns life condemns precisely what the believer in immortality condemns—imperfect life. He is not really in love with death and non-existence; if he were, he would fly to them as a victim to sanctuary—he is only out of love with imperfect life, and his agony is for the perfect thing.

Whatever crazy sorrow saith
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly longed for death.

'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant;
More life, and fuller, that I want.

The desire for immortality, therefore, is one with the root cause of all pessimism and despair—a realisation of incompleteness and imperfection in the fragmentary existence of terrestrial experience. But there is this sublime difference between the two conditions of mind, making, the one for joy and the other for despair, that the believer in immortality longs for the larger vision.

This truth within thy mind rehearse
That in a boundless universe
Is boundless better, boundless worse.

Think you this mould of hopes and fears
Could find no statelier than his peers
In yonder hundred million spheres ?

It is perfectly true, as Huxley said, that "we poor mortals have to be content with hope and belief in all matters past and present—our sole certainty is

momentary," but hope and belief are real functions of the mind, and, besides possessing an immense significance for psychology, are the moving force in all progress, all morality, all happiness, and all joy.

Dryden's line, "The world's an inn, and Death the journey's end," proves, when pressed, even an insufficient illustration for man's place in the universe, as witness the following anecdote from Tennyson's Life, written by his son:

Tennyson on the Life After Death

"We then went for a three miles' walk, my father talking of the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau, of religion, of faith, and of immortality. While touching on the life after death he spoke of Carlyle and his dimness of faith in the closing years of his life. He said that when he was stopping at a coffee-house in London, Carlyle had come to smoke a pipe with him in the evening, and the talk turned upon the immortality of the soul; upon which, Carlyle said: 'Eh, old Jewish rags; thou must clear your mind of all that. Why should we expect a hereafter? Your traveller comes to an inn, and he takes his bed; it's only for one night, he leaves the next day, and another man takes his place and sleeps in the bed that he has vacated.' My father continued: 'I answered, "Your traveller comes to his inn, and lies down in his bed, and leaves the inn in the morning, and goes on his way rejoicing, with the sure and certain hope and belief that he is going somewhere where he will sleep the next night." And then Edward Fitzgerald, who was present, said, "You have him there." Which proves,' said my father, 'how dangerous an illustration is.'"

Carlyle's "dimness of faith" is easily explained. His physical organism had broken down, and it was not his soul but his liver which shrank from the vastness of the universe. All such lines as, "The world is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel," and Sir Thomas More's saying, "This world is all a fleeting show," are not the expression of a healthy mind responding to the joy of existence, but the groaning of physical machinery. Shakespeare says, as no man else could say it:

Life From Different Standpoints

The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

And then the familiar lines:

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world.

Hazlitt, whose studied optimism we all admire, may, with his jaunty essay "On the fear of Death," console a hale and well-fed man in full maturity of his powers, may assure him that he has no more concern with the eternity beyond his death than with the eternity before his birth; but any man with the smallest scrap of imagination, who will solitary contemplate the thought of death, the intense reality of eternity, and consider well within himself the mystery and the burden of human existence as it is revealed in the pageant of history, the missal of the saint, the language of the poet, and the colours of the painter, must, we think, feel the utter inadequacy of the materialistic thesis, and incline to the theory that Hazlitt's civil and quite-at-my-ease attitude towards the universe was due to lack of imagination. When somebody told Carlyle that a lady in America, famous for transcendental notions, had said, "I accept the universe," he made the very sensible comment: "Gad; she'd better!"

The Joy of Life

No man who has perfect health and unvitiated appetites does anything but rejoice in life; for him the freshness of the dawn, the grandeur of the tall rock and the round sea, the scent of flowers, the flight of birds, the colours of the clouds, and the gladness of the air, are a source of profound and pervasive joy. And it is only the healthy man, able to respond to life, who really has any right to tell us whether it is a good thing or a bad thing. What is Christianity, in its original essence, but an endeavour to complete the incompleteness of fragmentary or damaged perceptions of existence?

I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.

Your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

Your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you.

He that cometh unto Me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in Me shall never thirst.

These words have I spoken unto you, that My joy might remain, and that your joy might be full.

Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy laden.

I am the Light of the world ; he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness.

It is, surely, possible that if life here below is a good thing to the healthy man, so to the full and advancing soul of man it is a good thing elsewhere in the universe. We do not now imagine that with the moment of death a man is either plunged into irremediable torture or flashed full into the presence of God ; we have accustomed ourselves to follow evolution into the universe and to believe that the soul of man, refreshed by death, rises to new and delightsome but laborious states of being, stage by stage, for ever fulfilling himself, for ever answering some purpose of his Creator. And as a last word we may say that psychology in its widest sense seems to promise that one day we may have definite evidence that this thesis of the evolving soul is a fact of the universe. On this note we conclude with some extracts from the remarkable synthesis of psychology, " Human Personality," which F. W. H. Myers bequeathed to posterity as his life's work : " Through the mouth of Diotima, Plato insists that it is an unfailing sign of true love that its desires are for ever ; nay, that love may be even defined as the desire of the everlasting possession of the good.

The Yearning for Immortality

" And in all love's acts he finds the impress of man's craving for immortality—for immortality whose only visible image us on earth is the birth of children to us for as we ourselves decay—so that when the slow self-renewal of our own ever-changing bodies has worn out and ceased, we may be renewed in brighter, younger bodies which we desire to be born to us from whomsoever we find most fair. ' And then,' says Plato, rising, as ever, from visible to invisible things, ' if active bodies have so strong a yearning that an endless series of lovely images of themselves may constitute, as it were, an earthly immortality for them when they have worn away, how greatly must creative souls desire that partnership and close communion with other souls as fair as they may bring to birth a brood of lofty thoughts, poems, statutes, institutions, laws—the fitting progeny of the soul ?

" ' And he who in his youth that hath the need of these things in him, and grows to be a godlike man, wanders about in search of a noble and well-nurtured soul ; and finding it, and in presence of that beauty which he forgets not night or day, brings forth the beautiful which he conceived long ago ; and the twain together tend that which he hath brought forth, and all bound by a far closer bond than that of earthly children, since the children which are born to them are fairer and more immortal far. Who would not choose to have Homer's offspring rather than any sons or daughters of men ? Who would not choose the offspring which Lycurgus left behind him, to be the very salvation of Lacedæmon and of Greece ? or the children of Solon, whom we call Father of our Laws ? or of other men like these, whether Greeks or barbarians, who by great deeds that they have done have become the begetters of every kind of virtue ? Ay, and of these men's children have temples been set up, and never to any other progeny of man. . . .

Heirs of the Immortals

" ' What would it be, then, were it granted to any man to see Very Beauty clear ;—incorruptible and undefiled, not mingled with colour or flesh of man, or with aught that can consume away, but single and divine ? Could man's life, in that vision and beatitude, be poor or low ? or deemest thou not (said she), that then alone it will be possible for this man, discerning spiritual beauty with those eyes by which it is spiritually discerned, to beget no shadows of virtue, since that is no shadow to which he clings, but virtue in very truth, since he hath the very truth in his embrace ? and begetting and rearing Virtue as his child he must needs become the friend of God ; and if there be any man who is immortal, that man is he.'

. . . . . .

" Beyond us still is mystery ; but it is mystery lit and mellowed with an infinite hope. We ride in darkness at the haven's mouth ; but sometimes through rifted clouds we see the desires and needs of many generations floating and melting upwards into a distant glow, up through the light of the seas by the moon's long silvering ray.

The Hope of the Future

" The high possibilities that lie before us should be grasped once for all, in order that the dignity of the quest may help to carry the inquirer through many disappointments, deceptions, delays. But he must remember that this inquiry must

be extended over many generations; nor must he allow himself to be persuaded that there are byways to mastery. I will not say that there cannot possibly be any such thing as occult wisdom, or dominion over the secrets of nature ascetically or magically acquired. But I will say that every claim of this kind which my colleagues or I have been able to examine has proved deserving of complete distrust; and that we have no confidence here any more than elsewhere in any methods except the open, candid, straightforward methods which the spirit of modern science demands.

Nature's Well-Kept Secrets

* * * *

"Science, then, need be no longer fettered by the limitations of this planetary standpoint; nor ethics by the narrow experience of a single life. Evolution will no longer appear as a truncated process, an ever-arrested movement upon an unknown goal. Rather, we may gain a glimpse of an ultimate incandescence where science and religion fuse in one: a cosmic evolution of energy into life, and of life into love, which is joy. Love, which is joy at once and wisdom; we can do no more than ring the changes on terms like these, whether we imagine the transfigurement and apotheosis of conquering souls, or the lower, but still sacred, destiny which may be some day possible for souls still tarrying here. We picture the perfected soul as the Buddha, the Saviour, the *aurai simplicis ignem*, dwelling on one or other aspect of that trinal conception of wisdom, love and joy.

"For souls not yet perfected, but still held on earth I have foretold a growth in holiness. By this I mean no unreal opposition or forced divorcement of sacred and secular, of flesh and spirit. Rather, I define holiness as the joy too high as yet for our enjoyment; the wisdom just beyond our learning; the rapture of love which we still strive to attain. Inevitably, as our link with other spirits strengthens, as the life of the organism pours more fully through the individual cell, we shall feel love more ardent, wider wisdom, higher joy; perceiving that this organic unity of soul, which forms the inward aspect of the telepathic law, is in itself the Order of the Cosmos, the summation of things. And such devotion may find its flower in no vain self-martyrdom, no cloistered resignation, but rather in such pervading ecstasy as already the elect have known; the vision which dissolves for a moment the corporeal prison-house; 'the flight of the One to the One.'

Order of the Cosmos

"'So let the soul that is not unworthy of that vision contemplate the great soul; freed from deceit and every witchery, and collected into calm. Calmed be the body for her in that hour, and the tumult of the flesh; ay, all that is about her, calm; calm be the earth, the sea, the air, and let Heaven itself be still. Then let her feel how into that silent heaven the great soul floweth in. . . . And so may man's soul be sure of vision, when suddenly she is filled with light; for this light is from Him and is He; and then surely shall one know His presence when, like a god of old time, He entered into the house of one that calleth Him, and maketh it full of light. And how,' concludes Plotinus, 'may this thing be for us? Let all else go.'

"These heights, I confess, are above the stature of my spirit. Yet for each of us is a fit ingress into the unseen; and for some lesser man the memory of one vanished soul may be beatific as of old for Plotinus the flooding immensity of Heaven. And albeit no historical religion can persist as a logical halting-place upon the endless mounting way—that way which leads unbroken from the first germ of love in the heart to an inconceivable union with Divine—yet many a creed in turn may well be close inwrought and inwoven with our eternal hope."

Our Eternal Hope

A soul shall draw from out the vast
And strike his being into bounds,

And moved thro' life of lower phase
Result in man, be born and think,
And act and love, a closer link
Betwixt us and the crowning race.

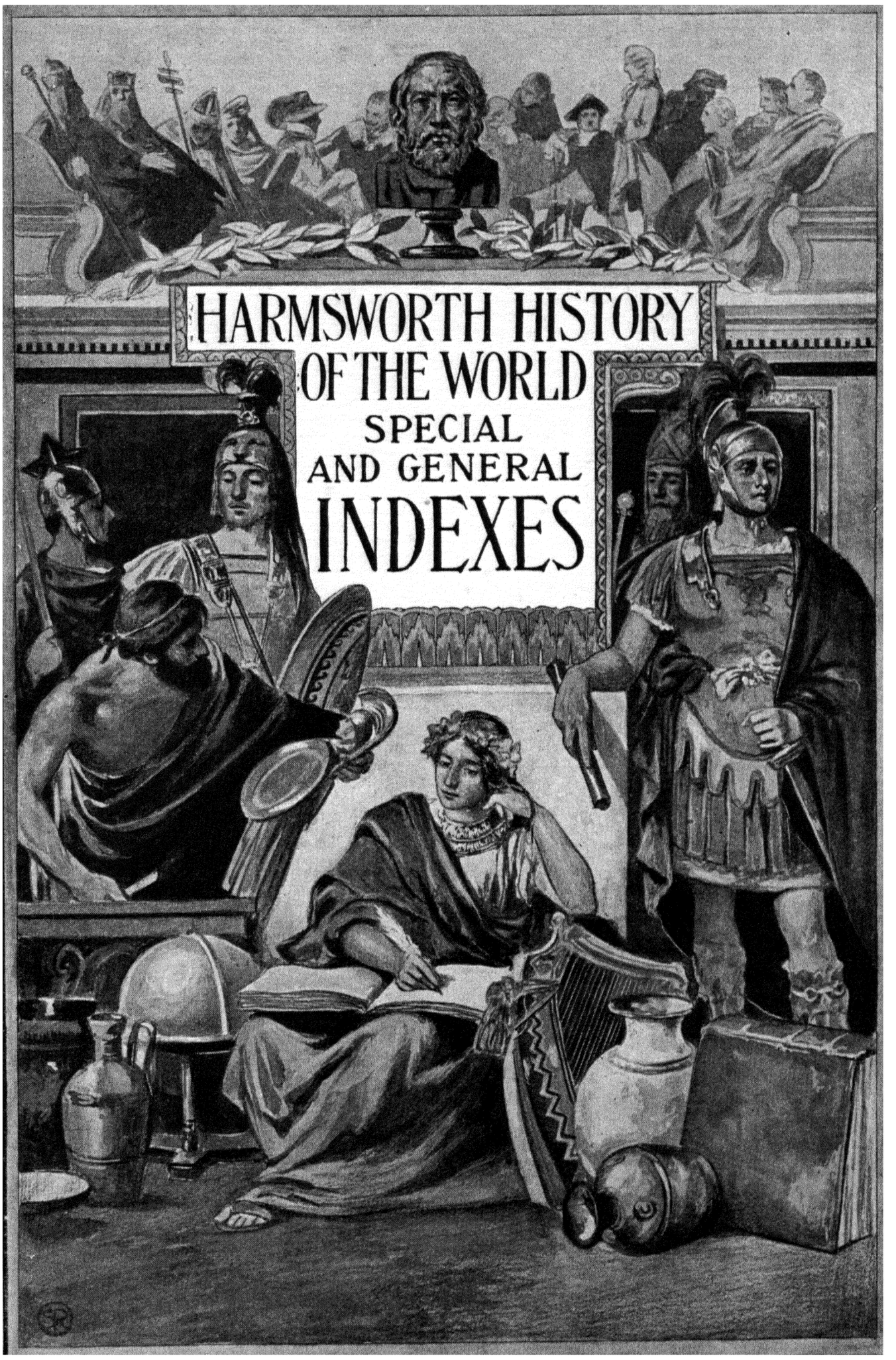
Of those that eye to eye shall look
On Knowledge; under whose command
Is earth and earth's, and in their hand
Is Nature like an open book;

No longer half-akin to brute,
For all we thought and loved and did,
And hoped and suffered, is but seed
Of what in them is flower and fruit;

Whereof the man, that with me trod
This planet was a noble type
Appearing ere the times were ripe,
That friend of mine who lives in God,

That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

HAROLD BEGBIE


HARMSWORTH HISTORY
OF THE WORLD
SPECIAL
AND GENERAL
INDEXES

THE SPECIAL INDEX TO EUROPEAN HISTORY

The history of the separate non-European nations has been presented consecutively in Volumes I. to III., and Volume VIII. of this work. Thus, for the history of China, India, or the United States, the story of the particular state from its inception to the present day can be followed without interruption. But this is not the case with Europe. Here, the form which the work has of necessity taken is that of a history (1) of Ancient Europe; (2) of Eastern Europe from the Fall of the Western Roman Empire to the French Revolution; (3) of Western Europe during the same period; (4) of Europe since that period. Hence, to follow out the story of any one particular nation, it is necessary to pick out the chapters which relate to that nation's history and to place them in chronological order. Thus, for instance, in the history of the British Empire, chapters in the history of India or of Canada have to be brought into their chronological sequence with the chapters belonging to the British Isles.

This is what we have done for our readers in this index. Under the name of each country, we have given as nearly as possible in chronological sequence the list of the chapters in which that country's history is narrated. We begin with Greece and the Greek Peninsula as having the earliest start in point of time; and, as subsidiary to this, the Turkish Dominion. For a like reason we follow with Italy, and, as subsidiary to this, the Papacy. Next stands the revived Empire of the West—the "Holy Roman Empire," which subsisted for a thousand years. Out of this several modern states have been evolved; thus we have a separate heading for the Austrian Empire and its component parts, and for Prussia and the Modern German Empire.

These are followed by Poland and Russia; the three Scandinavian States; the Low Countries; Switzerland; and then the colonising states whose history is largely colonial Spain and Portugal, France and Great Britain. In the last case we recognise that until the beginning of the 18th century there are three states which demand separate record, England, Scotland and Ireland; from that time, there is a single, undivided history of Great Britain and the British Empire.

Finally, we give the index to our survey of the British Empire, treating the whole story not chronologically, but in a series of specific aspects.

THE GENERAL INDEX

The General Index has been compiled with the greatest care to provide a means of ready reference to the innumerable facts of history chronicled throughout the different divisions of the work. The names of historical characters who figure in the narratives and the places mentioned in the text are all indexed in alphabetical order, the numbers of the pages on which the references occur being given in ordinary numerals; and in cases where an event, a person or a place is the subject of an illustration, that fact is indicated by the page number being printed in italic.

To facilitate reference to any of the special plates, of which a very considerable number appear throughout the work, a special index has been prepared, and a similar index is provided for the numerous maps which occur throughout the text.

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